PAPERS ON INDO-IRANIAN AND OTHER SUBJECTS

WRITTEN BY

SEVERAL SCHOLARS

IN HONOUR OF

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., J.P.

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My Dear Dr. Mody,

With great pleasure and satisfaction I have heard that a Commemorative Volume will be published by your friends in honour of you. I remember the time—it is now nearly forty years ago—when I had the happy opportunity of making your personal acquaintance, and I should be glad to be among the contributors to that Volume. But I am just now engaged in urgent work of quite different character so that I am unable to perform this honourable duty. Nevertheless I may be allowed to show you my sympathy and to tell you how much I always have appreciated and still appreciate your excellent scientific work. It is not confined to inquiries into Zoroastrian religion and its history, but it comprises also many questions of ethnology and folklore, of philosophy and general literature. You have lived a rich life and we all hope that it may last till many years to your own enjoyment and to that of your numerous friends.

Wilm. Geiger.

Munchen-Neubiberg,
Germany,
November 1928.

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FOREWORD

With a view to commemorate the long and laborious services of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., in social, communal and literary spheres, a meeting of his friends and admirers was held under the auspices of the Parsi Federal Council of Bombay on 17th March 1927, when it was resolved to present the worthy Savant with a suitable illuminated address in a casket, and to publish a Memorial Volume in his honour, containing contributions on Indo-Iranian religious, historical and literary subjects from eminent and well-known scholars of India, Europe and America.

In accordance with the said resolution, an Editorial Board was appointed to make an appeal to the scholars, inviting them to send in their contributions for the said Memorial Volume and to do everything needful to get it through the press.

The Editorial Board addressed the following circular letter to well-known Oriental scholars of different parts of the world:—

> "It gives us great pleasure to inform you that the friends and admirers of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., have decided to publish a commemorative volume in honour of this indefatigable scholar, and a Committee has been formed to see through the publication of such a volume.
>
> "We have now to solicit your co-operation as a friend and admirer of Dr. Modi, in making the commemorative volume a unique publication and we request you to kindly send us a contribution preferably in English of some research in Avesta, Pahlavi, Persian, Indo-Iranian

or Perso-European subject or subjects, covering the field of literature, philology, philosophy, anthropology, history and science of religion in their bearing on kindred literatures.

"We hope, you will be good enough to favour us with your contribution as early as possible, say before September 1928, and thereby to help us in publishing a volume worthy of the Oriental scholar to be honoured thereby."

The response to the above appeal was quite satisfactory and much beyond all expectations.

The Board hereby begs to tender and put on record its cordial thanks to all the scholars and savants, who have responded to its appeal by sending in their valuable papers on several original and highly important subjects, thus contributing their valuable literary treasures to this excellent Memorial Volume, worthy of the name of the great Oriental scholar Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, whose name it bears.

The Board is also thankful to its indefatigable and energetic Hon. Secretary Mr. Kaikhusru J. Dubash, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, who has borne the brunt of all the office work.

بنام ایزد

اشعار در وصف شمس‌العلما داکتر جیونجی جمشیدجی مودی سی آی ئی

۱ بنام اهرمزد جان آفرین — سخن آفرین و زبان آفرین
۲ که او هست کل خلق را کردگار — هم او دوجهانراست پروردگار
۳ خدای خرد بخش دانندگان — پذیرندهٔ پوزش بندگان
٤ بگوئیم ما این سخنهای چند — بوصف بزرگی بسی ارجمند
٥ که نام آن نکو خویرا جیون است — عزیز و گرامي بجمله تن است
٦ پدر مویدی بود جمشید نام — که بود از پسر وی بسی شاد کام
۷ لقب بود مودی بدان نامور — نژادش اترنان بُده سر بسر
۸ فرخنده سال هزار و دویست — سنه یزدگردی ابر چار و بیست
۹ بروز نخست اورمزد برین — در اردی بهشت آن مهٔ خرّمین
۱۰ پدید آمد آن پور فرخنده فال — خجسته بُدآن روز و آن ماه و سال
۱۱ چو شد یازده ساله آن نیکنام — مُیسّر شدش علم نابر تمام
۱۲ بسال هزار و دو صد سی و چار — بشد هیربُد آن پسر هوشیار
۱۳ بسي علم زان پس بیاموخت او — گهرهای دانش بیندوخت او
۱٤ بُده باب سالار موبد رمه — مُجاور بآتشکده شان همه
۱٥ که جی جی بهئی ابن دادا بهئی — بنا کرده در بندر مُنبئی
۱٦ چو جمشید مودی گذشت از جهان — بجایش پسر شد سر موبدان
۱۷ بتحصیل علم او بسی برد رنج — که دانش بود به زهر گونه گنج
۱۸ بیاموخته او زبانها بسی — اوستا و هم بهلوی فارسی
۱۹ فراناوي و انگریزی زبان — بخوبی بداست آن پاك شان

۲۰ تواریخ و علم طبیعی دگر ابا علم دینی ز بُن تا بسر
۲۱ بدانست و گشته بسي فاضل او در اخلاق و آئین دین کامل او
۲۲ اداره که باشد معزز بسی امینان پنجایت پارسی
۲۳ ورا کرده سر دفتر انجمن وزان شادمان گشته هرمُزد و زن
۲۴ که کارش بود جُفت با عدل و رای وز اخلاق خوب اوست راحت فزای
۲۵ هنوزست قایم بر آن منصب او پیری فزون گشته اش آبرو
۲۶ بحقّش دعا از همه بی نوا روان است همواره پیش خدا
۲۷ که ماناد قایم بهوش و توان بدایں منصب این مرد روشن روان
۲۸ بسی وعظ و نطق و سخنهای پند بهر موقع گفته همین هوشمند
۲۹ کتُب هم بسی او نوشتست نیر که خواننده را زان شود هوش تیز
۳۰ چنان با سخن می کند کیمیا که مضمون تیره پذیرد صیا
۳۱ تعجّب همه راست زین زي هر که علم این قدر چون بگنجد بسر
۳۲ ز مدارس اینجا و دیگر دیار رُتب یافت این مرد دانش شعار
۳۳ ز سرکار هند و ممالک دگر شد اکرام و اعزاز این نامور
۳۴ زُملک فرانس و هم از هنگری عنایت شدش نعمهٔ مهتری
۳۵ چه پي ایچ دی و دگر رُتبها چه پي آئي ئي آن شرف با بها
۳۶ سفرها بسی کرده این یک مرد تو گوئی که او هست دنیا نورد
۳۷ بهند و بیورپ بمصر و بچین بیونان و ایران و افغان زمین
۳۸ بدنیای ینگی بشام و بروم بژاپون و دیگر بسی مرز و بوم
۳۹ بگردیده و یافته او بسي تمتّع ز هر جای و از هر کسي
۴۰ بپیریست چُست و توانا چنان که شد پیریش رشک هر نوجوان
۴۱ غرور و تکبّر در او هیچ نیست چه ادنیٰ و عالیٰ بپیشش یکیست
۴۲ ازانست فخر همه موبدان که این نامور هست در صفّ شان
۴۳ دعاها بسی بهر این نامدار گذاریم ما دو برادر کنار

٤٤ که ماناد این فخر اهل زمان بسی سالیان بر سر موبدان

٤٥ ابا تندرستی و عمر دراز بماناد فرخنده آن سرفراز

٤٦ بسن یزدگردی که رایج بود هزار و دو صد سال و هفت و نود

٤٧ بمرداد ماه و بروز سروش بگفتیم ما وصف این تیز هوش

٤٨ تنا خوانده ما دو برادر کتار .فرامرز همکار با ماهیار

٤٩ بما باد نوروز بد روح شاد ز دستور پالن فریدون نژاد

٥٠ هزار آفرین و دعا و سلام ز ما باد بر جیون نیکنام

تمام شد

TRANSLATION OF THE PERSIAN VERSES IN PRAISE OF SHAMS-UL-OLAMA Dr. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, C. I. E.

By Ervad Mahiar Navroji Kutar and
Ervad Faramarz Navroji Kutar.

(1) In the name of Ahurmazd, the Creator of the Soul, and of speech, and of the tongue,

(2) Who is the Maker of the whole universe and is the Preserver of the two worlds (spiritual and temporal),

(3) The Lord who is the Bestower of wisdom to the learned, and the Extender of condonation to the contrite,

(4) We say these few words in appreciation of a much esteemed great man,

(5) The worthy, who is named Jivanji and who is held in love and respect by all people.

(6) His father was a Mobed named Jamshed whose chief joy was in his son.

(7) His surname was Mody, and he an Athornan by descent from generation to generation.

(8) In the auspicious Yazdagardi year one thousand two hundred and twenty four,

(9) On the first day, the sublime Hormuzd, in the very pleasant month Aidibehesht,

(10) Was born that boy of hopeful future. Auspicious were the day, the month, and the year.

(11) When the worthy (boy) reached the age of eleven he completed the course necessary for the Nâwar ceremony.

(12) It was in the year one thousand two hundred and thirty four that the bright youngster thus became a Herbad.

(13) Thereafter he acquired much knowledge, and accumulated the pearls of wisdom.

(14) His father was the head of a group of Mobeds attached to the fire temple,

(15) Which was established in Bombay by Jeejeebhai Dadabhai.

(16) When Jamshed Mody departed from this world, his son succeeded him as the head of the Mobeds.

(17) Ardently did he devote himself to the acquisition of knowledge, since wisdom surpasses all kinds of wealth.

(18) He learnt many languages, such as the Avesta, the Pahlavi and the Persian ;

(19) And of English and French the good man's mastery was perfect.

(20) History, and Natural Philosophy, as well as Theology from one end to the other,

(21) He was well acquainted with, and in them he became an able scholar; while of Ethics and Ritual he was a perfect master.

(22) A much respected executive body — the Trustees

of the Parsee Panchayet

(23) Appointed him Secretary of the Anjuman, and this gave great delight to all men and women.

(24) Because his actions are known to be guided by justice and good sense, while by his noble disposition he is the promoter of happiness.

(25) He still holds the post, and his popularity has increased with age.

(26) From all destitute people prayers for his welfare are constantly ascending towards God—

(27) "May this man of enlightened soul long hold this post in full enjoyment of mental and physical vigour!"

(28) This man of talents has also delivered, whenever opportunity offered, many sermons, lectures, and words of admonition.

(29) He has also written many books, the perusal of which sharpens the intellect.

(30) He is such a wonder-worker with words that abstruse subjects are illumined by his exposition.

(31) This master of talents has set people wondering how so much knowledge could be contained in the head.

(32) Honours have been conferred on this man of erudition by the University of this place and those of other nations.

(33) The Governments of India and other countries have conferred honours and titles on this illustrious man,

(34) And from the countries of France and Hungary he has received insignias of distinction,

(35) —titles like the precious C. I. E, degrees like Ph. D., and several other decorations.

(36) This worthy man has travelled much; verily he can well be called a world-traveller.

(37) In India and Europe, in Egypt and China, in Greece and Persia and Afghanistan,

(38) In America, in Syria and Rûm, in Japan and many other lands,

(39) He has sojourned, and he has gained much experience from various places and people.

(40) Even in old age he is so active and vigorous that his age is the envy of every youth.

(41) Pride and arrogance have no place in his temperament; he is equally courteous to the high and the lowly.

(42) To the whole Mobed class it is a source of gratification that this illustrious man is in their own fold.

(43) For this worthy man many blessings do we two Kutar brothers, invoke :—

(44) "May he, the pride of the people of the time, remain for many years at the head of the Mobeds!"

(45) Happily may this distinguished man live, endowed with health and long life!

(46) In the current Yezdagardi year one thousand two hundred and ninety seven.

(47) In the month of Amerdad and on the day Sarosh have we penned the eulogy of this intellectual man.

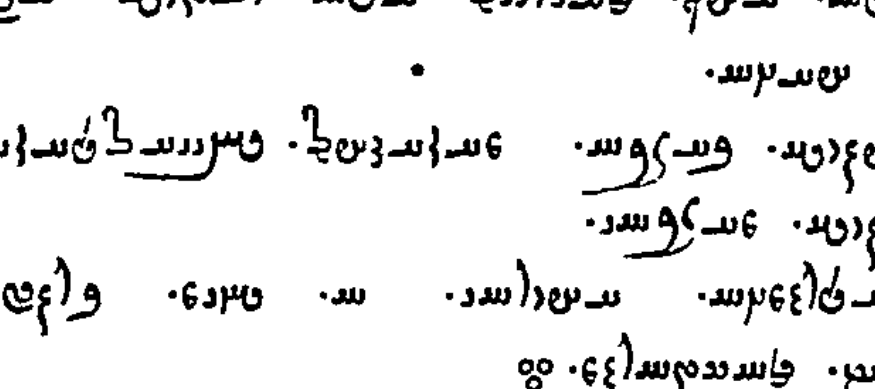
(48) The eulogists are we two Kutar brothers—Faramarz collaborating with Mahiyar.

(49) Our father was Navroz, of blessed soul, a descendant of Dastur Pahlan Faredoon.

(50) Thousands of blessings, benedictions and salutations convey we to the worthy Jivanji.

AHUNA VAIRYA.

By Khodabax Edalji Punegar, B.A.



Various attempts have been already made for translating this short but significant prayer, and this is one more attempt in that line. Our effort will be to establish a translation with the aid of the Gāthic writings, particularly of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā, which the prayer resembles in its metrical form. Like the strophes of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā, the Ahuna Vairya prayer has three lines of sixteen syllables each, with a cæsura after the seventh syllable. Moreover, this prayer gives expression to Gāthic sentiments.

The efficacy of Ahuna Vairya is valued very highly, as can be seen from Yasna Hā XIX 5: "That section of my Ahuna Vairya, O Spitama Zarathushtra! being repeated without interruption or omission is equivalent to a hundred of the other prominent Gāthās repeated without interruption or omission. The prayer, even if it is repeated *with* interruption or omission, is equivalent to ten other prominent Gāthās." The prayer is also held to be far superior to other prayers, for, says the Prophet, "This is the supreme prayer of those prayers, which

Its efficacy.

I may ever have uttered, or utter (now) or shall utter (in future)" (*Yasna Hā XIX 10*). It is also stated that "Ahuna Vairya protects the body" (*Vendidat XI 3*), and that "Ahuna Vairya is the most victorious of the prayers" (*Yasht XI 3*)

Its affinity to the Ahunavaiti Gatha

The prayer is known by the name Ahuna Vairya (Pahlavi, Ahunavar) from its initial words 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬎, like many other prayers in the Avesta Out of the five holy Gāthās, the last four derive their name from their initial words, but such is not the case with the first Gāthā, Ahunavaiti This Gāthā, as it stands at present, begins with the words "*ahya yāsa nĕmanghā*," which bear no connection with the name "Ahunavaiti" On the other hand, the name "Ahunavaiti," which literally signifies "belonging to Ahuna," has some bearing on the name of the prayer, Ahuna Vairya, the form "Ahuna" being common to both Thus, it is surmised that, in olden times, before the present first strophe, there may have stood the Ahuna Vairya prayer itself as the initial strophe, which, as seen above, exactly suits the strophes of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā in the number of lines and in syllabification. Subsequently, that strophe may have been detached from the Ahŭnavaiti Gāthā and used as a *separate prayer having the importance of the Gāthās* (*Yasna Hā XIX 5*) The separation of the Ahuna Vairya from the extant Ahunavaiti Gāthā seems to have been brought about in times prior to the division into seven chapters of what may have been originally one connected text of the Ahunavaiti Gathā Such a division led to a precise arrangement, whereby the first strophe of "*ahyā yīsa nĕmangha*" was repeated as a *burden* at the end of each of the seven Hās, and the first Hā of the Gāthā, namely Yasna Ha XXVIII, came to be known by the initial words of the first strophe, "*ahya yāsa*" The above

explanation may account for the apparent inconsistency of the Gāthā being named "Ahunavaiti" and the first Hā thereof named "*Ahyā yāsā.*" Such inconsistency does not exist in the case of the remaining four Gāthās, where both the Gāthā and the first Hā of that Gāthā are known by the same name. It may be, in passing, observed that, as the arrangement at present stands, each Gāthā begins with a preamble that refers to Ahura Mazdā, the Amesha Spentas, the five Gāthās and Fravashis, and ends with the phrase, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 "the Ahuna Vairya protects the body," with one Ahuna Vairya actually repeated at the end. Thus, it will be seen, the Gāthās proper are immediately preceded by the recital of one Ahuna Vairya, which may have been a remnant of the actual Ahuna Vairya strophe that may have stood in the beginning of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā, which, as seen above, derives its name from that initial strophe.

Its age.

A hoary antiquity is claimed for the existence of this prayer, far anterior to the Gāthās themselves. The Gāthās which, according to the preliminary strophe of "*Yānīm Manō*" reflect the thought, word and deed of Holy Zarathushtra, must have been, at the earliest, composed in or about the age of Zarathushtra. But the age of the Ahuna Vairya prayer is stated to be before all the worldly creations. According to Yasna Hā XIX 1-4, the Ahuna Vairya prayer was in existence before the creation of the sky, water, earth, animals, trees, fire, holy man, noxious creatures, the entire corporeal human existence and all good objects of Asha-origin, created by Mazdā. The same notion is conveyed in Yasna XIX 8, with an addition that Ahura Mazdā gave expression to it after the creation of the Amesha Spentas. Thus, the Ahuna Vairya prayer may be said to have preceded all worldly creations but to have come after the Amesha Spentas

who, according to the "*Yānīm Manō*" strophe, held forth the Gāthās. Moreover it will be seen that Ahura Mazda's name has been connected with the Ahuna Vairya prayer, and the name of the Amesha Spentas with the Gāthās.

Whom does the prayer apply?

Let us now see who is referred to in this short prayer? To answer this query, we have to see to whom the words used in the prayer, and the sentiments conveyed by it, are made applicable in the Avestan literature in general and in the Gāthās in particular. That the eminent personage referred to in the Ahuna Vairya prayer is Zarathushtra, the Prophet, himself, can be seen from the following among other grounds:—

(*a*) The Gāthās relate the thought, word and deed of Zarathushtra, and the Ahuna Vairya prayer being a part of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā may certainly be inferred as referring to the Prophet himself.

(*b*) The Ahuna Vairya speaks of *Ahu* and *Ratu*, both of which appellations are given to Spitama Zarathushtra in the Avesta. Visparat II 4 runs as under: "By means of the Zaothra and Baresman, in extolling, I apply thee, the *Ratu*, who (is) Spitama Zarathushtra, the material *Ahu* and *Ratu* of the material creations and the material existence." The Farvardin Yasht 91 designates Zarathushtra as "the *Ahu* and *Ratu* of the material existences," and so also section 92 speaks of the Amesha Spentas having chosen Zarathushtra as the *Ahu* and *Ratu* of the material existences.

In the Ahunavaiti Gāthā Chapter II (*Yasna Hā XXIX*) 6, Ahura Mazdā says: "not a single *Ahu* nor a *Ratu* is known even-by-Asha" and in strophe 8, it is related that the only *one*, known to Ahura Mazdā, who shall hearken unto His doctrines, is Spitama Zarathushtra. These two strophes, read together, prove that the *Ahu* and *Ratu*, who were not recognized by Asha,

were known to Ahura Mazdā to be present in the person of Zarathushtra, who was the *Ahu* and *Ratu* of the material world as Ahura Mazdā Himself was the *Ahu* and *Ratu* of the spiritual world (*Visparat II 4*).

That Zarathushtra was called a *Ratu* can be shown from several passages in the Avesta, which speak of Zarathushtra as

"A *Ratu* recognized by Ahura" (*Yasna Hā XXXI 2*).

"A *Ratu* of the corporeal material-existences" (*Farvardin Yasht 41*).

"A *Ratu* appointed by Ahura Mazdā of the corporeal material-existences" (*Aṛvā Yasht 89*).

"A *Ratu* and overseer (𐬫𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎) of mankind" (*Tir Yasht 44*).

(*c*) Gāthā Ahunavaiti Chapter VI (*Yasna Hā XXXIII*) 14 runs as follows:—"As-an-offering, Zarathushtra dedicates the vitality of-his-own body-as-well and excellence of good-mindedness unto Mazdā, and obedience and force of action and speech unto Asha." This Gāthic strophe helps to a better elucidation of the Ahuna Vairya prayer, and particularly the second line of this strophe clearly explains the second line of the Ahuna Vairya. The Gāthic line runs thus:—

𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬫𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎

and the second line of the Ahuna Vairya stands as under:—

𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬫𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎

The Gāthic word 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 helps to fix the verbal signification of 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 in the Ahuna Vairya prayer.

The subject of the verb 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 is however not given in the Ahuna Vairya, but that can be easily fixed up from the Gāthic strophe which distinctly mentions Zarathushtra as the subject of the verb 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎.

In the Gāthic line, 𐬫𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 "excellence of good-mindedness" stands as the object

of the verb 𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀, whilst in the Ahuna Vairya, an incomplete object is used in 𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀, "of good-mindedness." To complete the idea of the object in the Ahuna Vairya, the word 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀, "excellence," met with in the Gāthic line, may be taken as understood. In both these texts, the word 𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 is used as a second object of the verb. The word 𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀 is also common to the two texts.

(*d*) The Ahuna Vairya speaks of 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀, "a regulator," "a guide," and the Gāthā Ahunavaiti Chapter II (*Yasna Hā XXIX*) 1 refers to 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀 whom, it seems, the soul of the Universe aspires to possess, and such a 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀 turns out to be Zarathushtra (*Yasna XXIX 8*). The passage in the Ahuna Vairya, 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀 𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀 "whom he has appointed a regulator (guide) for the Drigus" may be compared with the Gāthic notion of Zarathushtra being appointed Prophet by Ahura Mazdā (*Yasna XXIX 8*).

Thus, it will be seen that when the different words contained in the Ahuna Vairya prayer are judged in the light of the Gāthic and other Avestan texts, the prayer can be explained as applicable to Zarathushtra himself.

Explanation of words.

The words *Ahu* and *Ratu* are generally interpreted in the sense of "lord," "master," "chief" or "leader," but they do not seem to be synonymous in as much as they are both applied to Ahura Mazdā and Zarathushtra (*Yasna XIX 12*; *XXVII 1*; *Visparat II 4*; *Farvardin Yasht 91, 92*). Vendidāt II 43 brings out the difference by naming Urvatatnar as the *Ahu* and Zarathushtra as the *Ratu* in the *Vara*, made by Yima Khshaeta (Jamshid). Some scholars try to make out the difference between the signification of these two words by interpreting *Ahu* as "a material lord" and *Ratu* as "a spiritual lord," and some others invert the interpretation

Gāthās it has a special signification of 𐬵𐬁𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 (*Yasna LI 1*), "volitional power," "free-will."

𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬎𐬀 is 4/3 of 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 or 𐬎𐬌𐬎. On the analogy of the Persian word درویش, "a poor man," the Avestan word 𐬎𐬌𐬎 is generally rendered in the same sense, but that cannot be justified by the use of the word in the Avesta. To account for ē in the word, the word has to be derived from the root 𐬎𐬌𐬎, "to strengthen," and not from 𐬎𐬌𐬎, "to tear". 𐬎𐬌𐬎, instead of being "a poor man" is thus "a strong man" spiritually. This meaning derives support from Yasna LVII 10, where Sraosha is represented as "being a strong and well-built house for the male and female *drighus*."[1] In this text, it is clear that the word *drighu* cannot mean "a poor man" in the sense of "one without money or bereft of morals," since, in religion, spiritual and moral advancement should count and not pecuniary status. The Meher Yasht 84 clearly brings out the characteristic traits of a *drighu* thus: "whom (namely Meher) a *drighu* of far-reaching Asha-principle, in accordance with his own regulations, indeed invokes for help with out-stretched hands." The Gāthā Ahunavaiti Chapter VII (*Yasna Hā XXXIV*) 5 says: "I shall be like you with-a-view-to-make your *drighu* thrive through holiness and good mind." The Vahistā Ishti Gāthā (*Yasna LIII*) 9 has: "Whereby Thou-givest superiority to the right-eously-living *drighu*." Thus, a *drighu* may be taken as "a man of far-reaching Asha-principle, thriving on account of good-mindedness and holiness and leading a righteous life;" in other words, as "a man spiritually strong."

The word 𐬵𐬁𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀, like 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 of Yasna Hā XXIX 1 means "a regulator or guide." Some take the word in the sense of "a nourisher" and that meaning is also

[1] In Sraosh Hadokht 3, Sraosha is depicted as rendering the *drighus* most thriving.

tenable.

On the strength of the above explanations, the translation of the Ahuna Vairya prayer may run as under :—

Translation

Just-as the Ahu (Zarathushtra) (is) worthy-of-being chosen (as Prophet), so (is Zarathushtra) the Ratu on-account-of (his) righteousness-as-well. He dedicates (the excellence) of-good-mindedness (and) of-the-deeds of-the-human-existence unto Mazda, (and) (volitional) power unto Ahura, (and) whom He (Ahura Mazda) has appointed a regulator (or guide) for-the-drighus.

Resumé.

In this short but highly significant prayer of Ahuna Vairya, the Gāthic truths are inculcated. It is stated therein that Zarathushtra is to be chosen by Ahura Mazdā and by us as Prophet, because he is both an *Ahu* and a *Ratu*, because he has dedicated the excellence of good-mindedness and of the deeds of this life unto Mazdā and his volitional power unto Ahura and because he has been appointed a regulator or guide for the *drighus*. These three considerations are found applicable to Zarathushtra alone and to no one else. It is indeed Zarathushtra himself who has been the recognized Prophet of God and the friend, philosopher and guide of mankind. It is also because of Zarathushtra being alluded to in this prayer, that we find an exceptionally high value attached to it in the literature, and the prayer is looked upon as greatly efficacious. Ahura Mazdā takes beyond the bridge three times to the heaven the soul of the man who merely recounts the Ahuna Vairya in his mind, or mutters it, or chants it, or extols it (*Yasna Hā XIX 6*). Moreover, the nomination of Spitama Zarathushtra as Prophet having been fixed upon at the time of the creation of the entire cosmos (*Gāthā Ahunavaiti Chapter II, Yasna Hā XXIX 1-8*), the Ahuna Vairya prayer, which refers to Spitama Zarathushtra, is said to be in existence before the creation of all material objects (*Yasna Hā XIX 1-4*).

ARYAN ORIGINS

By Prof Ernest P Horrwitz

Far back in the Age of Stone, the forefathers of Hindus and Parsis lived in Balkh and Babel In the Oxus valley they called themselves Aryans, in the Euphrates plain they were known as Kassites and Mitanni These ancient sun devotees and star gazers watched every movement of the *devas* or celestial luminaries and fixed a primitive calendar without which social order and progress are inconceivable The Kassites ruled in Mesopotamia about 1700 1100 Band after band crossed the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, the Kassite voyagers, traders as well as soldiers, sailed up the Indus and entered the Punjab The Assyrians (Asuras) who worshipped unclean gods were defeated by Dushratta, a Mitanni king He despatched an expedition to protect Aryan rights in the Punjab These early colonial ventures are reflected in the Ramayan, King Ram, son of Dasharatha, aryanized the alien Dekhan We know from Babylonian clay tablets that in B C 1367, after Dushratta's death, anarchy broke out among the Mitanni, the Assyrians who had recovered from their disaster but not from their humiliation, vanquished the Mitanni Many fugitives took to their boats, and followed the trail of the Aryan sires to Five-River Land The natives of Ind showed a Mongol type slit eyes and flat noses, but were graded and shaded in endless varieties of color and culture They were fleet horsemen and hunters, the Aryan conquerors struck with their quick movements called them "Dravids, from Sanskrit *dru* (to speed), Tamil in has the same meaning The Mitanni advanced their *purs* or strongholds, both hill stations and forts in the plains, until Aryan *purs* covered the whole Punjab Village life was communal and almost democratic

swastik or hook-cross 卐. He fixed the position of the gateways, and oriented the village boundaries by the shadow of a gnomon. Hindu geometry originated from town planning.

We are justified in distinguishing Aryan from Dravid culture, the one laid down in Sanskrit, and the other in Tamil, but it is unscientific to discriminate between an Indo-Aryan and Dravid race. Intermarriage and illicit bond between Aryans and aliens has been going on since the days when the two races were thrown in mercantile contact; it increased enormously after the Punjab conquest. Despite rigid caste rules and marriage laws, the Aryans, even in the Rig-Vedic age, could not claim blue blood; blood intermingled freely, and the admixture proved healthful.

Kassites and Mitanni were only the Aryan minority in the Punjab; the majority comprised Indo-Iranians, immigrants from Balkh *via* Kabul and Peshawar. The Aryan conquerors always respected the religious traditions, family institutions and clan customs of the vanquished Dravids. The social life of the Aryans was marked by sanitary laws; their higher moral and political standard raised the Dravid kraals to co-operative communities which were loosely knit by traditional usage.

The Aryans were patriarchs, and believed in the fatherhood of God; the Dravids were matriarchs, and worshipped the divine mother. The house-father was the lawful authority of each Aryan household, and bestowed his name to the male members. As in England and Russia, Johnson and Ivanovich signify "son of John or Ivan", so Pandava means Pandu's son, and is a patronymic. The nucleus of Dravid society was not the father, but the mother. Often she had several husbands at the same time, hunters or trappers from various tribes. Patriarchate and polygamy are Aryan institutions; matriarchate and polyandry characterize the ancient Dravids. A survival of Dravidism

holds were *durga*, *i.e.*, inaccessible. Among the highland robbers Durga became a favorite name of the Earth-Mother. Rape and murder, sex orgy and human sacrifice reflect the cult of Durga Parvati among the Dravids. Again the Shaivas ennobled the grim mother of impervious mountains, Mother Kali.

Aryan settlers dreaded and detested these ferocious forest bandits, the Dravid devotees of Durga as very *rakshasas* or devils. In the Ramayan which contains much Vedic folklore Ravan leads the *rakshasa* or demon host. Yet among the roving bands of outlaws many a Robin Hood was found, and the loftier ideals of kingship and wedlock arose. A looting band would look up to a comrade, full of resource and dare-devilry, as a perfect raid-director (*raj*). A woman, taken by a robber-chief, might remain the captor's sole property and only wife. In Hindu law, the *rakshasa* form of marriage, appropriate to the warrior-caste, rests on the right of capture.

I have endeavoured to outline, in a very imperfect and desultory manner, some basic features of Aryan origins. The first Aryans who entered and captured the Punjab were a fair-skinned race of sturdy adventurers. They ate meat, drank mead, loved life and liberty, were fond of mirth and melody. They did not adore dread Durga, but mild Mitra whose name has been found in a world-old Mitanni inscription. They paid homage to genial sprites, patrons of the farm and homestead, guardians of grazing herds and growing grain. Cattle-raising and agriculture were their chief means of livelihood; predatory excursions added excitement to the monotonous life of a gentleman-farmer. Spiritual directors abhorred and abominated human sacrifices; altar offerings came to be restricted to the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The *pur* of the chief was the centre of public sacrifices, and also the municipal meeting-place for Aryan house-holders. Cattle-drovers and graziers had a common right to the pasture land, but neither farmland nor live-stock was held

in common. The social and economic life of Aryans and Dravids blended more and more. From the beginning, Aryan imports from Mesopotamia such as oil-seeds, wheat and barley, or dates and figs from Iran, augmented the Indian rice crops of the Dravids. Bloody Durga, the goddess of brigands and bandits, was wedded, first to Father Skylight, the destroyer of darkness, and next to Shiva, the destroyer of error, and imparter of wisdom. Everywhere the Aryan husbandman educated and elevated the untrained Dravid huntsman. Arjun, one of the Pandava brothers, was tutored and directed by an Aryan plowman, by Krishna, from *krish* (to plow). Agriculture gave culture to the Pandyas or Dravids of the Dekhan. Their folk-songs and village dances intermingled with Krishnaism which spiritualized Dravid music and melodies. Shepherds danced with village lasses, the *gopa* with the *gopis* in the bonnie glades of Vrindavan Forest.

SANSKRIT SHLOKAS IN THE CHÂNDÂ PRAKÂSHA ON ZOROASTRIAN CALENDAR.

By Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, B.A.

In the year 1566 A.D. one Mobed Chândâ wrote a small book containing 18 so-called Shlokas or Sanskrit verses regarding the ancient Zoroastrian Calendar in Iran. This book is not yet printed, but it forms a part of the yet unprinted 7th volume of the "Collected Sanskrit Writings" of the Parsis edited by the late Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha. Since the days of Nerioshang Dhaval (about 1200 A.D.) the study of Sanskrit among the Parsis had been on the decline. Naturally therefore the verses of Mobed Chândâ are very corrupt. It appears that some one after him translated the Shlokas into Gujarati, giving explanations. I need hardly point out, that most of the verses are mere prosaic writings in corrupt Sanskrit, which I have tried to correct as far as possible, disregarding metre.[1]

દીબાચો.

આ કેતાબ હીંદુસ્તાનના પાદશાહ, મુઝફ્ફરની પાદશાહીમાં સંસ્કૃત વાણીમાં અવસ્તાની ઇજ્શને નામની કેતાબની ગવાહી સુધાં શંવત ૧૬૨૩ શાકે ૧૪૮૮ નાં માગસર શુદ ૧૦ વાર શુક્રરે શને ૯૩૫ યજ્દજ્રદી માહા ૧૨ સપનદારમદ રોજ ગેહે ગાથા ૩ સપંતોમદ એ દીને શ્રી નામદાર અંધ્યારૂએ પોતાનાં જનમનો દહાડો પકડીને એ કેતાબ બનાવેલી છે.

Translation:—Introduction. The famous Mobed has prepared this book in Sanskrit, with proofs from the Avesta book named Ijashni, under the rule of Muzafar, King of Hindustan on Friday, Mâgsar sud 10th, Samvat 1623, Shake 1488, Roz Geh-gâthâ 3rd Spentomad, Mâha 12th Spendârmad, Yazdajardi year 935, this (Roz Mâha) being his birth-day.

1. This difficult subject was brought by me for discussion before the "*Zarathoshti Dinni Khola Karnâri Mandali*" in some of its meetings a few years ago.

I

॥१॥ श्री दादार अहुर्मिज्दाय नमः। नामेन महाज्ञानी करोमि। विधि कविशा सक्यते पाकदिन्या। प्रोक्ता जरथुस्त्र एवं प्रगहीत महीमा पंच गाहेषु गाथा। मुक्तात्मनं पवित्रं दशदिनं सहितं गहंवारं पु उत्तमं तस्मात् कार्यं कबिसायां सुवचनं शोधनं रोजमाहे ॥१॥ नामेन महागनानी करोमी॥

Old Gujarati translation.

હું કબીસાની વીગત પાક દીનને જાણીને કહું છું. જરથોસ્તે પ્રગટ જાહેર મહિમા...હરશેજ પાંચે ગેહને વીશે તથા ગાથાને વીશે તા૦ પાક મુકતાતમામાના દસ દહાડાને વીશે તથા ઉ-તમ ગાહમબારેાને વીશે હેવા જે મેાટા દીનનાં કામેાને વાસ્તે કબીસા કરવા રૂડા વચને કરીને યાને અવસ્તાના હેાકમે કરીને રેાજમહાનું શેાધવું કીધું છે.

Corrected.—श्री दादारअहुर्मिज्दाय नमः। नाम्ना महाज्ञानिनः करोमि (लेखनं)। विधिकविसा (=कविसाविधिः) शक्यते पाकदिन्याम् (=पवित्रयमें)। प्रोक्तां जरथुस्त्रेण प्रगदितमहिमाः पंचगाहेषु गाथाः (or पंचगाहसुगाथाः)। मुक्तात्मपवित्रदशदिनसहितगाहांवारं सुत्तमम्। तस्मात् कार्यम् कबिसायां सुवचनशोधनं रोजमाहे।

Translation.—Salutation to Ahuramazda the Creator. I do (this) writing in the name of the great omniscient God. The religious performance of intercalation is allowable in the good religion. Zarathushtra has spoken about the good Gâthâs of renowned glory in the five gâhs. The Gâhâmbar, which is accompanied by the ten holy days of Muktâtma is excellent. Therefore the work of intercalation is the finding out (of the mistake) in Roj Mâha by the good commandment (of religion).

II

॥२॥ शाक्षि आभ्यां ईजसनौ पूस्तकं जंदमध्ये। यत् नाम्ना अनया दिन्या उत्तमास्ते। यदहं ध्रुवं विविदे करोमि वचकं। सुक्षमं प्रकारगणितं स्मृतं च चांदा॥

શાહેદી આપું છું જંદ જીજસ્નીનાં પૂસ્તક મધે કે જેનું નામ દીનમાં મશહુર છે. તે કેાણ હેવા જરથુસ્તને નીશચે યાને મુકરર જાણીને કરૂં છું. રૂડે પ્રકારનું જે ગણીત યાને જે દાહાડેવાર કાઢવાનેા વરતારેા કરતેા તે કહીડે ચાંદામ્યે.

Corrected.—साक्ष्याभ्यां इजस्निपुस्तकं जंदमध्ये। यत् (=पुस्तकं) अनया दिन्या उत्तममास्ते। यदहं ध्रुवं विविदे, करोमी वाचकं सूक्ष्मप्रकारगणितस्मृतं च चांदा॥

Translation.—The proof of these (two) kinds of intercalation, (namely of a quarter day in the year and one month in 120 years) is the book of Izashni in Zend (Avesta), which (book) is the best according to this (our) religion. What I Chânda know, I declare and also what is known as the reckoning of the minutest kind.

III

॥३॥ मेषेकें सायने सूर्ये ता दिने बिजनिरोपणं। फ्रवरद्यादि नुतनमासा सुंदरतरं च शोभिता। ष्यदलाही अहुर्मिज्द रोज स्यात् सर्व कार्येषु सिद्धिदा। त्रिंसत दिनानि माशानि द्वादश मासमाप्यते।

હર વરશમા જે દહાડે મેખનો સાએન સૂરજ થાય યાને મેખનો આફતાબ ફરવરદીન નામના બરજમાં આવે તે દહાડે નવા રોજ માહનું બીજ રોપાય છે તે દીને નવા ફરવરદીન મહીનાંથી માશ ગણાએ છે તે નવો માશ સુંદર થકી શોભતો છે...ને વરી તે મેખનાં આફતાબને દીને ઇલાહી યાને મોટા ખુદાને નામે હોરમજદ રોજ નવો શરૂ થાએ તે શરવે કામમાં ફત્તેહ આપે તેવા નવા હોરમજદ રોજથી ૩૦ દહાડાનો માશ ગણીએ તેહેવા ૧૨ માશ જે વારે પુરા થાય.

Corrected—मेषेकें सायने सूर्ये तद्दिने बीजनिरोपणं। फ्रवर्यादिनुतनमासं सुंदरतरं च। शोभितः इलाही-अहुर्मिज्दरोजः स्यात् सर्वकार्येषु सिद्धिदः। त्रिंशद्दिनानि। मासानि द्वादश। (एवं) (स) मा समाप्यते॥

Translation.—When the sun is in the Aries on the day of the vernal equinox, on that day there is the sowing of the seed (of mistake in the calendar). Fravardin is the first, new and very lovely month; and (that day) is the good Ahuramazda Roj of (named after) God, which is the giver of success in all actions. The days are thirty, (and) the months are twelve. (Thus) the year is complete.

IV

॥४॥ यदानिं माश समाप्यंते तदा बिजं च परिश्पुटं। पंचदशनाडीका हृत्वा पंच गाथा च उतमा। संस्कार प्रथमे वर्षे प्रतिवर्षेषु संवत्सरे। खाखिदु जायेते वर्षे सर्वं हृत्वा अवधिते।

જે વારે ૧૨ માશ પુરા થાય તે વારે તે વરશની કસરના બીજ જે છે તે જાહેર આપીએ જે બીજ કીહાં જે પાંચ દીન ગાથાના તથા રએતી શંસ્કાર યાને

ઘડી ૧૫ જે ઉત્તમ આફતાબી છે તે વરશના ૩૬૦ દીનમાં જોડીએ એવો સંસ્કાર પહેલા વરશમાં આપીએ. પછે પરતી વરશે યાને હર વરશે એ પ્રમાણે દીન ૩૬૫ નું વરશ કરીએ. અને તેની જે રહેતી સંશકાર યાને હર વરશની ઘડી ૧૫ છે તે સરવે વરશો સાથે વપરાયલી રહે છે...ત્યાં લગી કે નવો ફરવરદીન માસ ને હોરમજદ રોજ બેશે ત્યાંથી તે વરશ ૧૧૯ પુરાં થાય તે પછે વરશ ૧૨૦ મું બેશે તે વરસ સુધાંની કસરની લપેટેલી રાખે...કાએ જે દીનનાં હોકમ મુજબ વરશ ૪ થામાથી એક દીન છુઆટે કરવાનો હોકમ નથી...

Corrected.—यदा मासाः समाप्यन्ते तदा बीजं (च) परिस्फुटम्। पंचदशनाडिकाः हत्वा पंचगाथाः (च) उत्तमाः। संस्कारः प्रथमे वर्षे। प्रतिवर्षे सुसंवत्सरे। खाक्षींदुर्जायते वर्षाणि सर्वाणि हत्वा अवशिष्टानि।

Translation.—When the months are completed, then the seed (of intercalation) becomes manifest. Giving up the 15 Nâdikâs (=periods of 24 minutes), the five best Gâthâ days are the *Sanskâra* (=are to be consecrated) in the first year; (and so on) annually in every good year, until 120 years pass away. (Then) leaving all the past years....

Note.—The last sentence is to be connected with the verse No. 5. The compound word खाक्षींदु deserves special notice. ख = sky, hence naught. अक्षि = eye, hence two. इंदु = moon, hence one. The numerals one, two, naught (=120) are to be read from the right side to the left in Sanskrit here.

V

ततस्ते हत्व संस्कारौ तस्यैं वयं कुरते सदा। खरवाक्षींदुकला अश्लेष्टा यष्टि हत दिन प्रिंशका। चाधिमासं समागं च चांदा चिह्नेन स्मृता। पूर्वाचार्यै रचिता भेदा या कविसापुसिधमा।

હવે તે જે રહેતી શંશકારની ઘડીઓ છે તેને એકઠી કરીએ તે વરસ ૧૨૦ કુલ ઘડી ૧૮૦૦ એકઠી છે. તેને સાથે કરીને ભાગ લીજીએ તે દીન ૩૦ થાએ તે વારે તે છેલા વરશમાં અધીક માશ આવે તેની ગીનત એ જે જે વારે વરશ ૧૧૯ પુરાં થઇને ૧૨૦ મું બેશે તે વાર ફરવરદીન માશ ૨) કરવા ને તે વરશ માશ ૧૩ નું પુરૂં કરવું. તે વારે કબીશો ૧ પેટેલાની કશર પુરી થાય. પછે વરશ ૧૨૧ મું બેશે તાહાંથી ફરીને કશર ઉપર લખી છે તે પરમાને લેના જવું ને જે વારે વરશ ૨૩૯ પુરાં થાય ને ૨૪૦ મું બેશે તે વરસમાં અરદીબેસ્ત માશ ૨)

કરવા...એવું ચાંદાએ જાણીને આગલા દસ્તુરોએ કબીશા કરવાની ભેદની રચના શીખ કીધી છે...

Corrected.—ततस्तानि ,हत्वा संस्कारे तस्यैक्यं कुरुते सदा। खखार्टेंदुकलाः आश्लिष्टाः षष्टिहृद्–दिनत्रिंशत्काः च। अधिमासं सुभागं च। चादाचिह्नेन स्मृतः पूर्वाचार्यैः रचितभेदः यः कविसासुसिद्धिदः।

Translation.—Then leaving those past years, one intercalary (additional) month is made (added) in religious ceremony, which additional month is the good quotient (made up thus), 1800 *Kalâs* (or *Ghadis*) taken together and divided by 60, (yield) 30 days (*i.e.* one month). This distinction, which was made by the old preceptors, is remembered by him, whose surname is Chândâ, and it is the giver of great perfection in intercalation.

Note.—I think क्यं is wrongly written for क्यं / Also खखाष्टेंदु is a newly coined compound word, in which ख = sky, hence naught, अष्ट = eight, and इंदु = moon, hence one. The numerals one, eight, naught, naught, are to be read from right to left in Sanskrit here.

VI

॥६॥ तदंते वर्षमध्येषु योऽधिमाशं संभवो भवेत्। ज्ञायते माशनामानि द्वौपि माशौ कुरुते तदा। पुर्वाचार्यैं कथितै एवै पेहेलवीजंदेषु पुस्तकं इजस्नौषु तथान्येषु जानाति माश्रवांणिषु ॥

એ વીશમાં (વિષયમાં ?) છેલા વરશની કીરીઆ એમ કીધી છે કે જે તે જે છેલા વરશમાં જે હદીક માશ ઉદે પામેલું હોય યાને જાહેર પેદા થયું હોય તે માશનું નામ જાણીને યાને અરદીબેશ્ત...નામે જાણીને તે વરશમાં તેજ નામના બે માશ કરવા ને પહડવા એવું આગલા દસ્તુરોએ કહ્યું છે. ને એ પ્રકારે પેહેલવી જંદનાં પુસ્તકમાં તા० ઇજસ્નેના પુસ્તકમાં તા० બીજાં પુસ્તકોમાં... કબીશા કરવાનો હોકમ લખ્યો છે અને વલી માંશ્રવાણીમાં આરાધના કીધી છે. યાને જંદ અવસ્તાના કલામમાં પહડીએ છીએ. તેમાં વરશને તા० મહીનાને તા० ગહંબારને તા० દાહાડાને તા० કસરની ઘડીને આરાધન કીધી છે.

Corrected—तदन्ते वर्षमध्येषु योऽधिमाससंभवोऽभवेत्। ज्ञायेते मासनामनि द्वौ अपि। मासौ कुरुते तदा। पूर्वाचार्यकथितैः। एवं पेहेलवीजंदे सुपुस्तकइजस्नौ तथा अन्यासु जानाति मांश्रवाणीषु ॥

Translation.—In the end when the additional month comes into existence in the midst of years, then two

months of the (same) name are known, and they are made (=observed) in accordance with the statements of the preceptors of olden times. This is known in the Pahlavi—Zend, and in the good book of Izashni and in other Avesta writings.

VII

॥७॥ केचित् गाहे हाउअनेपु केचित् समये रपीथ्वने मार्गेपु। शरफास्तावे यत्,मासी बेहेतरक भवेत्। तदनुत्तरेन कुरुते कार्यं षट गहवारं च दिक्दिनं वृधाचार्या कथितै एवं अहं श्रोणोमि गूरुं पुस्तकं।

કોઇ વખતે કખીશાનો માશ હાવન ગેહમાં આવે છે તથા કોઇ વખત ઉપર રપીથ્વનમાં આવે છે તે શરફ આફ્તાબની રાહે યાને સરદાર મેખના શાસ્ત્રેન સુરજની રાહે જે મહીનો બેહેતરક હોય યાને બેહેતરક તે કખીશાના અધીક મહીનાને કહે છે તે બેહેતરક માસમાં ગંબાર દહા મધે અગર કખીશો આવ્યો હોય તે વારે પેહેલા માશમાં ધંબાર નહી કરવા. તેજ નામે બીજો માસ કરીને તેમાં ધંબાર કરવા. તથા સપંદાર માહામાં મુકતાતમાના ૧૦ દહાડા ગાથા સુધાં નહી કરવા. બીજો સપંદાર માહા કરવો તેહેમાં મુકતતમાના દીન ૧૦ કરવા એ પ્રકારે બુદ્ધા દસ્તુરે કહ્યું છે તે અમે સાંભલ્યું છે મોટાં પુસ્તોકોથી.

Corrected.—क्वचित् गाहे हाउअने क्वचित् समये रपिथ्वनमार्गे। शरफास्तावे यद्मासः बेहेतरको भवेत्। तदनुत्तरे न कुरूते कार्यं षड्गाहंवारं च दिग्दिनं। वृद्धाचार्यकथितै एवं अहं श्रुणोमि गुरुपुस्तके॥

Translation.—When on the day of the sun entering its altitude (*i.e.* on the day of the vernal equinox) the month becomes intercalary (or additional), sometimes in the Hâvan Gâh and sometimes in the Rapithwan Gâh, then the (religious) act (such as the ceremony of) the six Gâhâmbars, and (that of) the ten days (of Muktâd) shall not be done in the first (अनुत्तर) month. I have heard this from what is said by the old preceptors, (and what I have read) in the book of my teacher.

Note.—The Persian expression शर्फ-आफ्ताव has been given a Sanskrit form. شرف means "being high," "noble," "excellent in glory."

VIII

॥८॥ माशे सप्तेपु संध्या रपिथ्वनसमये मेषगे सायने च। माशे पंचेपु पंच बिज

शहीते वृश्चिके हाउनाख्ये। तौ द्वौ शंध्यांतरे। यदि हायेनेषु आयाति माश फरुअरदीने। जानाति प्रथमेषु हाउअने मासे द्वितिये च रपीथ्वने॥

મેખ રાશીના સાએન આફતાબને દીનેથી યાને ફરવરદીન મહીનો ને હોરમજદ રોજથી તે મેહેર મહીનો ને હોરમજ રોજ લગી માસ ૭ રપીથવન જેહે જાણવી. તથા વરશ્ચકનાં શાયન આફતાબને દીનેથી યાને આબાં માહ ને રોજ હોરમજદથી તે સપનદાર માહા આખો ગાથાના દીન ૫) સાથે માસ ૫) ને દીન ૫) લગી બીજી હાઉન ગેહે જાણવી. એ બંધે ગેહોમધે જે કબીશાનો માશ આવી પોહોચે તે વારે તે ગેહમાં માશ ૧ જીઆદે કરવો, યાને રપીથવન માશ ૭ ની છે તે માશ ૮ ની ગનાએ એ રીતે ભણવું. તથા બીજું એ જે જે વરસમાં ફરવરદીન ૨) આવે તે વારે પેહેલો ફરવરદીન જે છે તે ગીઆ કબીશાની કશરનો છે તે માશમાં હાવન ગેહે પડીએ તે માશ પુરો થયા પછી કબીશાની કશર પુરી થાય. ને બીજો નવો ફરવરદીન માહ ને હોરમજદ રોજથી પતેતી કરીએ ને તે દીનથી રપીથવન પહડીએ. ને તે માશમાં ખુરદાદ શાલનું જશન કરીએ. પછે એજ રીતે ૧૨૦ વરસ લગી ચાલીએ. એ હકીકત કશર લેવાની. તથા માશ ૧૩ નું વરશ કરવું.

Corrected.—मासेषु सप्तेषु संध्या रपिथ्वनसमये मेषगे सायने च। मासेषु पंचेषु पंचबीजसहितेषु, वृश्चिके हाउअनाख्ये ते द्वे संध्यान्तरे। यदि हायनं आयाति, मासफ्रवर्दिने जानाति। प्रथमे (फ्रवर्दिने) हाउअन:। मासे द्वितीये रपिथ्वन:॥

Translation.—In the seven months, when there is the time of Rapithwan, after the sun has entered the Aries at the vernal equinox, there is one Sandhyâ (*i.e.* Gâh). (Thereafter) in the five months and the intercalary five (Gâthâ) days, when the sun is in the Scorpion, there are two Sandhyâs (*i.e.* Gâhs), (both) named Hâvan. When the (intercalary) year comes, (the priest) knows two Fravardins. In the first Fravardin there is the Hâvan Gâh, and in the second (Fravardin) month, there is Rapithwan Gâh.

Note.—It is clear that after 120 years one Fravardin month is added as the 13th month. The next year begins with the usual Fravardin month. Thus we see that the intercalary Fravardin month, and the usual Fravardin month come together. Our author says that in the intercalary Fravardin the Gâh is Hâvan, and in the usual Fravardin, which comes after the intercalary Fravardin, it is Rapithwan. It appears that Hâvan is of six months in the intercalary year. The Gujarati commentator, who

supposes that Rapithwan is of eight months, is not correct.

IX

॥९॥ यदानिं द्विमास निकटा प्राप्ता। तद प्रथम मासेपु निश्चिता। किलायंपु शिक्षापयतोस्म। चांदा उक्तं सुसंबोधने॥

જે વારે જે વરશમાં કખીશો આવે ને માશ ૨) એકઠા પાસે પાસે એકજ નામના આવે ઇચ્યાને ફરવરદીન ૨)...તે વારે તે પેહેલા કશરનાં માશમાં અવલ શાચી રૂડી સીખામણ દેઉં છું તે મુજબ કખીશાનાં માસની ક્રીયા કરવી એવું ચાંદાએ રૂડે ગનીઆને કરી નેક અકલે કહ્યું છે.

Corrected.—यदा द्विमासौ निकटौ प्राप्तौ। तदा प्रथमे मासे सुनिश्चितं कियायम्। सुशिक्षापायतोऽस्मि चांदा उक्तसुसंबोधनेन॥

Translation.—When two months (of the same name) come near (each other), then the ceremony and (Muktâd) Shrâddha (आयम्) are enjoined to be performed in the first month. Thus I Chândâ have been taught by speeches and good addresses.

Note.—The ceremonies and Muktâd are to be performed in the intercalary or first Fravardin month. Instead of कियायम् the reading might be किलायं /.

X—XI

॥१०॥ ॥११॥ नगरे देशे भुवने भुवनेपु। ग्रामे गेहे संनिहिते च युक्ते। अक्षयता च धर्मरक्षाय कस्तै। गहे स्वाभिमधिष्ठातारं च सर्वे।

सपुत्रादौस्य वर्गास्य। गुर्वनुज्ञाय प्राप्यते। अग्रतो गौमुत्रेण। पुजलम्नानं कार्येत्।

હર નગરે નગર તથા દેશ દેશ...તથા ઘેહેરે ઘેર કખીશાના વરશની તથા માશની ખબર કરે. તથા જે કોઇ એકેક સાથે બેશનારા તથા સાથે રેહેનારા પાડોશી વગેરે સરવે પોતાની ઇચ્છાએ કરીને યાને હરખ હોશે બોરાદ પકડીને કોણ લેવા જે ધરમના રાખનારા જે એકદેલ થાઇને કખીશો પડે તેની રીત એ જે હર ધરનો ખાવંદ ધનીઆણી બેશકખીલો એ શરવે હરરોજ દસ્તુરનો હોકમ લીએ યાને દસ્તુરને ઘેર બ્નજ શવાશનાં કામ કરવાનાં પુછે...પછે નીરંગ દીને કરીને પોતાનું તન પાક કરે અંદરથી તથા બહારથી પછી પાણીથી ..નાહીને તન પાક કરે...એ મીશાલે શરવે કોઇ ને બેહેનરક માશમાં હરરોજ તન પાક કરી મનસ્તી નેક રખે.

Corrected.—नगरे देशे भुवने भुवने ग्रामे गेहेऽसंनिहिते च युक्तेऽक्षयतां च धर्म-

रक्षाय कुरुते। गेहस्वाम्यधिष्ठाताराश्च सर्वाः सपुत्रदौहित्रवर्गाः गुर्वनुज्ञां प्राप्यन्ते। अग्रतः गोमूत्रेण सुजलस्नानं कारयेत ॥

Translation.—In every town, country, land, village and house whether afar or near, intercalation should be done for the protection of religion. All the masters of houses and guardians with sons and grand-sons should get the order of the preceptor (Dastur). First, an ablution with cow's urine and water shall be made.

XII.

॥१२॥ अस्तिकता च राज्ञां समोह विश्वता च समोवेद वेहेदीनयुता पंक्ता च। श्रीकां नामता शुधता सत्यता च। कुरुते सुभक्ति जरथुस्त्रोतिमाम् च ॥

દીનદારીના પાદશાહ લોકોનો ટોલો તથા સરવે ખલકના ભોમેદ બેહેદીન એકઠા થઇને...બંદગી કરે તે કેહવા લોક કે પોતાનાં દીલથી નીરમલ યાને ગાલેલાં સુના જેવાં તથા ઘણા નામદાર તથા ઘણા ખાલેશ શાફ તથા ઘણા સાચા હેવા હોય. તથા એ મીશાલે દેલ સાફ રાખીને જરથુસ્તની દીનનાં બંદાઓ મરદ તથા ઓરત સરવે ઇડી ભકતી કરે.

Corrected.—आस्तिकानां च राज्ञां समूहः विश्वतः च समोवेदवेहेदिनयुतः पंक्तितः च। श्रीकां नामतः शुद्धितः सत्यतः च कुरुते सुभक्तिं जरथुस्त्रोक्तिं इमां च ॥

Translation.—An assemblage of devotees and kings accompanied by Mobeds and Behedins, standing together in a row, shall make this good and meritorious prayer enjoined by Zarathushtra with uprightness, purity and mention of names (of divinities).

XIII.

॥१३॥ कुरुते पुकुस्ति नुतन मुहुमुहु कुरुते सुन्या ये शतरणौ समेहेरौ। कुरुते च पापपरीवर्तेयं च। कुरुते पुसंध्या सकलसाधनं च ॥

ઇડી કુરતી ફરી ફરી કરીએ...પછે હર વખત ગેહ ગેહેની વાર ૩ ખુરશેદ મેહેરની ન્યાસ કરીએ. પછે પોતાના ગેનાહ કીધેલાથી પાછાં ફરીએ યાને હર વખત ધણી પતેત કરીએ. એ મીશાલે પાંચે ગેહે વખતની બંદગી દીનને હકે કરજ ગુજરી કરીએ.

Corrected.—कुरुते सुकुस्तिम् नूतनां मुहुर्मुहुः कुरुते सुन्यायेशं तरणौ समिहिरे। कुरुते च पापपरिवर्तनं च कुरुते सुसंध्यासकलसाधनं च ॥

Translation.—The good Kushti (prayer) shall be made afresh, and again and again; the good Nyâish (prayer) shall be offered to the Sun with Meher; and the prayer of repentance from sin (namely Patet) shall be made, and the good prayer of Sandhyâ (watches of the day or *Gâhs*) which accomplishes everything shall be made.

XIV.

॥१४॥ प्रथम अध्ययन महाज्ञानिनां। द्वितिये वर्षे असिम स्वामिनां। प्रथुलं पवित्र-मुक्तत्मानां चंद्रे श्रीकां अर्दीसुराणाम् ॥

પેહેલું અવલ પડવું બંદગી કરવી તે દાદર હોરમજદની નઇઅતે અને બીજી બંદગી કરવી તે હર તરેહનું પહડવું અરદીબેસ્ત અમશાસ્પંદની નઇઅતે તથા મોટાં પવિત્ર મુકતાત્મા અશો ફરોહરની નઇઅતે...તથા ચંદર માહની...બંદગી ધણી કરવી તથા નીરમલ સાફ અરદુઇ સુરની બંદગી કરવી.

Corrected.—प्रथमं अध्ययनं महाज्ञानिनां। द्वितीयं वर्षे अपेमस्वामिनां। पृथुल-पवित्रमुक्तात्मनां चंद्रश्रीकार्द्रीसुराणांम् ॥

Translation.—The first prayer shall be offered to (*lit.* is of) Ahuramazda, the Omniscient One, the second (prayer) (shall be offered) to the Lord of Ashem (*i.e.* Asha Vahishta), (and then) to the very holy Muktâtmâs (Farohars), and the Moon and the glorious Ardvisura.

Note.—The words for the—"Omniscient God" and "Asha Vahishta" are used in the plural number for honour.

XV.

॥१५॥ पारीदं भक्ति श्रोशं। प्रथुत्वेन पारीदं सुइजस्नौ रुचिरेण। पारीदं मारण दैत्या अध्ययनेन। पारीदं होम सुगंधि सन्मानेन ॥

પારવનાની ભક્તી જે બંદગી શરોશની ઘણી વધારો તથા પારવનાં રૂડી ઈજ્જતે હરખે કરીને કરાવો. પારવનાંની દેવોને મારવાનું પડવું કરાવો યાને હર તરેહનાં બંદોબસ્ત ઘણાં કરાવો. તથા પારવનાનું સુગંધી હોમ ઘણો કરો યાને આતશ બેરામને તથા બીજા હર આતશને ઈજ્જત આબરૂએ યાને ન્યાસના પડવાએ કરી રૂડી ખુશબો બંદલ લોબાણ અગર સાથે ઘણી ચહડાવો.

Corrected.—परिदा भक्तिः श्रोशम्। प्रथुत्वेन परिदा सुइजस्नौ। रुचिरेण परिदा मारणं दैत्यानां अध्ययनेन। परिदा होमं सुगंधसन्मानेन ॥

Translation.—(There should be) devotion and prayer of Sraosh, prayer to a great extent (or chiefly) in Ijashni, prayer (which is) the destruction of the demons by good recital (*i.e.* the prayer of Vendidâd), prayer (of) the fuel-offering (to Fire) with fragrant substances and proper reverence.

Note.—पारीदं might be meant for अपारीत् Aorist of पॄ. However परिदा (devotion or prayer) fits in better everywhere.

XVI.

॥१६॥ आराधये सर्व अमराणा उत्तमया च भक्त्या त्वयि । पश्चात दानं कुतं कार्य गोरूपा कयराज्ञवत् ॥

૧૬વે ફરેસ્તાઓની આરાધના કરવી...ઉત્તમ ભક્તિ કરીને...તે વાર પછે તે માશનાં દાન શખાવતનાં કામ કરીને જે મીસાલે ઉત્તમ પુરૂશ જે કએઆંની રાજાઓએ એ માશમાં શખાવત કરેલી છે તે મુજબ કરીએ.

Corrected.—आराधयेत सर्वामराणा उत्तमया च भक्त्या त्वयि । पश्चात् दानं कृतकार्यं गोरूप कयराजवत् ॥

Translation.—(O Ahuramazda), one should worship Thee with the best prayer (offered) to all the Immortal Ones; then the all-accomplishing donation and gift of cows (shall be given), as the Kyâni kings did.

XVII.

॥१७॥ खाद्यं मिष्टान्नदानं ददतु गुणवता सर्वदा पडिताना ।
प्रथ्वी वस्त्र च काचन गोहययुतं मेष वर्षे पुदान ।
ऊणा कुस्तिपुकचुकं वरफलबहुलं मद्यदुध च पूष्प ।
रौप्यय घटापुपात्र मुक्तावलिसहीतं द्रव्यदानं च नित्य ॥

ચેહેવું દાન એ જે મોટા દસ્તુર મોબેદોને તથા બીજા અશો મરદોને મીહું ખાણું ભાતભાતનું જમાડે. તથા દીનના જાણનારા એલમના પહડેલા લોકોને અશોદાદ હર તરેહની શખાવત કરે તેની વીગત એ જે પરથી તથા વસ્ત્ર તથા સુનું તથા ગાએ દુધ ભરેલી બચાં સાથે તા. સાજદાર ઘોડો તથા બકરાં...તથા ઉનની કુશતી રૂડા રંગ સાથે તથા મોટાં ફુલ...ભાત ભાતનો શરાબ તથા રૂપાનાં ઘાટનાં વાસણ યાને અશતામાં વંદીદાદ પઢવને વગેરે કામમાં આવે છે તેહેવાં વાસણ તથા યથા અશેમ પહડવાને કાજે મોતીની માલા તથા રૂપીઆ રોકડા પૈસાનું દાન હર રોજ આપે.

Corrected—सायं मिष्टान्नदानं ददतु गुणज्ञा सर्वदा पंडितानां।
पृथ्वीवस्त्रं च कांचनगोहयवृतं मेष वर्षं सुदानं।
ऊर्णा कुस्ति सुकंचुकं वरफल्यबहुलं मद्यदुग्धं च रौप्य।
घटासुपात्रमुक्तावलिसहितं द्रव्यदानं च नित्य॥

Translation.—Sweetmeats and eatables should always be given to meritorious learned men, also land, cloth, gold, cow, horse, and goat and (other) good gifts in the (intercalary) year, also woolen Kushti and good Sudreh, which has a great merit, also wine, milk and rupees. Money should always be given with rosaries of pearls given in good pots and jars.

XVIII.

॥१८॥ एवं दर्शयतो प्रकाशप्रगट पूज्य गुरुणा दिना। यो य पुण्यकार्यं करोती सदैव लभते च स्वर्गगत। मुस्ता चांदा प्रब्रुविमि निवासि नवसारी नागमंडले आचार्य नरीउसंगे वंसेतु स्वे कथिता श्रमातिश्रम॥

એ દેખાડું છું પ્રગટ પ્રકાર થાને જાહેર કરીઆ। દેવી જે મોટા પુનવન કમીશાના ઘરબારની વાસ્તે તમો જે જરથોસ્તીનો ટોલો તેહેવાં પૂજનનાં કામ કરો કરેંગે તે કાંમ કીરાથી મોટાં બેહસ્તને પામો રહું કહું ચાંદાએ જારી કરીને હું નોસારી નાગમંડલનો રેહનાર છેઉ અને મારી ખુન્યાદ દસ્તુર નેરીએોસંગની એોલાદથી રાખું છું.

Corrected—एवं दर्शयतः प्रकाशप्रकटा पूज्यां गुरुणा दिनिम्।
योऽयं पुण्यकार्यं करोति सदैव लभते च स्वर्गं सां [सौं]।
मुस्तं चांदा प्रब्रवीमि निवासी नवसारीनागमंडले।
आचार्यनेरीउसंगवंशाच्यः कथिताश्रमातिश्रम :॥

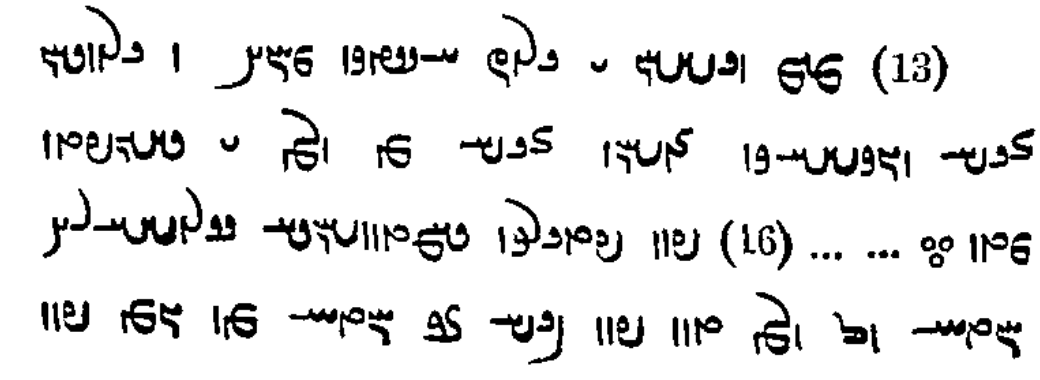
Translation.—He, who thus seeing the holy religion of the preceptors made manifest by (several) modes, does this meritorious act, always gets entrance into heaven. I Chándá, an inhabitant of Nowsari (or) Nágamandala, belonging to the family of the Priest Nerioshang, (I) who have laboured much for intercalation, speak (thus)

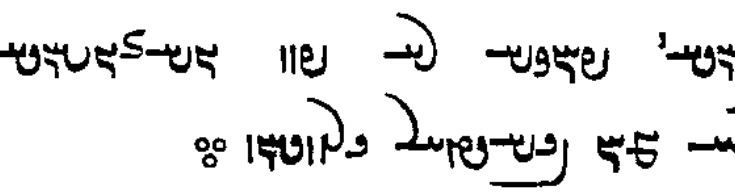
ON AN ALLUSION TO MĀNĪ IN DĒNKART 9.39. 13-16.

By Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson.

I have previously translated elsewhere a chapter from the third book of the Dênkart (3.200) relating to the so-called Injunctions of Māni (see *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, April, 1924); the purpose of the present paper is to draw attention to a passage in the ninth book of the same Pahlavi work, which contains an allusion to Mānī, who, though a Persian by blood, was an arch-heretic in Zoroastrian eyes.

This passage is found in the sixteenth chapter of the summaries of the contents of the Varshtmānsar Nask and is accessible in the edition of the Dênkart by D. M. Madan, 2.857, lines 18-19, and p. 858, lines 7-10, Bombay, 1911; also in the edition later by D. D. P. Sanjana, 18.30-31, with transl. p. 23-24 (where it is numbered chap. 38), Bombay, 1926; compare furthermore the earlier translation (1892) by E. W. West, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 37.278-279, whose numbering Dk 9.39. 13-16, I have retained. We are concerned here chiefly with the first and last paragraphs of the short section, the Pahlavi text of which is accordingly reproduced.





The passage may be rendered literally as follows, comparing also the two English translations already mentioned :—

(13) 'Concerning the characteristics (*nišān*) of the fiend (*drūj*), the crippled[2] Mānī, and the killing of the wicked who (were) his hearers,[3] that which came from him who (was) the ruler (*dehyūpat*) [14-15 *are omitted here as being merely polemical in substance*] (16) Through the counteractive (*patirak*) coming of Srosh the Pious,[4] the

1 Instead of the above reading *hu zwišnih*, i e 'good living,' in Sanjana's edition, Madan gives *hū-ʿahišnīh* i e 'good emanation,' in accordance with the manuscript which he used in editing the Dênkart Sanjana, *ad loc*, simply records in a footnote (text p 31 n 1) that one of his copies, i e DP (cf p vii of his introduction) has *hu ʿahišnih*, but judging from his annotations on transl p 24, n 2 3, one might infer that the form of this word in his printed text may have been influenced by West's excellent idea of emending the reading to *hu zwišnih* Thus West (*S B E*, 37 293 n 3), following the manuscript which he had in hand at the time, and which read *hu zahišnih*, conscientiously translates the phrase by 'through good emanation', but he rightly adds (comparing the Phl. Vers of Ys 46 8 c, e) that 'this word (*hu zahišnih*) ought certainly to be *hu zwišnih* "good living" The suggested reading is surely the best one, and has been accordingly adopted above, after Sanjana's text So far as *zahišnih* itself is concerned, I may incidentally record that the Pahlavi word *zahak*, meaning 'emanation' occurs in the comparative vocabulary of West s *Shikand Gumanik Vijar*, p 275, Bombay, 1887 and is found likewise in (as *zahag*) in Turfan Pahlavi (see F W K Muller, in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, p 208, cf. p 209 n 2, Leipzig, 1912) In the present context, however, it seems beyond question that the reading *hu-zwišnih*, as above, is the correct one

2 I now take *xastak*, lit 'broken' (no longer as *astak*, 'incarnate') as referring to Mani's lameness according to tradition This point I touched upon at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Washington (April 11, 1928) and discussed it more fully at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in August, 1928

3 The term *niyoλšag* (so written) is used here in a general sense, denoting those who listened to Mani s teachings, rather than in the specific sense of the Manichaean Hearers, or Auditors, although that idea is naturally implied also In the Turfan Manichaean Fragments the designation *nigōšag*, for the Hearers, is found a number of times (see Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien* p 97), while the form *niyôšag* or *niyôšaq* (as in our passage) is also found a couple of times (see F W K Muller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, p 14) Dialectic differences may account for these variations As to the etymology of the term, compare earlier F Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p 239, Strassburg, 1893

4 Cf Av *sraoš i ašya* 'the pious (or blessed and holy) Srosha' The Book Phl. form here, *sroš ahi ar*, appears similarly or in kindred forms in the Turfan Pahlavi Manichaean Fragments and in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise

Sovereign (was filled) with hatred (*bēš*) towards that person (*i.e.*, Mānī)—this Sovereign who (was) a protector of these with good living, not with evil living, and a hater of the wicked at whatever time (*i.e.*, at all times).'

From this paragraph we can plainly see that the arrival of the blessed Srôsh (*srōš-ahrāē*), personifying the priestly class, was timely, and was successful in combating the heresy.[1] While Mānī's death is not explicitly mentioned, it is implied in the reference to the slaughter of his followers. From history we know Mānī was put to death by torture, in March 273 (or 274) A.D., at the command of Bahrām I, who reigned 273 (4)—275 (6) A.D.[2] His execution was followed by a wholesale massacre of those, who had accepted his teachings. A number of references in oriental writers bear witness to this fact.[3] Viewed in this light the passage is clear and significant.

We may conclude, therefore, that the 'Sovereign' (*x*^{v}*atūī*) alluded to in our Dênkart excerpt was Bahrām I, and that the reference to the 'killing' (*zaniśn*) of the wicked who were found to have given ear to Mānī's preaching, is fully in accord with historical facts.

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1 West, *op. cit* p 278 n 6, has the following remark on this subject in general: 'From the mode in which he [*i.e.*, Mānī] and his followers are mentioned in §§ 13-16, it would seem that the original Pahlavi version of this Nask must have been made at a time when this heresy was still fresh in men's memories, as it would have been in the first half of the fourth century, when Atūrpāt i Mâraspêndân was collecting and revising the sacred books.

2 The whole question of the date and manner of Mani's death I discussed in a paper presented before the American Oriental Society at its annual meeting in 1923, but have reserved its publication until some future date in a work to be entitled 'Mānī and Manichaeism' the material for which is already in hand.

3 For oriental references to the massacre of Mani's followers see Flügel, *Mani*, p 230-232; Kessler, *Mâni*, p 502-503, and to these now add a reference (since available) in the Arabic history of the Persian kings compiled by Tha'âlibi, and translated into French by Zotenberg, p 502-503 Paris, 1900

PAHLAVI 𐭣𐭮𐭫𐭠𐭮𐭲 OR 𐭣𐭮𐭫𐭪𐭲—*DASTKART.*

By Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar, M.A.

So far as has been ascertained, this word occurs in the following Pahlavi texts :—(1) Ardâi Vîrâf Nâmak,•(2) Bahman Yasht, (3) Pahlavi Yasna, (4) Pahlavi Vendidad, (5) Dâtastân-i Dînîk, (6) Shatrôîhâ-i Aîrân, (7) Kârnâmak-i Artakhshîr-i Pâpakân and (8) Mâtîgân-i Hazâr Dâtastân. It occurs only once in each of the first six texts. In the Kârnâmak it occurs twice and it is the Mâtîgân-i Hazâr Dâtastân which gives three dozen instances of the word. No trace of the word is found in the whole of the voluminous Pahlavi Dinkard and the remaining Pahlavi texts. On account, therefore, of the rarity of the word, scholars were at a loss to appraise it at its true value. The word 𐭣𐭮𐭫𐭠𐭮𐭲 or 𐭣𐭮𐭫𐭪𐭲 *dastkart* [lit., made (*kart*) by the hand (*dast*)] is purely Iranian; latterly it was arabicized into *dastjird* or *daskara*[1]. It was also adopted by the Armenians as a loan-word,[2] and Noldeke says that the word is found even in the Talmud, as borrowed from the Persians.[3]

But without any collateral aid we can fix the true import of the word from indigenous literature. In Pahlavi Yasna 10, the Avesta word 𐬯𐬀𐬎 *vîs* is transcribed into Pahlavi 𐭥𐭩𐭮 *vîs* and is there explained in a gloss by the word 𐭣𐭮𐭫𐭠𐭮𐭲 *dastkart*, as a synonym. Unfortunately, the only printed text of the Pahlavi Yasna

1 دسکرہ = a town, caastle on a hill, name of a town in Persian Iraq (Steingass). See, also, Burhân-i Qâti' : *sub voce : daskara*; *cf.* Hubschmann's Persische Studien, p 130

2 See Hubschmann's Armenische Grammatik 1. p. 135—*dastkart*=a colony, a settlement, a country-seat, an estate, a manor, a property.

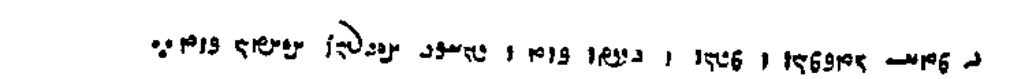
3 "Geschichte des Artachšîr-i Pâpakân", p 48, note 4.

(Spiegel's: A.C. 1858) omits this word (p. 79 § 17). Half a dozen Pahlavi MSS. of the Yasna collated by me give the word *dastkart* as a gloss to the word *vîs* and MSS. collated by Mills, who has given a transcription of Pahlavi Yasna 10 in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (ZDMG. Vol. 56—1902), do not omit to give this gloss. Again, the word is found in the two MSS. of the Yasna—one belonging to the Bodleian Library of Oxford and the other, to the State Library of Munich—consulted by Dr. Unvala for the text of his *Hōm Yašt*.

The Avesta *vîs* and its Pahlavi equivalent *vîs* (*cf.* L. *vicus*, a village; Gr. *oikos*; Sk. विश्) means "a village," "a borough," etc., and hence the word *dastkart* given as a gloss to Pahlavi *vîs* must mean the same. In Pahlavi translations of the Avesta, besides the long or short commentaries, we find instances of a solitary Pahlavi word explained by a synonym which, in some cases, is more difficult to interpret than the original. Similarly, in Pahlavi Vendidad 5. 10 the Avesta phrase *nmânê. nmânê. vîsi. vîsi* (*i.e.*, in every house, in every borough) is translated in Pahlavi as 𐭭𐭭𐭩 𐭭𐭭𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭮 𐭥𐭩𐭮 (*mân mân vîs vîs*) and this, in its turn, is explained in a gloss thus: 𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭮 𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭮 𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭮 𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭲𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭮 (*khânak khânak dastkart dastkart*), meaning exactly the same as the original. Thus, in the Vendidad also, the Avesta-Pahlavi *vîs*, a borough, has for its synonym *dastkart* as in the Pahlavi Yasna.

Having shown what Pah. *dastkart* means on the authority of Pahlavi writings, let us now examine the passages of the Pahlavi texts above-mentioned wherein the word occurs:

(I). The Book of Arda Viraf by Hoshangji and Haug, Ch. 15 § 10 (p. 40):



Transliteration (p. 40): —î matâ dûḍakmân va miyân va *dastô kard* va jînâk-i avîrân âvâḍân karḍ.

Kaikobad in his Gujarati translation of the 'Pahlavi Zand-i Vohuman Yasht' translates the word *dastkart* in the same way as West.

Here the word *dastkart* is taken in its literal sense with the meaning of 'handiwork,' but the context shows that it should have one of the secondary meanings, *viz.*, borough, town, village, colony, settlement, etc.

(III). Pahlavi Yasna (Spiegel, p. 79 § 17):—

Paetâkînet dûrustîh va bîshâzinashnîh baên zak valman vîs [*dastkart*], aêtûn mân [khânak].

Except the two words shown in the brackets as gloss, this is a word-for-word translation of the Avesta—*chithrem. dasvarc. baêshazem. ahê. visê. uta. maêthanem.*

Many MSS. of the Pahlavi Yasna give the correct word 𐭬𐭩𐭭 (*mêhan*—Av. *maethana*) for Spiegel's 𐭬𐭭 (*mân*). *Mân* is generally the Pahlavi rendering of Av. *nmâna*, whereas Av. *maethana* is correctly rendered *mêhan* (See, also, Unvala's *Hôm Yašt*, p. 59 § 17, note 2, and Mills in J.R.A.S., July 1903, p. 499). Mills in J.R.A.S. gives the literal meaning 'handwork' for *dastkart* which, as shown above, simply explains Av. and Pah. *vîs*, and not understanding the correct signification of *dastkart* here, he has given a note which is quite wide of the mark. The original Pahlavi should be translated thus:—

"Health and healing are manifested in that borough (*vîs*) [*i.e.*, *dastkart*], as well as in the house (*mân or mêhan*) [*i.e.*, *khânak*]" *i.e.*, here the Av. and Pah. *vîs* is explained as *dastkart* which means not 'handwork' but 'a borough,' and *mêhan* or *mân* (Av. *maethana*) is explained as *khânak*, a house.

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1 As remarked above, Spiegel omits this word in brackets

In his *Hōm Yašt*, Unvala, without any explanation, has relegated the word *dastkart* to the notes, simply remarking that 'Bod. and M. add *dast kartan*' (p. 59, § 17, note 1).

(IV). Pahlavi Vendidad (Hoshangji, p. 154; Sanjana, p. 72; Spiegel, p. 51):—

(Hoshangji & Spiegel)

(Sanjana)

In a note on Sanjana says: "SP twice; PB. repeats the same expression thrice", which, by the way, is the correct reading. The Pahlavi sentence is rendered word-for-word for the Avesta :—*nmânê. nmânê. visi. visi. thrâyô. kata. uzdaithyān. aêtahê. yat. iristahê.*

In the Pahlavi translation, as given by Sanjana, the words are not included in brackets: evidently, therefore, the phrase stands for Avesta *thrâyô. kata* and is read *sê takt* (three seats). If this interpretation is correct, then the phrase just following, which is also not included in brackets, will have to be accounted for. The fact is that (*hanâ katak*) of Sanjana's edition should be changed to (*sê katak*) as given by Hoshangji and Spiegel. In this connection it should be noted that (*hanâ* or *aê*) is the logogram for (aê) which again represents the figure *sê* (= three). We must therefore change (*sê takt*) of Sanjana's edition to as given by Hoshangji and Spiegel, and as shown by Sanjana in the note referred to above. Again, it should be noted that (*dastak-kart*) of Spiegel and Hoshangji stands for (*dastkart*), as seen above in Pahlavi Yasna 10.

Spiegel in his 'Commentar über das Avesta' (Vol. I, p. 164) renders *dastkart* as 'turba hominum' (*i.e.*, an assemblage of people), evidently connecting the word with

Persian دست (*dasta*), but Hoshangji, in his Glossarial Index of the Vendidad (Vol. II, p. 76) gives the right interpretation of *dastkart*. To sum up, the Pahlavi translation is exactly word-for-word, except that the glossist explains *mân* by *khânak* and *vis* by *dastkart* :

Trans.:—In every house, and in every borough [in every house and in every borough], they should erect three rooms (*sê katak*) for the dead.

(V). In connection with the foundation of certain cities, the Pahlavi treatise Shatrôîhâ-i Aîrân (Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts, p. 20 § 20) has the following sentence :—



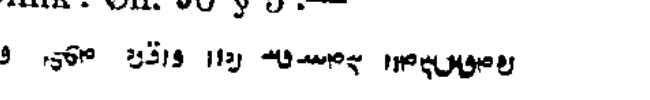
(Transliteration):—180 babâ-kûshk dastkart baên framût kartan.

Dr. Modi in his Aiyâdgâr-i Zarîran.....(1899) translates thus:

"Ten hundred and eighty small gates and handles were ordered (for the city)." Dr. Modi compares Pah. *dastkart* with Pers. دستکرد (*dastkard*) meaning 'the handle of a sword'; but in this sentence, also, the word *dastkart* has the same general meaning as shown above, and may be translated thus :—

"180 palace-gates (*i.e.* palaces or villas) and colonies (*dastkart*) were ordered to be erected."

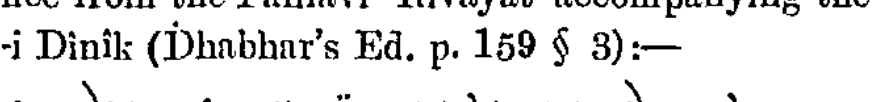
(VI). Dâtastân-i Dinik: Ch. 90 § 5 :—



Patshâûtan (or, Pêshyôtan) khutâîh pavan Kangdiz tameman katrunêt pavan Kangdiz-i bâmîk zyash pavan yadmankart [same as *dastkart*] âzâtak Sîyâvash.

West's trans.: S. B. E., 18, p. 257 :—"The reign of Peshyôtanû is in Kangdez, and he resides in the illus-

trious Kangdez which the noble Sîyâvash formed through his glory." Dr. West reads the word underlined above as *gadmaṇ kart* and translates 'formed through his glory'. Properly, the word is *yadman-kart*, the Huz. *yadman* (*cf.* Ar. يد hand) being the same as Ary. *dast* (the hand). On the strength of the remarks made above, the last part of West's translation may stand thus: "...Kangdez, which is in the settlement (*dastkart*, or, *yadmankart*) of the noble Sîyâvash." Anklesaria and Bharucha, in their Gujarati translation of Dâtastân-i Dînîk, (p. 206) translate *dastkart* here as 'made by the hand'. In this passage, at least, the literal meaning of *pavan yadman kart* (*i.e.*, made by the hand) would be, perhaps, applicable, as witness the following sentence from the Pahlavi Rivâyat accompanying the Dâtastân-i Dînîk (Dhabhar's Ed. p. 159 § 3):—



Akhar Kaîkhûsrôi barâ val mînôi Kang gôpt aîgh akhtmanar-(i) avam hômanâe va li akh-(i) lak hômanam meman lak Sîyâvash *pavan dast kart* hômanâe, afash li pavan gund kart hômanam:—

i.e., Thereupon, Kaikhusro said to the Spirit of Kang thus: 'Thou art my sister and I am thy brother, because thou art made by the hands (*pavan dast kart*) of Sîyâvash and I am made by his virility.' (*gund*: *cf.* Per. گند)

(VII). Kârnâmak-i Artakhshîr-i Pâpakân:—

Sanjana's Ed., Ch. IV § 19 (p. 20) and Antia's Ed. Ch. VII § 9 (p. 23):—

(1) 

Sanjana's trans.:—'He bestowed his patronage on many cities, made them prosperous'..(The editor compares *dastkart* with Per. دست کردن = to help, support.)

Antia's trans.:—'He built many towns, encouraged cultivation, made them prosperous'.....[See No. 5 (p. 20)

to the English translation, where the editor takes 𐭲𐭣 (*gad man*) in the sense of 𐭲𐭩 (*kary*), cultivation]

Kaikobâd in his edition of the Kârnâmak translates *dastkart* by 'conquered', 'subdued'

Sanjana's Ed, Ch VI § 1 (p 27) and Antia's Ed, Ch X § 1 (p 26) —

(2) 𐭲𐭥𐭮𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭫𐭠 𐭪𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭪𐭥𐭭 𐭫𐭠 (or 𐭪𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭪𐭥𐭭) 𐭲𐭥𐭮𐭫𐭠𐭭 𐭫𐭠 𐭲𐭣

Sanjana's trans — Carried them into Gûzâr in, one of the boroughs of Gular

Antia's trans —'Carried them to the fort of Kulal which was in the possession of the Kulalis'

Sanjana's translation of *dastkart*, *i e* a borough, is quite correct

Antia recalls Per دست کردن to conquer, to subdue, to possess, but this is not correct Kaikobad here too translates *dastkart* as 'subdued'

In both the cases here *dastkart* (𐭲𐭣 or 𐭪𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭪𐭥𐭭) means a borough, settlement, etc Noldeke was the first to point out the correct meaning of *dastkart* (see Geschichte des Artachšir i Papakan (1878, p 48) F Müller in his Beitrage zur Textkritik und Erklarung des Kârnamak (1897, p 12), following Noldeke, has correctly translated *dastkart*, and Goetze in Indo-Iranian Studies in honour of Dastur Darabji Sanjana—1925 (p 252) has again shown correctly what *dastkart* means here *i e*, it means, a region or tract of land, domain, property, district, settlement, etc

(VIII) Lastly, the word *dastkart*, with the meaning as settled above, recurs very often in the Matigan i Hazâr Dâtastân The context is so clear in each case here that no other meaning than the one assigned above would be applicable For the text and translation of various passages of this Pahlavi book wherein the word *dastkart* is used with the meaning which we have settled, see C Bartholomae's Zum Sasanidischen Recht, III (1920), pp 29 49

holdings as they liked, so long as they paid tribute at reasonably regular intervals.

The first ancestor of Mithridates I, of whom we have any historical knowledge, was one Mithridates son of Orontobates. In 387 B.C., during the unrest that followed the Peace of Antalcidas, he seized Cios, a Greek town on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmora. Thereafter he affected a great love for Hellas and the Hellene states and erected at his own cost a statue to Plato in the Athenian Academy. Mithridates' son Ariobarzanes continued his father's Philhellene policy and was made an honorary citizen both of Athens and of Sparta. Counting on Greek support, he and three other satraps, Datames, Artabazos and Orontes revolted against the Persian king. This was a dangerous step to take. Greek support was of little value at so great a distance and the Persian government easily defeated the rebel and his allies. Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, assassinated Datames and betrayed his own father to Artaxerxes III.

Then came Alexander the Great. He took Cios from Mithridates; but in his pursuit of Darius Codomannus, Alexander had no time to reduce the petty prince, who lived so far off the main track.

During the Civil Wars that followed Alexander's death, Mithridates took the side of Antigonus the one-eyed; but in 302 B.C., the year before the great battle of Ipsus, Antigonus suspected rightly or wrongly that the Persian prince was intriguing with his enemy Cassander and put him to death. The son of this Mithridates, also called Mithridates, was a great personal friend of Antigonus' son, the renowned Demetrius Poliorcetes or the Besieger. Antigonus thought that it would be well if the son went the same road as the father, partly because of the latter's treason and partly because he had had a strange dream.[1]

1 Plutarch, Demetrius, IV.

Antigonus dreamt that he was sowing gold dust in a big and beautiful field. After he had sown it, a golden crop sprang up and he went away. A little later he returned to the field and found in it nothing but stubble. As he looked sadly at the bare soil, he heard voices say that Mithridates had reaped the crop and had fled to the Black Sea. Antigonus wrote to his son Demetrius about the dream and begged him to destroy Mithridates. Demetrius was very fond of the young Persian and could not bear to put his friend to death. At the same time he did not like to warn him by word of mouth, because Antigonus, to whom he was devoted, had begged him to keep silent. Nevertheless he drew Mithridates to one side and wrote with his lance on the ground two words "Phevge Mithridata" (Fly Mithridates!) The prince fled that night from Demetrius' camp and fortified himself at Cimiata in Paphlagonia.

throw of Mithridates. He wisely recognised the independence of Pontus and Mithridates was able to repay him on one occasion by a signal service. Ptolemy II, the Macedonian king of Egypt, sent an expedition to the Black Sea with the object of bringing all that he could of Asia Minor under Egyptian rule. Antiochus II could do nothing at the time; but Mithridates with a force of Gallic mercenaries attacked and routed the Egyptians. Destroying several of their ships he carried back their anchors as trophies. To commemorate this event, the Gauls settled in Asia Minor gave to their chief town the name of Ancyra.[1] It is now the Turkish capital Angora.

In 266 B.C. Mithridates I was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes. He added the town of Amastris to the Pontic kingdom; but it is interesting to note that he acknowledged the overlordship of the Seleucid king and ceased to coin his own gold coins. His successors adhered to his pact. The reason probably was that he was always in trouble with his Gallic mercenaries. He died in 249 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Mithridates II. The latter was only a boy when he came to the throne and he was harassed even more than his father had been by his turbulent soldiery. The city of Heraclea, however, befriended him during his minority; and ten years after his accession he had restored order in his dominions and discipline in his army.

Mithridates II introduced a new custom into the Persian house of Pontus, which in the end was completely to Hellenize it. He married into the Seleucid house and took as his wife Laodice, the sister of Seleucus II and daughter of Antiochus II. He received as his queen's dowry Greater Phrygia.[2] Seleucus II's younger brother, Antiochus Hierax, urged thereto by his mother the Laodice of the Laodicean War, rebelled against Seleucus II.

1 Ancyra is the Greek for anchor.

2 Bevan's House of Seleucus, I, p. 135.

Mithridates II[1] went to the help of Antiochus Hierax with a great Gallic army and fought Seleucus II at Ancyra. The fiery attack of the Gauls swept away Seleucus' Macedonian phalanx and Mithridates won a great victory. Twenty thousand Macedonians are said to have fallen and among the booty was the royal concubine Mysta. She was sent to the slave market at Rhodes and put up for sale. There she made herself known and was bought in by the state of Rhodes and sent back to Seleucus II.

Unfortunately for Mithridates II, the affairs of Antiochus II did not continue to prosper. He was eventually killed in an obscure fight against Gallic marauders. Antiochus III, known in history as Antiochus the Great, became master of the Seleucid kingdom. The latter's first cousin Achaeus rebelled and proclaimed himself king of Asia Minor. Mithridates, unaware which of the contending princes would win, married a daughter to each of them. Achaeus was captured and executed at Sardis; so his wife did not end her days on a throne. Antiochus' wife did and his father-in-law Mithridates II became his close ally.

In 190 B.C. Antiochus III was decisively beaten by the Romans at Magnesia. His other allies in Asia Minor were heavily fined for their loyalty to him; but Mithridates with his usual prudence was waiting on events and sent no contingent to help Antiochus. He was also ill and he died shortly after the battle. He had reigned for sixty years and he left to his successor Pharnaces a well organised and powerful kingdom.

In 183 B.C. the Greek world was horrified to hear that Pharnaces had seized the Hellenic town of Sinope. He changed her name to Pharnacia and forced within her walls the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns, Cotyora

1 There is some confusion in the numbering of these Mithridates because some historians call the two earliest Nos I and II. Others begin their numeration with Mithridates the Founder

and Cerasus, the original home of our English cherries. He thereafter rapidly extended his possessions along the Black Sea and invaded Galatia. Here, however, he was defeated by a combined Pergamene and Cappadocian army. Indeed Pharnaces would probably have lost his kingdom, but for Roman interference. The Romans ordered Eumenes, king of Pergamos, to withdraw from Pontus. This action of the Roman Senate alarmed all Asia Minor and the five kings of Armenia, Pergamos, Cappadocia, Bithynia and Pontus signed a perpetual peace. Pharnaces died in 169 B.C. and Polybius, the Greek historian, has given him an extremely bad character. "He was the most lawless of all the kings known before his (Polybius') time."

Pharnaces was succeeded by his brother Mithridates III known as Euergetes or the Well-doer. History does not mention him save in connexion with his marriage and his death. His queen was Laodice the daughter of the Seleucid king, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). The fruit of this union was the great Mithridates IV known as Eupator or the Well-fathered, one of Rome's most formidable enemies. In 121 B.C. the assassination of Mithridates Euergetes at Sinope put his son Mithridates Eupator on the throne of Pontus, when only eleven years of age.

Chapter II.

Mithridates IV (Eupator).

The boy king's reign had a stormy beginning. His guardians and even his mother tried to remove him by steel and poison; at last the wretched young prince fled from his palace and wandered a homeless fugitive for seven years. He became a mighty hunter and the tales told of him by Appian recall the Persian legends of Rustam and Bahram. His frame was gigantic and no Roman

1 Polybius, XXVII, 17. 1. Pharnaces panton ton pro tou Basileon egeneto paranomotatos.

Mithridates was the most powerful sovereign that Asia had seen since the death of Antiochus the Great. The complaints of the dispossessed princes reached Rome; but that state had been all but destroyed by the revolt of the Italians, better known as the Marsic or Social War. At last Sulla was sent to order the evacuation of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Mithridates met the Roman envoy with admirable suavity. He evacuated Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and promised to evacuate the Crimea. Sulla, fully satisfied, returned to Rome.

No sooner had the Roman envoy left Asia, than Mithridates once more occupied the two kingdoms and extended his conquests in the Crimea. Rome sent a second envoy Aquillius. Mithridates once more excused himself, but this time he had gone too far, or at least so Aquillius, dissatisfied with the presents given him by Mithridates, reported to the Senate. Rome declared war. It was to be no light one. All Asia was on the side of the Persian dynast. Greece, weary to death of Roman rule, Roman tax-gatherers and still more of unscrupulous Roman men of business, wished Mithridates success. In the spring of 88 B.C. Mithridates' cavalry led by Neoptolemus and Archelaus overran Bithynia. In a few weeks all Asia Minor was in the king's hands. The Roman envoy Aquillius was taken and brought before Mithridates. In cruel mockery the king had molten gold poured down his throat, so that he might have his fill of the metal that he had so coveted. From Ephesus the king ordered the massacre of all Romans and Italians. On or about the same day a hundred and fifty thousand unfortunate persons were slaughtered in cold blood. They had no doubt brought this on themselves by the merciless rapacity of some among them; but the order for their promiscuous massacre shewed that Mithridates had inherited the cruelty as well as the courage of the Achaemenian kings.

Mithridates, encouraged by the inactivity of the

Chapter III.

The Second and the Third Roman Wars.

The next ten years were spent by Mithridates in preparation for a second struggle. Rome was rendered powerless by the faction fights between the partisans of Marius and Sulla and could do nothing to thwart Mithridates' efforts to repair his losses. At last in 74 B.C., the Marian general in Spain Sertorius offered Mithridates Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia and Cappadocia, if he would join the cause of the Marians. The chance was too good to be lost and Mithridates declared war on the Roman Senate.

The king's rapid mobilisation enabled him to overrun his former conquests in Asia Minor and to join hands with Marcus Marius and a Roman mission sent by Sertorius to help the king's military establishment. Unhappily, just as the war had begun, Sertorius was assassinated in Spain and the Roman government were able to give their full attention to the war against Mithridates. The officer appointed to the expeditionary force was Lucullus, now chiefly remembered for his banquets and his cultivation of the cherry tree. He was, however, a skilful and resolute captain. Before his arrival, the king had defeated the Roman consul Marcus Cotta, both by land and sea at Chalcedon, and was besieging Cyzicus. It is interesting to note that at the outset of this war, Julius Caesar, then a lad studying at Rhodes, collected a band of volunteers and did good service in Cilicia.

The king's decision to take Cyzicus proved fatal to his campaign. Lucullus camped astride of his land communications. The royal fleet, that commanded the Black Sea, was sunk by a storm and the royal army soon wasted away through hunger and disease. After losing the enormous total of two hundred thousand men, the king embarked his remaining troops and sailed to Sinope. Lucullus followed and the king retreated to Cabria. There he suffered two further defeats and with barely two thou-

sand horse escaped to Armenia, where he took shelter with his son-in-law the king Tigranes. Lucullus overran Pontus, where several coast towns kept up a resistance, that lasted for two years. When that had been overcome, Lucullus demanded of Tigranes the surrender of Mithridates.

Tigranes refused the demand and Lucullus laid siege to the large Armenian town of Tigranocerta near Bitlis. Tigranes led a great force to its relief. Seeing the smallness of the Roman army compared with the vast mob under his command, he made the well-known jibe, "They (the Romans) are too many for an embassy and too few for an army." Nevertheless Lucullus' small division completely destroyed the Armenian relieving force. Tigranes was overawed by this defeat and would gladly have made peace, but for Mithridates. The brave old man was now sixty years of age, yet he could still vault on horseback in full armour and he was as redoubtable as ever in a hand-to-hand fight. He would not allow Tigranes to yield and actually usurped the command of the Armenian armies. He adopted the tactics that the Parthians afterwards used with such success. He organised a large force of cavalry, harassed the Roman legionaries and skilfully evaded a pitched battle.

Lucullus, who was a man of great ability, might well have defeated these tactics by increasing his own mounted army; but he had made himself unpopular at Rome by appropriating to his own use the plunder of Asia. He was hated by his soldiers because of his overbearing manners and harsh discipline. He was the husband of the notorious Clodia, afterwards the Lesbia of Catullus; and among his staff was her brother Publius Clodius. That worthless demagogue did his best to foment a mutiny. Lucullus pressed forward into Armenia. The winter set in and the ice and snow of that desolate region completed the disorganisation of the Italian field force. Such was the

temper of his troops that Lucullus ordered a retirement.

Then followed what has so often happened in India to a regular army in retreat. Mithridates overwhelmed Lucullus' rear-guard and re-entered Pontus. The whole country rose in the king's favour. Triarius, who commanded the Roman garrison, threw himself into Gabria, but he was destroyed with all his garrison before Lucullus could march to his help. Soon Mithridates was not only king in Pontus, but master once more of Cappadocia and Bithynia. All that Lucullus could do was to retreat skilfully to the sea coast (73 B.C.). Nor could the Romans send him any reinforcements. They were distracted by civil tumults and by the pirates of Cilicia and Crete. These, organised into a great sea power, cut the communications of the Roman fleet. During eight years, Mithridates was left to enjoy his conquests. Lucullus was too weak to take the offensive. Mithridates was too prudent to force the Romans to take vigorous action against him; and the outposts of the two armies watched each other without fighting.

The situation changed when Pompey rose to power. In 67 B.C. Pompey destroyed the pirates' fleets and in the following year he took command of the Roman army in Asia. His first success was diplomatic. His envoys won the dynast of Parthia to a treaty of neutrality. Other agents tempted the son and namesake of Tigranes, king of Armenia, to rebel and ingeniously spread the report that his grandfather Mithridates had led the young prince astray. This led to a serious coolness between the kings of Armenia and Pontus.

Having thus isolated Mithridates, Pompey in the spring of 66 B.C. crossed the frontier of Pontus with a numerous Roman army. The king at first sued for peace, but finding that unobtainable, he resumed the tactics, that had proved so successful against Lucullus. He retreated in front of the Romans, harassing them with his cavalry

as they marched. Pompey, however, had the benefit of Lucullus' experience and he was resolved not to be drawn into the frost-bound recesses of Armenia. Close to the frontier he skilfully entrapped his enemy. He halted on the southern bank of the river, Lycus, and so induced Mithridates to halt also. While the two armies lay inactive on opposite banks of the river, Pompey sent, unknown to Mithridates, a force to lie in wait on the line of the king's retreat. Having given his men time to block the road into Armenia, Pompey ordered an advance. The Pontic army again retired; but this time it fell back on the swords of the waiting legionaries. The king's army was ambushed and dispersed. All his treasure and effects fell into Pompey's hands and the king, with only two followers and a concubine, fled into Armenia.

In Armenia, however, Mithridates found no refuge. The Parthians had in the meantime invaded Armenia and had only been driven out after immense efforts. Tigranes was unwilling to challenge a fresh enemy. Changing sides, he put a price on Mithridates' head. The king fled into the Caucasus mountains and thence to the shores of the Sea of Azov. Pompey tried to follow him but suffered such losses at the hands of the hardy Georgian mountaineers, that he fell back. Mithridates continued his flight to Particapaeium in the Crimea, formerly a province of Pontus, but recently made into an independent kingdom by his rebel son Machares. Mithridates overthrew Machares and was once again a king.

pair and then to insurrection. Mithridates' favourite son Pharnaces appeared at the head of the insurgents. Mithridates fell ill and could do nothing to check the mutiny. The army deposed the aged king in favour of the prince. Mithridates was soon besieged in his own palace. He begged for his life from his son, but in vain.

Without hope of mercy, Mithridates resolved to die by his own hand. He prepared a cup of poison, that he had ever since his last defeat carried on his person. His two daughters Mithridatis and Nyssa, betrothed to the kings of Egypt and Cyprus respectively, insisted that they should die with their father, rather than trust to the clemency of their brother. They drank from the king's cup and died. Mithridates drank what remained; but he had so often taken antidotes through fear of assassination that the poison would not take effect. He walked about so as to help its action, but in vain. At last he appealed to a loyal Gallic officer called Bituitus and begged him to render his king one last service and so enable him to baffle his enemies. The gallant Gaul was deeply moved ; but he could not refuse his king's request. He drew his sword and drove it into the heart of Mithridates.

Pharnaces sent his father's body to Pompey, who, more generous than the son, paid for the burial of his old enemy at Sinope. He confirmed Pharnaces as king of the little state of Bosporus on the shores of the straits that join the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov. He then led his army to the conquest of Syria.

So died at the age of sixty-eight or sixty-nine and in the fifty-seventh year of his reign, one of the most remarkable men, who ever lived. His royal Persian origin made him beloved by the former subjects of the Achaemenian kings. His Greek blood and Greek culture made him attractive to the Hellenes both of Asia Minor and Greece. With the help of Hellene officers and Persian administrators, he created a mighty kingdom out of a petty state and for forty

years he fought Rome with equal fortune. Beaten often, he yet won victories over experienced Roman generals, Fimbria, Murena, Cotta and Triarius. He was repeatedly wounded, but his courage and his soldierly talents increased rather than diminished with age. His death was regarded by the Romans as an occasion for a national thanksgiving and they celebrated it by a public festival at Rome. The messengers who carried the news to the Roman camp at Jericho, entered it crowned with laurel. When some time later Pompey celebrated his triumph, the object that drew all eyes was a picture of Mithridates, dying on the dead bodies of his daughters. The joy of his enemy over his self-inflicted death was the noblest tribute to the greatness of the hero-king of Pontus.

Genealogical Tree of the House of Pontus.

Orontobates
|
Mithridates O or I
(387-362 B.C.)
|
Ariobarzanes
(362-337 B.C.)
|
Mithridates O or II
(337-302 B.C.)
|
Mithridates I or III Ktistes the Founder
(302-266 B.C.)
|
Ariobarzanes
(266-249 B.C.)
|
Mithridates II or IV m. Laodice d. of Antiochus II
(249-190 B.C.)
|
Pharnaces
(190 169 B.C.)

Mithridates III or V
m. Laodice d. of Antiochus IV
(169-121 B.C.)
|
Mithridates IV or VI
(121 – 63 B.C.)


R Dneper
R Danube
BLACK SEA
(PONTUS EUXINUS)
CRIMEA
SEA OF AZOV
Bosporus
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Heraclea
Sinope
PROPONTIS
PHRYGIA
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
Ancyra
HALYS RIVER
Cotyora
Cerasus
PONTUS
PERGAMOS
GREATER PHRYGIA
LYDIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
RHODES
CYPRUS
Alexandria
Pelusium
Suez
Memphis
(Cairo)
Nile River
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF AKABA
EGYPT
ARMEN

THE NIMBUS-CROWNED FIGURE AT TĀK-I BOSTĀN

By Dastur Dr. Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, a.m., ph.d.

Among the bas-relief sculptures of the Sasânian period, the one found on the surface of the rock at Tāk-i Bostān, 'Arch of the Garden,' near Kermanshah, is of especial interest to the Zoroastrian community. It contains four carved figures. The figure on the extreme left is of a richly dressed person whose head is covered with a nimbus, who holds a fluted staff in both hands and who stands with his feet resting on a sunflower. Scholarly opinion has uptil now variously identified the figure with the prophet Zoroaster or with Ahura Mazda or with Mithra. Recently Sir J. C. Coyajee has, in a learned paper,[1] put forth still another hypothesis, that the figure represents Verethraghna, the angel of victory. We propose, in this paper, to make some further investigation in the matter of the portraiture of the figure.

The most prominent feature of the sculptured figure is the radiant light encircling the head in the shape of the rays of the sun. The Avestan texts speak of a divine light, a shining aureole, as possessed by Ahura Mazda and his heavenly beings, as also descending upon kings and great men, and call it *hvareno*. Like all creations, earthly and heavenly, *hvareno* is spoken of as *Mazda-dhāta*, 'created by Ahura Mazda.' The first possessor of it is Ahura Mazda. Thomas and Rawlinson have suggested that it is Ahura Mazda himself that the Glory-bearing figure represents. Ahura Mazda has assigned different functions to his various heavenly ministers, so he has entrusted the custodianship of *hvareno* to one of his angels. We

1 *The Supposed Sculpture of Zoroaster on the Tak-i Bostīn* in *The Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)*, Vol. XXII, 1926, No. 6, (pp. 391-409).

hope to show in subsequent pages that it is not Ahura Mazda himself, but this angel of *khvareno* that witnesses the bestowal of the emblem of sovereignty upon the founder of the Sasanian dynasty.

Primarily, *khvareno* is the physical light born of the sun. When the sun shines, the angels in their hundreds and their thousands, stand ready to collect it and distribute it over the earth.[1] In its later development *khvareno* impersonates Glory, and Mithra, as the genius of light, becomes *khvareno-dāo*, 'dispenser of glory'.[2] When Mithra's cult migrated to Europe, he was identified with the invincible sun and in that capacity he played the part of thed ispenser of the glory that brought victory to its possessor. It is this aspect of Mithraism that seems to have led Justi and other scholars to suggest that the figure with the nimbus about its head represents Mithra. As we shall however see, Mithra's custodianship of *khvareno* soon passes into other hands, when he takes up other duties in the celestial hierarchy. The figure on the sculpture does not represent Mithra.

The most illustrious person among the recipients of *khvareno*, according to the Avestan texts, was Zarathushtra.[3] In the early part of the last century, Sir Ker Porter and Sir John Malcolm, who made the picture accessible through their books for the first time, suggested that the figure with the halo round its head may be representing Zarathushtra. The suggestion naturally appealed to the sentiments of the Parsis, who took it up with pious zeal and began to have lithographed and printed pictures of the prophet based on the figure. The hypothesis is not, however, supported by historical or traditional proofs.

The ancient Persians believed from the earliest times that the kings who ruled over their destinies were the

1 Nyaish I 11 2 Yt 10, 16 3 Yasht 19 79

vicegerents of Ahura Mazda. They rule by His grace, and, as the mark of divine sanction, the heavenly light called *hvareno* descended upon them. The Pishdadian and Kianian kings were the recipients of this light and Glory and through its lustre they became illustrious. *Hvareno* crowned the kings and deprived them of their regal power, when it withdrew its light from them. It forsook Yima and he fell. *Hvareno*, we see in the Avestan texts, brings victory to kings, and the fighting armies invoke Mithra, the giver of Glory, for help. When Mithra, the lord of hosts, goes driving in his celestial chariot, he is accompanied by *hvareno* and Verethraghna, the angel of victory.[1] Verethraghna, the giver of victory, is depicted throughout the Yasht dedicated to him as the bearer of glory, just as Mithra is spoken of as its giver.

Every Yazata has some special boon of his to give. Tishtrya, for example, showers rain upon the parched earth, Ashi bestows riches, so Verethraghna's one gift to whomsoever he favours, is victory. Verethraghna is Rustam of the celestial empire, and like the invincible hero who unremittingly fought for the Kian kings and brought them victory, he fights for goodness and routs evil. When Mithra, for example, goes to battle against those who have lied unto him, Verethraghna joins his armies, fights for him and brings him victory. The divine lustre, *hvareno*, Glory, is not his to give. He is instrumental in bringing it. He gives victory and where there is victory, there Glory is. For the proper custodian of *hvareno* we have to look elsewhere.

In its nature, we have said, *hvareno* is divine light, blazing heavenly fire. The sun is the celestial fire that lights the universe and has the fire of the hearth and the sacred fire burning on the altar for its earthly representative. Mithra began his life work as the genius of physical light but soon embraced higher sphere of activity.

1 Yasht 10 67, 70.

He found admittance in later Zoroastrian pantheon as the genius of truth and justice. *Hvareno*, the divine fire, the spiritual emblem of Glory, on the other hand, evidently passed into the hands of Atar, the angel of all fires, heavenly and earthly. One of the various manifestations of Atar is Atar Farnbag or Froba, also called Khurrād, Khurdād, which, as Prof. Jackson rightly observes, are corrupt forms of a theoretic Avesta form *Hvarenō-bagha* or *Hvareno-dāta*, the fire 'of the Glory Divine' or the fire 'Glory-given."[1] Among his still other names may be mentioned Atar Khurrah and Atar Gadman, 'Fire of Glory.' The angel Atar is thus the guardian and dispenser of *hvareno* through his earthly representative, Fire Farnbag. When Azi Dahaka strives to capture *hvareno* after it has left Yima, Atar, who is expressly spoken of as a valiant warrior,[2] combats with him as Fire Farnbag incarnate and saves it from falling into his hands.[3] The Glory then hides itself in the sea Vourukasha and Apām Napāt takes it in his protection.[4] It is to be remembered that . Apām Napat has both an aqueous and an igneous nature. It is in his fiery nature, as an acolyte of Atar, that he takes the Glory under his protection. Vishtaspa is the last great king known to the Avestan writers, whom the Glory cleaves. The writer of the Zamyat Yasht, consecrated to *hvareno*, has seen the passing away of the Kianian empire shortly after the death of Vishtaspa. He sees no hope of the restoration of the Zoroastrian empire. The Glory had departed, never again to return, thought the composer, and wrote in despair that the Glory would remain unacquired by any one, until at the time of the final millennium, it would cleave unto Saoshyant and help

1 See Jackson, *The Location of the Farnbag Fire* in *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XLI, 1921, p. 83.

2 Ny 5 6, 14.

3 Yasht 19 46-50, Nyaish (Pahlavi version) 5 5; Bundahishn 17.5

4 Yt. 19.51.

him in the restoration of the world.[1]

But Ahura Mazda had decreed otherwise. After five long centuries of foreign rule over Iran, during which time *hvareno* was in hiding, it clave unto Ardashir Babakan, a scion of the ancient house of Kians, and enabled him to resuscitate the Zoroastrian empire. Fire Farnbag, with the two other semi-celestial fires, tradition tells us, were blazing in the house of the sire of the hero upon whom the Kingly Glory was destined to descend.[2] Like the Fravashis who come flying like winged birds, *hvareno* assumes the shape of a bird and wings its way to where it likes. Flying in the shape of a bird it had left Yima, when the divine grace forsook him,[3] and now when the youthful hero was fleeing before the soldiers of Ardavan, it assumed the shape of an eagle, flew after him and overtaking him on the third stage of his flight sat down on his horse.[4] Before engaging in battle with Ardavan, Ardashir went to the temple of Fire Farnbag and prayed for help.[5] By the grace of the Glory, thereafter, Ardashir was rescued when in danger on the battlefield and achieved victory.[6] It seems that *hvareno* is here released and deputed to cleave unto Ardashir by its presiding angel, Atar, in his manifestation as Farnbag. Ardashir seems to be under the special protection of Fire Farnbag, for we find it again saving the life of the new king at a most critical moment. At the instigation of her brothers, the queen, we are told, had attempted to take king Ardashir's life by poisoning him. One day she offered him a cup of milk mixed with poison, and as the king was lifting the cup to his lips, Fire Franbag, we are informed, came flying in the shape of an eagle and striking the cup with its wing threw it on the ground and saved the king from perishing.[7] It may be noted here that this tradition of the sacred fire assuming the shape of a bird and flying

1 Yt. 19. 89
2 *Kārnamak-i Artakhshir-i Pāpakān*, 1. 11, 13.
3 Yt. 19.35, 36, 38
4 KrNArt.P. 3 10-18.
5 *Ib.* 4.10.
6 *Ib.* 4.15; 7.1.
7 *Ib.* 9.11.

away when displeased with its votaries and winging its way back to the altar, when propitiated, lingered up till very recently among the Zoroastrians of Persia.

At this stage we find altogether a new fire coming upon the scene, which has reference to the life story of Ardashir. This is Fire Bahram destined to take its abiding place in the Zoroastrian fire cult. The Avestan texts do not speak of any fire sacred to Bahram. Verethraghna, whose Persian form is Bahram, is the angel of victory and is never known to have any connection with fire. We have, however, from the Pahlavi Karnamak that when Ardashir triumphed over Ardavan he commemorated his victory by establishing Atash Bahrams at various places.[1] The most renowned fires, so far known to the Avestan people were Farnbag, Gushasp and Burzin Mihr. Atar Farnbag flourished in the time of Ardashir and long after him. We have seen that before embarking upon his adventurous struggle with the Parthian king, Ardashir visited the temple of Farnbag to invoke its help. Nushirvan is reported by the Arab writers to have removed it to another place. Peroz is said to have besought its help when Iran suffered from drought in his reign and the Mobads are said to have divided it in two parts and removed them to places of safety when the Arabs conquered Persia.[2] Atar Farnbag and the two other associated fires are, according to tradition, now relegated to the realm of the spiritual world where they still exist, and Peshyotanu, it is said, will offer prayers unto them at the final millennium.[3] The cult of the new fire, Atar Bahram, first consecrated by Ardashir,[4] had continued throughout the Sasanian period by the side of that of the older and more renowned fires with more or less prominence. But

1 *Ib.* 4 8, 19, 8 17.

2 See Jackson, *op cit* pp. 83 100

3 Phl. BYt 3 29, 30, 37.

4 The author of *Shatroihā i Airān*, 3, 8, 9, loosely calls the fires consecrated by Kai Khusru and Asfandiyar, the Bahram Fires, evidently employing the designation current in his days for great fires

after the passing away of the three most ancient fires, Atar Bahram gained the pre-eminent position among all fires. We find the writer of the Bundahishn stating that Atar Farnbag, Atar Gushasp, Atar Burzin Mihr and all other fires have been embodied in Atar Bahram.[1] Atar Farnbag, once the victorious king of fires,[2] might be in heaven; to his votaries upon earth he was no more, and Atar Bahram came to be enthroned in his place,[3] as *Ātash Bahrām pādishāh*, 'Fire Bahram, the King.' *Hvareno*, the adjunct of Atar Farnbag from the earliest times, we are told, now took its lodgment in Fire Bahram, even as the owner of a house settles in it.[3] For about a thousand years it has remained an appanage of Atar Bahram, the last of the incarnation of Atar, the angel of fire.

Our inquiry has shown us that Fire Farnbag, who is called victorious, plays the most prominent part in the life of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. Atar Farnbag, with its other two associates, casts lustre in the abode of the sire of Ardashir; bestowed the greatest boon in its power, that is, *hvareno* upon him; *perozkar* or victorious as it is designated, it brought victory through *hvareno* to Ardashir and when the king's life was in imminent danger, saved it.

It seems to us we are correctly solving the question of the identity of the figure, if we conclude that the sculptured figure with *hvareno* darting its fiery rays over its head and with its feet resting on sunflower, reminiscent of the Mithraic origin of *hvareno*, represents *ātarsh spenta raθaeshtāra yazata pouru hvarenanghha*, 'Atar, the holy warrior, the angel full of Glory,' either in his incarnation as Fire Farnbag or as Fire Bahram witnessing his royal protege receiving the emblem of power from the hands of Ahura Mazda.

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1 Bd. 17 9 2 *Ādarān shāh perozkar.* 3 Zatasparm, II 6.

THE EARLY HOME OF SANSKRIT.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce.

During the last few years archæological discovery has thrown new and unexpected light on the earlier history of India. Historians had become accustomed to regard India in the age before Asoka or Alexander the Great as a world in itself, unconnected with the other countries of the civilised globe. It was, indeed, grudgingly admitted that there might have been some trading transactions between Arabia or Babylonia and the Western coast of India, the name of the Babylonian *maneh* had been found in the Rig-Veda, and Tamil etymologies for the sandal-wood and apes brought to Palestine by the fleet of Solomon had been proposed. But when, many years ago (1887), in my Hibbert Lectures I suggested that cotton may have been introduced into Babylonia from India at a comparatively early date and pointed in support of this to the teak-wood discovered by Taylor on the site of Ur, the suggestion was received with scepticism and silence

Scepticism and silence, however, are no longer possible. The discoveries recently made at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro have shown that as far back as the third millennium B.C. there were trading and cultural relations between North-Western India on the one side and Elam and Babylonia on the other. Indian seals and script found their way to the West and the Copper and Bronze Age civilisation of the West found its way to the banks of the Indus.

But North-Western India had not yet been Aryanised. We have to wait a few centuries longer before the light dawns upon the India of the Veda And the light comes from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. The cuneiform tablets of Mitanni or Mesopotamia and of the Hittite capital at

Boghaz-keui in Asia Minor are restoring for us the earlier history of those regions of Western Asia and therewith of the authors of the hymns of the Ṛig-Veda.

One of the letters in the famous correspondence preserved in the ruins of the ancient Egyptian Foreign Office at Tel el-Amarna is a long letter to the Pharaoh in his native language from the Mitannian King Dusratta (B.C. 1380). The Mitannian language belonged to the so-called agglutinative group and was allied to languages spoken in Asia Minor and the Caucasus, and is still very imperfectly known. But the letter of Dusratta contains certain information the importance of which has long been recognised by philologists. We learn from it that along with the chief native and Babylonian divinities three other deities were worshipped in Mitanni who bore the distinctly Sanskritic names of Varuna, Indra and Nāsatya. Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: there must have been an element in the population of Mitanni which spoke Vedic Sanskrit.

The Hittite tablets of Boghaz-keui have now confirmed this conclusion. Among them are portions of a work on the breeding and training of horses by a Mitannian writer named Kikuli whose work was translated into Hittite. It contains a number of technical words used by the horse-breeders, and these words, which include several of the numerals, are all purely Sanskrit. As the highlands of Asia Minor rather than the Mesopotamian plain were the breeding place of the horses which were exported in large numbers to all parts of the Western civilised world, it follows that there was a population in them which spoke—not Iranian or some hitherto unknown Indo-European dialect—but the Sanskrit of the Veda. In other words, in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C. what we call Sanskrit was spoken in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

The inferences to be drawn from these facts are obvious. In the first place the Aryans who first occupied

North Western India have never spoken a mixed Indo Iranian tongue They were separate from the Iranians on the philological side, as far as they were concerned there was only one form of Indo-European speech in use among them from Asia Minor in the west to the Punjab in the east Before they had left their homes in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia the language of India had been already formed

Then, secondly, Sanskrit was spoken in Asia Minor side by side with other Indo European languages or dialects one of which would have been Old Phrygian, while in another we may see a primitive form of Greek Asia Minor, in fact, the land bridge between Europe and Asia, would have been the country in which the leading Indo European languages once developed side by side, whether it was the home of the Parent Speech is another question in regard to which we have at present no evidence, all that is clear is that it was there that most of its chief descendants assumed or already represented their later forms

The official language of the Hittite Empire, commonly known as Hittite but called "the Language of the Scribes" by the Hittites themselves, is now partially deciphered, thanks to the multitudinous cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghaz keui, and is an important element in the question The language is an extremely mixed one, in the ancient world it corresponds with English in the modern world There is a large borrowed Assyro Babylonian element in its grammar and vocabulary and a still larger Indo European element, indeed a considerable number of scholars maintain that the Indo European element is the original one, the Asianic element being due to borrowing like the Assyrian element This view I am unable to share, the structure of the language is Asianic and though the grammar is in many respects strikingly Indo European it is not more so than English grammar is Romanic And the vocabulary is far less Indo-European than the English vocabulary is

non-Teutonic. The matter is further complicated by the fact that, as in the case of the modern Caucasian languages, Indo-European and Asianic languages existed side by side in Asia Minor, influencing and borrowing one from the other and giving free play to the results of assimilation and analogy. If Hittite grammar borrowed from Indo-European, Indo-European grammar on the other hand borrowed from Hittite. The use of the verbal suffix *-r* is, I believe, one of the instances in which Hittite influence can be detected in Indo-European speech, and in view of the *-bi* and *-t* of the Vannic first and third persons, not to speak of the Semitic second person singular and plural (*-ti, -tin*), it is a question whether what have hitherto appeared to be among the most certain examples of Indo-European suffixes may not, after all, have primarily been of foreign origin. Modern science has taught us how largely mixed are and have been the races of the civilised and even uncivilised world; future research is likely to show that there has been an equal amount of mixture in its languages. A "pure" language does not exist any more than a pure race.

How large a number of words in the Greek vocabulary has been borrowed from the languages of Asia Minor is fully recognised; indeed Professor Calder once remarked to me that he believed two-thirds of it came from an Asianic source. There was also a large "Danubian" element in Greek the extent of which, however, must remain unknown as long as written memorials of the "Danubian" language are undiscovered. In Latin, too, the Asianic element can be traced in both the grammar and the vocabulary, but here Etruscan influence has complicated the problem and made it difficult to determine what is due to this influence and what to early contact between Asia Minor and the "Parent" of the Italian dialects.

The discovery that Sanskrit was once spoken in Asia Minor makes it no longer possible to regard the

presence or absence of a Sanskrit "root" as a test of the Indo European origin of a word Just as the primitive speakers of Greek or Latin could have borrowed a word or grammatical form from Hittite or some other language of Asia Minor, so too could the Western speakers of Vedic Sanskrit Some other criterion is needed before we can be sure to which group, Asiatic or Indo European, a particular word or suffix originally belonged, whether it implies borrowing or derivation from a common Parent Speech, or whether in the form in which it has reached us it is due to assimilation

In the case of Hittite, an older form of the language has fortunately been preserved This was called Luian by the Hittite scribes and is far less intermixed than the official Hittite with words borrowed from Indo European or Assyrian It has also retained some of the older forms of the grammatical suffixes, thus in the nominative singular and accusative plural of the noun we find *-nza* and *nzi* (*-nz*) instead of the official Hittite *s* (Vannic *s*), the relative pronoun *kuis*, for instance, appears as *kuinzi*, GUD *as* "oxen" as GUD *inza* So again, *khiti* takes the place of the official Hittite abstract suffix *tar*, though we also find *tar* in Luian but used as a plural (*e g* AN-*Lulakh inzastar* "the Lulakhi gods") Luian, it may be added, was the language of Eastern Cilicia and was adopted by the Hittites (whose original language was "Proto-Hittite") after their occupation of Khattusas, the modern Boghaz-keui.

THE SPIRANTS IN AVESTAN

By R. P. Dewhurst, M.A. (Oxon.) I.C.S. (*Retired*).

The spirant sounds are an interesting phenomenon in the study of phonetics and philology. If *v* be regarded as being labio-dental rather than spirant, some languages, such as Sanskrit and its modern derivatives, lack the spirant sounds entirely. English has three pure spirant sounds, though our wayward spelling only reveals the existence of two, *viz.*, the sounds of *f* and *th*, and in order to differentiate between the voiceless and voiced *th* sounds it is necessary to use the Greek θ for the former and some symbol like *đ* or the Greek δ for the latter.

The spirant sounds in Avestan are of unique interest for several reasons. In the first place their wide range and abundance constitute one of the special features of the language of the Avesta, and in the second place the great sister-language Sanskrit shows a marked deficiency in these sounds. The position of the two languages in this respect resembles the position of Greek and Latin, the former being rich in spirant sounds and the latter exhibiting a marked shortage of them.

The Avestan has a very full complement of spirant sounds, possessing a pair of guttural spirants *x* (x́) and γ (ǵ), a pair of dentals θ and δ (both of which have disappeared entirely in modern Persian), and the labials *f* and *w*, the last sound being a pure spirant, bearing the same relation to *bh* which *f* (the Greek φ) bears to the aspirate *ph*.

The strong preference which Avestan shows for spirant consonants may be illustrated by comparing the word *θrafθa* (satisfied) with the corresponding Sanskrit word *tripta* (तृप्त) or *vaxθwa* (fit to be spoken) with the Sanskrit वक्त्व (vaktva).

The most common and typical Avestan spirant is *f* and this is the only spirant, with the exception of *x* (ख), which is to be found occurring with any degree of frequency in modern Persian words The following discussion of the Avestan words containing spirants does not aim at being complete, but it may serve as a basis for criticism and enlargement A short article of the present writer dealing with Avestan words beginning with *f* appeared in the Centenary Number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. There are no less than sixteen points on which I should like to modify or supplement the views then expressed, and before doing so I wish to acknowledge my obligations to a new addition to the thin ranks of Iranian scholars, an exceptionally promising recruit in this field of study, Mr H. W Bailey, to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to most of them

(1) The Avestan *f* really represents three distinct Indo Iranian sounds, *viz*, *ph*, *p* and *bh*

f = *ph* when medial, as in kafa (foam) = स्फ and safa (hoof) = शफ

f = *p* when followed by *s*, *r*, *š*, *n* and *t* Instances are abundant, *e g.*, xrafstra (noxious creature), vifra (clever) = Sanskrit विप्र, tafra (suffering from fever), tafnu (fever), x^{v}afna (sleep) = Sanskrit स्वप्न, xšafnya (night)

f = *bh* as in nafa (navel) = Sanskrit नाभि, which is found also as nabra in the compound nabra nazdista (Yasna XXVI 6, 7) where *bh* had become *ph* in Iranian

(2) The identity of drafša (banner) with the Sanskrit drapsa (द्रप्स) appears doubtful owing to the meaning, the Sanskrit word having only the sense of "drop", the former being identical with the modern Persian درفش and the Armenian drasn

(3) frasa fem. (Gathic) = question, frasa in the instrumental singular only (Gathic) = punishment, frašna masc. (younger Avesta) = प्रश्न in form.

(4) fšav- (to make fat) has as its present participle fšūyant (rearer of cattle). Hence also is derived the adjectival form fšaonay (exuberant). In Pahlavi we find both fšōnism and fšōnēnism. This root is not connected with the modern verb افزودن, which is equivalent to the Pahlavi awzūtan, which is derived apparently from upa and zan.

(5) fšutā (cheese) is not connected with سودن or سودن or سودیدن = to rub. Its etymology is doubtful. The verbs cited seem to come from a root sā = to sharpen, which is the origin of the modern Persian ساں = a whetstone.

(6) fšu is the reduced form of pašu (cattle). Hence we have fšūmant (possessed of herds) and fšūšan (cattle-gaining) in which the original sibilant is preserved after *u*, the Avestan han' (to win) being the equivalent of the Sanskrit san. From this last compound we get the Gathic word fšūšo-mąθra (the word of the cattle-owner = a charm).

(7) fsarəma masc. = feeling of shame. This word seems to be identical with the Ossetic afsarm, the Sogdian ꞵβ'rm and the Slavonic sramŭ. It is not connected with the modern Persian آزرم. Darmesteter has suggested that this word is derived from abhi + zarĕma, but this is impossible, because abhi (Iranian aibi or aiwi) becomes aw in Pahlavi and *z* does not become *s*.

(8) fštana (breast). In this word ā = Indo-European ē as στῆθος, στηνίον, Armenian stin, being the full grade, while the Sanskrit stana (स्तन) has the normal grade (= ĕ). The Avestan -fsnya found in the compound occurring in the Hāδoxt Nask (11-9) ərədva-fsnya (with high breasts = Sanskrit ऊर्वस्तनी) shows the reduced grade. The original may perhaps have been passtēn, possibly connected with the Latin sinus. The Pahlavi pistān corresponds to the Sogdian pstnh and the modern Persian پستان.

(9) frapiθwa = well-nourished, in contrast with taropiθwa = ill-nourished. This word corresponds to the Pahlavi frapih and the modern Persian فربه. It is connected

with the Avestan pitu (food, especially meat), the Gothic fodjan and the Slavonic pitati. It is quite distinct from the Pahlavi pīh (fat), which corresponds to the Avestan pivah, Sanskrit pīvas and the Baluchi pīg.

(10) frō = fra u, and frōit = fra+u+it, both words being used only with verbs in the same sense as fra.

(11) frya is merely written for friya (*vide* Jackson's Grammar, p. 24) and so corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit प्रिय.

(12) nafrin (curse) is merely the negative of āfrīn (blessing). In the Pahlavi of the Turfan MSS. we have 'fvrydn and 'pvrydn, both in the sense of praise, and once in the sense of blessing, while 'fryn occurs in the sense of the blessing of the gods and in the sense of praise or prayer.

(13) fratəma (first) corresponds to the Sanskrit प्रथम. The corresponding Pahlavi word pahlom indicates an original form parθama, which occurs in Parthian names such as Παρθαμάσιρις and Παρθαμασπάτης. The Afghan vṛumbai (first) also seems to go back to an original fṛtam-. The Turfan MSS. give the word 'afradom while the Sogdian forms seem to be 'prtm and 'prtmcyk and prtmv.

(14) fšanh (fetter) really seems to have no connection with the Latin pes. fš- is the reduced grade of pas- = Indo-European pek, Sanskrit paś (पश्) instrumental plural पद्भि (with ḍ not d). Compare also पाश: This seems to appear in Pahlavi in pašt = binding, nipaštak = bound. In the Turfan MSS. we have paštak = bound. The Latin pactio also seems to be akin. In Avestan we have a compound epithet zaranya-paxšta-pad- (with feet bound with gold) occurring in Yast XVII-9.

(15) vi + fsānayeinti according to Bartholomae = dislocate. He compares the Anglo-Saxon spannan. The etymology of the modern Persian افشاندن seems far from clear.

(16) Lastly, fraθah- (breadth) appears to be connected with the adjective pərətu = Sanskrit पृथु, compare the Greek Πλατύς. The modern پهن and پهنا are not connected with this, but are equivalent to the Avestan paθana, corresponding to the Pahlavi pahn, pahnak, Ossetic fat'an, Afghan plan.

Additional words containing compounds of *f* and a consonant, which were not previously noted are fsəratu (recompense) a Gathic word occurring four times, fšənghya (promoting) another Gathic word which only occurs twice, and ərəzifya (eagle), the ἄρξιφος of Hesychius, Armenian arcvi, in which the fya is believed to come from ptio- from the root pat (to fall).

Internally *f* occurs in gafra (deep), vafra (snow)= modern Persian برف by a common metathesis. It seems to be rare internally between vowels, but besides kafa and ŋafa already cited there is kaofa (mountain), corresponding to the old Persian kaufa and the modern کوه.

The guttural spirant *x* (خ) occurs generally at the beginning of Avestan words in combination with *r* or *š*. Common instances are xratu (wisdom), xraoš- (to cry), xšap (night) and xšvas (six). In modern Persian a vowel is inserted between *x* and *r*, while *x* before *š* is dropped unless it is followed immediately by *n*. Thus we have for the above words خرد, خروش, شب and شش respectively, but xšnūta (pleased) becomes خوشنود.

Only in two proper names is *x* followed by *n*, viz., Xnanta (Vendidad I-11) and Xnŋaiti, a fairy twice mentioned in the Vendidad (I-9 and XIX-5). Initial *x* is not followed by any other consonant except *r*, and there are very few words beginning with this letter followed immediately by a vowel. Bartholomae gives only ten and some of these words are of rare occurrence. The two common ones illustrate the two main sources of this Avestan spirant, viz., xara (donkey)=Sanskrit खर modern and xanba

(pot) = Sanskrit कुम्भ, showing that *x* generally represents *kh* or *k*.

This spirant does not occur frequently, except at the beginning of a word. Instances of medial *x* before *r* are cixra (energy), suxra (red) and caxra (wheel), the last two of which appear after undergoing metathesis in modern Persian as سرخ and چرخ. It occurs before *t* in āxtūirim (four times), and vitaxti (melting) = modern Persian گداختن. The word apāxtara (northern) appears also with an epenthetic vowel as apāxəθra, both being equivalent to the modern Persian باختر. It is found before θ in puxθa (fifth) and in a number of past participles such as bərəxθa (welcome) and uxθa (spoken) = Sanskrit उक्त, also again with epenthetic vowel in baxəθra (portion). It occurs internally before *št* in āxšti (peace) = modern Persian آشتی, while it is once found internally before *n* in viyaxna (apparently the icy one, the name of a month occurring in the Behistun inscription).

The voiced guttural spirant γ (غ) is not of very frequent occurrence. Initially it is only found in two verbs γžar and γzrad, both meaning to flow, the first of these forms being the equivalent of the Sanskrit kšar (क्षर्) and the Greek φθείρω, and in a few words derived from the roots gam (to go and jan (to strike) and in two alternative forms γnā and γəna of the word gənā (woman). Internally it is found in raoγna (butter) = modern Persian روغن, darəγa (long) = Sanskrit दीर्घ, vazaγa (frog), maēγa (cloud) = Sanskrit मेघ, maγna (naked) = Sanskrit नग्न, driγu (poor), and also before the spirant θ in duγθar (daughter) = modern Persian دختر and Sanskrit दुहितर.

The voiced labial *w*, which as already noted has a definitely spirant character in Avestan, is of less frequent occurrence than any of the other spirants. It is never found at the beginning of words. It generally represents

a medial *bh*, as in the common preposition aiwi which corresponds to the Sanskrit अभि, and it is found before *r* in awra (cloud) = Sanskrit अभ्र and modern Persian ابر, bawru (beaver) = Sanskrit बभ्रु, suwrā (arrow), stawra (strong) = modern Persian ستبر. It is to be found after the spirant θ in rapiθwa (noon), raθwya (seasonal), uruθwan (womb), and before the spirant ð in the rare word dərəwða (muscle, ligament), which occurs only in Yast XIII-11. Another instance of its occurrence before *r* is in an equally rare word boiwra, which is found only in Yast XIII-20, while further cases of its following θ are vąnθwa (herd) and raēθwa (to mix with). It seems to occur before sibilants only in diwža (fraud) and the denominative infinitive diwžaidyai (to deceive), which occurs only once, *viz.*, in a Gathic passage (Yasna XLV-4), I have been able to find only four cases of its occurrence between ordinary vowels, *viz.*, driwi (birthmark) a rare word which is found twice in the Vendidad and driwika (howling) a still rarer word found only in Vendidad I-8. and xšvaēwa (swift) which occurs twice alone (*viz.*, in Vendidad XVIII-65 and Yast VIII-6) and also in the compound xšvaēwat-aštrā in Yast V-130. It is to be found with an epenthetic vowel before it in garəwa (womb), which corresponds to the Sanskrit गर्भ.

The voiced dental spirant ð resembles *w* in never occurring at the beginning of a word, but it is very frequent between vowels, as in paða (foot) = Sanskrit पाद, suðuš (corn-mill), gaðā (club) = Sanskrit गदा. It is to be found frequently before *y* as in maiðya (middle) = Sanskrit मध्य and in the common infinitival termination -yāi as in vazaiðyāi (to flow to). It represents a Sanskrit *d* or *dh*.

The voiceless dental spirant θ is found frequently both initially and medially. It may represent a Sanskrit *t* or *th*, *e.g.*, θanwan (bow) = Sanskrit धनुष्, iθyejah (trouble) = Sanskrit त्यजस्, θrā (to protect) = Sanskrit त्रा. There are also a great many compound words begin-

ning with θri connected with the numeral three. Internally it occurs between vowels, as in yaθa (where) and kaθa (how), and also frequently before *r*, as in mūθra (urine) = Sanskrit मूत्र, maθra (spell) = Sanskrit मंत्र, miθra (contract) = Sanskrit मित्र. In the old Persian inscriptions this spirant also appears as a substitute for the sibilant *s*, as in θard (way), θatagu (proper name) and θūravāhara (name of a month).

In conclusion, attention may be invited to a very interesting class of words in modern Persian, which have a prothesis of *x* (خ), in each of which the original Iranian word begins with a vowel. The most familiar instance of this is the modern خشم (anger), which corresponds to the Avestan aēšma. The word خایه (testicles) is probably an instance of this, the original word being cognate to the Greek ὠόν and the Latin ovum. Andreas considers this strengthening of the initial vowel to have been originally a peculiarity of the South-west (Fars) dialect. He equates خام = आम. The Armenian shows two forms, *viz.*, xam borrowed in the Sasanian period and hum borrowed earlier from a North-west dialect. He explains خاموش (silent) as = Sanskrit आमृष्. Corresponding to خرما (date) we have an Armenian loan-word armav, which suggests the same prothesis. A further case may be the common word خان or خانه (house) which Andreas derives from the old Persian, āvahanam, which occurs in the Behistun inscription (Column II-7), by the following stages :—

āvahanam > āvān (= Armenian avan) > ān (modern Persian خان). A less common type of prothesis seems to be suggested by the correspondence of the Avestan word aēsma (firewood) with the modern Persian هیزم.

MITANNI, IRAN AND INDIA

By Dr. A. Berriedale Keith.

We owe to Walter Porzig[1] an interesting effort to prove that in the region of the kingdom of Mitanni, about 1400 B.C., the Aryans, not yet separated into Iranians and Indians, were living in close contiguity, and that during this period, prior to their exclusion from the western Asiatic culture by the catastrophe of Mitanni, about 1350 B.C., they were subjected to the influence of that culture. His thesis is in some degree novel, especially in as much as it insists on the fact that the Aryans in Mitanni are not to be regarded as an outlying colony, far distant from the great body of Aryans, and in any case the new evidence adduced merits careful consideration.

Dr. Porzig has no doubt on one fundamental issue; he is certain that the evidence from Mitanni is conclusive that the Aryans were not yet divided, negating the doctrine often now asserted that the Indo-Europeans of Mitanni were specifically Indians.[2] Names like Subandu negate the view that they were Iranians, but such a name as Tuśratta is equally, on his view, conclusive against their being Indians; this name, on his view, must be equated with Duźatha, from *dus-ratha*, and in Indian this would give Dūratha. Again, what are in India palatals seem still to have been affricates, to judge from the numeral *panza* in the famous treatise on horses,[3] which is Indian *pañca*. In any case it is reasonable to hold that, as the cuneiform script does not distinguish between tenues and

1 ZII. v. 183 sq. I follow his transcriptions, but Babylonian *š* should rather be written *ss* in Assyrian pronunciation; Meyer, SPA 1928, p. 246, n. 1.

2 So now E. Meyer, SBA. 1928, p. 252; Kretschmer, WZKM xxxvii. 7-9.

3 Written in semi-Indo European Hittite by Kikkuli, see Jensen, SBA 1919, p. 917 ff.; Forrer, ZDMG. lxxvi. 237 ff.

mediæ, we may legitimately seek to explain *z* in some names as the representative of Indian *j*. Thus the obscure name Mattiuza or Mattiwaza may be equated with Mati-vāja, "whose victorious power consists of prayer", a combination of ideas from the racecourse and religion which is doubtless not alien to Vedic ideas. The same *vāja* is to be found in the name of a ruler of Ube, north of Damaskus, Namiawaza, which is to be understood as Namya-vāja, "whose victorious power is worthy of honour". These forms, however, are not merely Indian, but also Aryan, and as Aryan again we are to understand the names which have been considered specifically Iranian, because they show *ar* where Indian has *ṛ*, and where Aryan also would properly show *ṛ*. The *ar* is to be set down to "Lautsubstitution", and the names Artamania, Artaššumara[1], and Artatama or Artataama, are to be read as Aryan Ṛtamanya, "he who strives after the Right", Ṛtasmara, "he who thinks of the Right", and Ṛtadhāman, "he whose abode is the Right". On the other hand, when not initial, as in these cases, *ṛ* is presented in the cuneiform script as *iri*; thus Biridašva, the name of a Syrian prince, is to be rendered as Pṛdašva, "possessing war horses".

In the view that the speech revealed by the Mitanni and other records is Aryan, I entirely concur[2]; it has always appeared to me the most plausible view, and alone explains why we have forms which suggest Iranian side by side with those which look Indian. The Mitanni *aika*, "one", illustrates well the view that the language is Aryan. But this does not mean that as late as 1400 B.C., the Aryans formed a homogeneous group with one speech; very probably they were already scattered over a considerable area, and the differences which are so marked in

1 The name is also read Artašuwara; *cf.* Vedic *suvar*. See also Kretschmer, WZKM. xxxiii 7.

2 *Cf.* my article in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 81-92; *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii. 617.

Iranian and Indian may have been in course of development.[1] This fact alone accounts for the apparent occurrence of specifically Indian and Iranian forms; we may assume the development of dialects within the Aryan community, and the usual phenomenon of loan words in one dialect from another and isoglosses with different areas. This accounts for the fact that the numerals have distinctly a more Indian appearance, while the forms in *ar*, if initial, and *iri*, if medial, look distinctly Iranian. It must be added that it is not possible to accept with certainty all of Dr. Porzig's comparisons. The explanation of *waza* by *vāja* is specious, but both the compounds suggested, Mativāja and Namyavāja, are a little strange; Dušratta has been traced to other sources,[2] *e.g.*, *daśaratha*, "having ten chariots" or *dus-raddha*, "hard to overcome", and dogmatism on the word is impossible. Nor is it certain that Artaššumara can really be made equal to Artasmara, still less that Artatama is Artadhāman. On the whole, therefore, we can hardly accept as established Dr. Porzig's theory that the Aryans were in 1400 B.C. undifferentiated and living closely together. Rather must we admit that, while they were not yet sharply severed into Iranian and Indian, processes of differentiation were at work, and there is no proof of close proximity.

Dr. Porzig, however, relies on his new evidence to prove that the Aryans when together borrowed words and ideas alike from peoples of Western Asia, to whom, on the other hand, they contributed the use of the horse and the war chariot. He recognises the difficulty of proving such borrowings, but relies on the fact that at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the Aryans were cut off

1 Note the numeral *satta*, a form of Prakritic appearance, and the names of princes of Kommagene, Kundaspi (854 B.C.) and Kustaspi (740 B.C.), which have the Middle Persian change of *s* to *g*.

2 See Kretschmer, WZKM, xxxiii. 7; Scheftelowitz, KZ. xxxviii. 270.

from Asia Minor and the Aegean coast lands by the great kingdoms of Urartu in the north and Assyria in the south. It is, therefore, proper to seek in Vedic Indian for loan words from Asia Minor; if these are found, they can fairly be ascribed to the Aryan period when the Aryans lived in close proximity to Mitanni. It is admitted, very justly, that the task of finding such terms offers great difficulties, in view of the wholly inadequate knowledge which we possess of the speeches of Asia Minor in the period in question. There are, of course, many words in Greek which are justly suspect of Asiatic provenance,[1] and the presence of a corresponding term in Indian can often be used to indicate that the word really comes from Asia Minor. But even then it is necessary to remember that the word may have been borrowed not by the Aryans, but by the Indo-Germans, or that it may simply have come to India from Greece; of the latter class, we have of course the striking example[2] of the Sanskrit *surungā* which is due to Greek *syrinx* and it again to Asia Minor. Dr. Porzig, nonetheless, thinks that the difficulties which he sets out can be overcome; a loan word in Indo-European times will follow the normal rules of sound change; if, therefore, the forms in Greek and Indian are abnormal, then the loan does not go back to Indo-European date; the second difficulty must be dealt with on the basis of considerations of change of meaning and relative chronology. These suggestions are, clearly, sound in principle, and the only question is whether they can be applied with sufficient security of achieving a definite result.

It is here that Dr. Porzig's results are not altogether convincing. His first comparison is that of Greek *erebinthos* with Sanskrit *aravinda*. The divergence of meaning between "chickpease" and "lotus" he explains by insisting that both are vitally connected with the idea of birth and growth;

1 See Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* (1920), pp. 30 ff.

2 See O. Stein, ZII. iii. 280 ff.

and it is historically clear that it is connected with *dr̄*, and that the prime sense is rather "to split", so that comparison with Greek *daidallo* is not contrary to probability on semasiological grounds Yet another comparison in which Greek *th* is held to correspond to Indian *d*, and to attest a loan word, is adduced in the comparison of Greek Thargelia, held to have been originally a festival connected with wine, and Sanskrit *drāl sa*, in this case again, without adducing other difficulties, it suffices to point out that *drakṣa* is a late Sanskrit, not a Vedic term, and therefore is useless in this connection

The same question of dates renders of no value the comparison of Greek *karpasos*, which denotes a fine material, with Sanskrit *karpasa*, 'cotton tree or "cotton' Both terms are found so late as to have no value as evidence for the second millennium B C It must be added that it is by no means clear whether the Greek word is borrowed from the Sanskrit as is usually asserted,[1] or *vice versa* No value attaches to the argument that as the Sanskrit term denotes the tree, and the Greek only a material, the borrowing must be by Greek, and Dr Porzig is quite entitled to point to the possibility that *karpasos* may be connected with the name of the island Karpathos and the place name Karpasia recorded by Stephanos of Byzantium, both names possibly originally denoting a plant The different quantity of the second syllable in the two words adds to the uncertainty of their comparison

Outside the world of plants whose importance in pre-Greek religion is admitted Dr Porzig ventures on the claim that in the Vedic word *kupa*, denoting a pit, and in the gloss of Hesychios *kupe*, denoting a "hole', we have a word ultimately borrowed from Asia Minor, where it appears in Lycian as the designation, *kupa*, of the rock

1 Boisacq *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque* 415

tombs. It is improbable, it is argued, that the Lycians would borrow[1] the name of so characteristic a feature of their civilisation, and so the term can hardly be an Indo-European loan word, while the general appearance of Lycian precludes the hypothesis that it is an Indo-European form of speech. But this mode of argument is not conclusive; we know far too little to be able to say that the Lycians may not have borrowed the word, even if we refuse to regard the similarity as merely accidental like that between Potamos in Greece and Potomac in America. On the other hand Dr. Porzig is forced to separate *kūpa* from its obvious kindred words[2] Latin *cupa*, Old English *hyf*, Old Icelandic *hufr*, a procedure which is clearly illegitimate.

In the face of these negative results it is impossible to accept the last suggestion of Dr. Porzig, namely, that a *-bho-* suffix in animal names is derived from Asia Minor. Admittedly there is an Indo-European suffix *-bho-* which may well be connected with *bhā*, "shine", and which occurs in words denoting colour; whether the *-bho-* suffix in animal names (Greek *elaphos*, Sanskrit *gardabha*) is merely a variant of that suffix may be disputed, but that it is Indo-European seems perfectly clear.[3] Moreover the authority for the existence of such a suffix in Asia Minor adduced by Dr. Porzig is clearly inadequate. The Nomos inscription of Praisos[4], one of the Eteocretan records, appears to have a word with the suffix *-pha*, and a Greek inscription[5] found between Kandia and Praisos hails the god Hermes as Kupharissipha, "of the cypress". To deduce hence an

1 But Hommel (*Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, p. 995) suggests that Lycian *kbatra*, 'daughter', is borrowed from Indo-European

2 Walde, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der lateinischen Sprache*, 213.

3 Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der indogerm. Sprachen*, II. 1. 386 ff.

4 Conway, *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, VIII. 125 ff.

5 *Hermes*, 1901, pp 452 ff.

Asiatic suffix denoting connection seems to go far beyond the region of probability

It appears to me, therefore, that we cannot ascribe to Asia Minor influence in the period of the Mitanni kingdom that effect on the speech of the Aryans which Dr Porzig claims It is accordingly, not surprising that his arguments as to cultural influence are still less convincing Śiva, he points out, has a decidedly strange appearance to minds accustomed to Indo European gods, and he rejects the normal view of influence on the Vedic Indians by the earlier people of India, and suggests instead that Śiva is essentially identical with the god of Asia Minor who in Mitanni is known as Teśup, and who is throned above the mountain summits, and is depicted standing on a bull and bearing in his hand the lightning, just as Śiva is a mountain god, who rides a bull, and whose emblem is the trident, notoriously the iconic representation of the lightning So too his spouse, Parvati or Durga, is none other than the great goddess of Asia Minor, Hepa in Mitanni The theory is open to the fatal objection that Śiva can perfectly well be explained from Indo European and Indian influences, and that Parvati also is perfectly at home in India, and does not need to be explained by any borrowing from Asia Minor[1] More interesting is the suggestion that it was in Mitanni that the Aryans learned to apply writing to their language, with the result that ultimately they evolved in India the syllabic Brahmi script with its indication of the different vowel sounds other than short *a* The only proof, however, of this thesis suggested is the fact that in the cuneiform of Mitanni cases are known in which syllable signs, which can be read with different vowels, are made precise by the addition of the vowel sign This is interesting, but there is no reason whatever, as matters stand, to see any connection between the work of the framers of

1 Keith *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* i 14* ff

the Brāhmī alphabet and the very slight advance in the same direction which is adduced from Mitanni.

The net result, accordingly, of the whole consideration of the problem appears to be that there is not sufficient ground to picture the Aryans as a compact mass in the neighbourhood of Mitanni. That view has been supported indeed by Dr. Forrer[1] who has revived the suggestion that the Aryans came from over the Kaukasus, and that proto-Indians long dwelt in eastern Armenia on the Kaspian Sea preparatory to movements to the south east and the east. I agree with Professor E. Meyer[2] that there is no probability in this view. The Aryan element in Mitanni probably consisted merely of warrior bands who secured for a period overlordship, but, scanty in numbers, were soon absorbed into the settled population of the land. The rejection of Dr. Porzig's views is of importance for the date of the advent in India. To him the period is not before some time after 1350 B.C., but this view is difficult to reconcile with the probable date of the *Ṛgveda*, which even in its oldest hymns seems to contemplate a substantial period of occupation of Indian territory. Paul Kretschmer[3] admits that there is no evidence to suggest that there was any large number of Indians in the neighbourhood of Mitanni about 1400 B.C.

On these considerations is based a theory of some complexity. The Aryans knew a god Asura, whose name is Aryan but whose nature is Assyro-Babylonian and who is in essence Assur, the god of Assyria. Apparently still in Aryan times this great god was connected, under the influence of the Babylonian Sin and Šamaš, with Mitra, originally an abstract god, the personification of the power of treaty compacts. In this combination the Aryans per-

1 SBA. 1919, p. 1036; ZDMG. lxxvi 247; OLZ. 1924, pp. 113-18.

2 SBA. 1925, p. 254

3 WZKM. xxxiii. 22. Konow (*Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 261) contemplates Indians in the Indus valley about 300 0B C., but this seems very improbable.

haps did not distinguish clearly between the form of light represented by either god; later admittedly Mitra was a sun god.

The Indian branch of the Aryans developed their religious views in a twofold direction. One branch accepted the Hittite Arunas, the sea god, and remained true to that conception of him; these are the ancestors of the Indians who in post Vedic literature know Varuṇa merely as a sea god, and whose existence is supported by traces in Middle Indian speeches of descent from dialects independent of the Vedic speech.[1] Another branch, on the other hand, amalgamated Aruṇa with Asura, the sea with the sky god, just as at Mylasa the Karians worshipped Osogos or Osogoa, whom the Greeks rendered as Zēnoposeidōn. These were the ancestors of the Vedic Indians. Those Indians who remained true to their borrowed deity Aruṇa, regarded as heretical those Indians who made Aruṇa an Asura, and this view triumphed in later Vedic times. The Iranians, on the other hand, so assimilated the Asura as to reject as demons their own Aryan Devas.

This elaborate scheme seems to have little to commend it. There is clearly a certain improbability in holding that the worshippers of a borrowed Aruna should resent so bitterly his contamination with the Asura, a deity which they also presumably inherited from the Aryan period, though Kretschmer's view on this point is not clear.[2] But further it is scarcely consistent to represent the Indians who kept intact Aruṇa as a sea god as standing apart from the Vedic Indians, and yet asserting that in later Vedic times their opposition to the Asura triumphed. Nor is it clear why we are to assume two distinct sets of Indians with different religious views to account for the

1 Wackernagel, *Altind Gramm.*, i. p xix.

2 It might be held that Asura affected the Iranians and a portion only of the Indians after differentiation, so that he was not an Aryan god, but this is not explicitly stated by Kretschmer, and may not be his view.

depression of the Asuras to demons; in the case of the Iranians no such supposition is adduced to explain why they reduced their Devas to low account, and there seems no reason to dispute the opinion which finds in a perfectly natural development within the Vedic religion itself the explanation of the changed estimation of the Asuras. Moreover the obvious view[1] that the Aryans had a sky god Varuna, who was credited with a moral character and so became the Lord, Asura, par excellence accounts admirably for all the facts.[2] It gives us the Vedic Varuna, the Asura, and in the great reform of Zarathushtra the god appears in the more abstract character of Ahura Mazdāh. That Varuna could in India itself decline to the rank of a lord of waters can be easily shown, and the existence of a Hittite god Arunas is, on the other hand, absolutely unproved. If indeed we really believed that the god involved in the treaty was properly styled Aruna, the obvious solution would be to render the word "ruddy", and to remember that in post Vedic Sanskrit the term denotes both the spirit which, as dawn, is harbinger of the sun, and the sun god himself. In view of Kretschmer's insistence on comparing Asura with Assur and Šamaš, it is perhaps strange that he rejects this view, as well as connection with Sanskrit *arṇava*. The suggestion that in the gods associated with Mitra and Aruṇa we are to see the stars is not pressed by the author and clearly is unconvincing.

More interesting is the suggestion, which can be considered quite apart from the conjectures as to religious borrowing, that it was owing to non-Indo-European race mixture that the Aryan speeches confuse *e* and *a*. The confusion of *o* and *a* stands on a different basis, being

1. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, i 100 ff.

2. It need not be denied that the Aryans may have been influenced in their conception of Varuṇa as King by the Mesopotamian royal power, but there is no certainty The borrowing of the Nakṣatras is apparently late.

shared by the Aryans with the Letto-Slav, Illyrian, Albanian, and Germanic speeches, and presumably belongs to an earlier period of their history. The evidence suggested is the fact that in Indo-European words in Hittite we find *a* for Greek *e*, thus *adanzi* "they eat" corresponds to Greek and Indo-European *ed-*, *anda* to Greek *endon*, *assus* to *eus*, etc, and similarly Greek names are reproduced with *a* for *e*, as in Lazpas for Lesbos Traces of the older pronunciation may be seen in the forms Ispabara of Ellip under Sargon, the Scythian king Ispaka under Assarhaddon, in place of the normal Avestan and Old Persian *aspa*, or Artapirna under Dareios II, with which contrasts Vinda farnā The suggestion is ingenious, but it must be considered in connection with Professor Max Walleser's interesting investigations[1] of the true value of the *a* of Sanskrit, which invite reopening of the whole of the accepted doctrines as to the merger of *o* and *e* in *a* in Aryan

Professor Kretschmer, however, is, like Dr. Porzig, prepared to recognise the strong influence of Asiatic ideas on the Indians, and, without committing himself to Dr. Forrer's view of a European home for the Indo-Europeans, he pictures the ancestors of the Indians as dwelling in Mitanni ere they advanced *via* the Zagros mountains, where the term Šuriaš in the speech of the Kossaeans attests their influence, and Pura in Gedrosia,[2] to their Indian homes This, of course, differs greatly from the view which has often been accepted that the Aryans in Mitanni represented merely the warrior bands who penetrated furthest west, and not the mass of the people Professor Kretschmer's position rests on evidence which he finds, in agreement in part with B Geiger[3] among others, of a very profound influence of the Hittites, Baby

1 ZII v 193 202 *Zur Aussprache des Sanskrit und Tibetischen* (1926)

2 Arrian *Anabasis*, vi 24

3 *Die Ameša Spentas* pp 139 ff

lon, and Assyria on the Indians and the Iranians alike. His starting point is the conclusion that the gods invoked in the Mitanni version of Mattiuza's treaty with Subbiluliuma, as Mitrašši̯l Arunašši̯l, mean "the gods who belong to (are associated with) Mitra and Aruṇa", the affix *aššil* being treated as denoting association, a contention which is by no means proved. The name Aruna in Subbiluliuma's text appears as Uruwana or Uruwna, and this form, and the normal Vedic form Varuna, are in Kretschmer's view cases of alteration of the original Aruna by popular etymology. It must, however, be noted that, if this is so, the etymology is not easy to suggest; Kretschmer varies between suggesting *-vana-* as a suffix, and connection with *van*, "desire". It is, therefore, impossible to avoid the impression that at the very first step in Kretschmer's investigation we have an improbability; the more obvious explanation of the divergence of the versions of the names is simply that both forms are imperfect reproductions of a foreign word, Varuna, and in point of fact admittedly the names of the gods are foreign words to the writers of the texts.

Arunas again is traced with Sommer[1] to the Hittite name of the sea, and we are invited to believe that the *Indians borrowed from the Hittites a sea god. It must be* pointed out that no evidence is adduced that the Hittites knew Arunas, as a sea god at any time, so that the hypothesis rests on two postulates, first, that the Hittites had such a god Arunas, and, second, that he was borrowed by the Indians. But the association of this god with Mitra is not explained by his sea character. Kretschmer[2] insists that the pair are a reflex of the Babylonian Sin and Šamaš, Moon and Sun. Šamaš, again, is symbolised by the sun

1 OLZ. 1921, p. 200.

2 WZKM. xxxiii. 16 f Konow (*Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 262) holds that Mesopotamian influence developed, while not creating, the Aryan conception of the Asuras.

with rays and streams of water, or even by streams and fish, while a Hittite hymn, invoking the Sun to rise from the sea (*arunaz*), suggests the close connection of the ideas of the sun and the sea, which recurs in the Vedic idea of the sun rising from the water. Nor is this all. The Vedic Varuna is also the Asura, and the Iranian highest god is Ahura Mazdāh. Both gods have a special character, distinguishing them from normal Indo-European gods, and suggesting that they are an Aryan borrowing; Asura indeed is Aryan, "lord", or some kindred sense, but the god is Assur,[1] the parallel according to Jastrow of the old Babylonian heaven and sun god Anu. But all these speculations seem to lack any sure foundation.

1 Hommel (*Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, p 219) derives Asuria direct from the Moon-god, Aśur

THE CELEBRATION AND GIFTS OF THE PERSIAN NEW YEAR (NAWRŪZ) ACCORDING TO AN ARABIC SOURCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC BY R. EHRLICH.

The present two fragments are taken from the "Kitabu-l-mahāsin wa-l-addad"[1]— a collection of Arabic anecdotes, probably compiled at no earlier date than the eleventh century of our era.[2]

The first narrative, delivered on the authority of Kisrewy,[3] contains an account of the origins and celebration of Nawrūz in Sasanian Persia[4]; the next one we have derived from a subsequent chapter, entitled, "The beauty of gifts" (محاسن الهدايا) and chiefly dealing with presents received by different people on the occasion of Nawrūz.

In both cases, we give a translation from the Arabic, with only such notes, as were thought necessary for the clearer comprehension of the text.

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1 كتاب المحاسن والاضداد — "Le livre des beautés et des antithèses", ed. Van Vloten, Leyden, a. 1898.

2 Van Vloten (Preface VIII, XIV) seems to think it compiled about the time of Muktadir (A.H. 295-320); but the name of "A'yan the doctor" (died A.H. 385—see Haji-Khalfa's Lexic. V, 244) occurring at p. ١٣٠, proves the book to be completed later.

3 This Kisrewy, thrice given in the "Kitābu-l-mahāsin" as an authority for Persian sources (pp. ٥٣, ٢٣٢, ٣٥٩) is, most probably, identical with a person of the same name (Abu-l-Husein Aly ibn Mahdy-al-Kisrewy—lived under Mu'tadid) mentioned in the Fihrist (p. 150) as author of a "Book of Feasts and Nawrūzes" (كتاب الاعياد والنوارز); *cf.* Inostrantzeff, o. i c. p., 24.

4 This fragment has been made the subject of a Russian thesis by Inostrantzeff, containing a translation of the text with explanation and notes; printed in the "Papers of the Russian Archæological Society, Oriental Division" (Zapisky wastočnowo otdelenya russkowo arkheologičeskowo obščestwa) v. XVI, a 1904, p. 0,20 sq.

Fragment I

The beauties of Neyrūz and Mihrjan

Kisrewy says

The first one who made Neyruz, founded the abodes of kings, erected effigies of power, extracted silver, gold and minerals, used iron for tools, daunted horses and other animals, extracted pearls, gathered musk, amber and other scents, built castles, used cisterns and drew channels, was Keya Jam[1] son of Wiwenjehan (which means "keeper of the world")[2] son of Arfakhšad, son of Sam, son of Nuh[3]

The beginning of it was, that on Neyruz he became king over the world and peopled the climes of Iran Šahr which is the earth of Babel[4] Neyruz happened to be the first time when his kingdom was brought together and his means settled, so it grew to be tradition He remained in his kingdom a thousand and fifty years, then Beywerasf killed him and reigned a thousand years after him till the time of Afridun son of Athfian[5] remembering whom Habib[6] says

"As though he were Zahhak in his rushing on the worlds and as though thou werest Afridun"

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1 The last two words are a conjecture by Van Vloten, see p ٣٥٩ n k

2 An attempt to etymologize the original Wiwanhao, see Van Vloten p ٣٥٩ n l Wiwenjehan a conjecture by Van Vloten see *ib*

3 Sem and Noah Such blending of Bible tidings with ancient Persian history frequently occurs by Arabic historians

4 The locality here meant is the so called central clime" (الاقليم المتوسط) of the Arabic geographers including the Arabic as well as the Persian Irak Fars and Khurasan sometimes with the addition of several other districts see Yakut ed Wustenfeld I 417

5 The last word is a conjecture by Van Vloten, see p ٣٦٠ note h

6 As Van Vloten has pointed out,(p ٣٦ n 1) the poet here mentioned is Habib ibn Aus more generally known by the name of Abu Temmam (died a. 845 of the Christian era)

Afridūn sought Beywerasf, reigning a thousand and fifty years after him. He captured him in the earth of the west, chained and jailed him in the mountain of Dunbawend and then fulfilled the number of years God had prescribed him to live.

It happened that Afridūn had imprisoned Beywerasf on Mihrrūz[1] the middle day of Mihrmāh[2]; this day was named Mihrjan. So Neyrūz belongs to Jam, and Mihrjan to Afridūn; and Neyrūz is the older by two thousand and fifty years.

Now Jam had divided the days of the Neyrūz month, assigning the first five days to the nobles. Five days next were the King's Neyrūz during which he bestowed gifts and favours. The five days following belonged to the King's servants; then came five days for the King's private courtiers and five days for his army; after which five days belonged to the subjects; all this makes thirty days. As to Mihrjan Afridūn began it on Rūzmihr after he had captured Beywerasf.

When the King, on both these days, had donned his attire and joined his assembly there came to him a man, pleasant of name, experienced in luck, joyful of face and sharp of tongue. He stood facing the King and said: "Give me leave to come in." "Who art thou?" asked the King, "whence dost thou come, whither dost thou tend, who goes with thee, with whom dost thou appear and what is with thee?" The man replied: "I come from the two lucky ones and tend towards the two blissful ones[3]; each man victorious goes with me; my

1 This word is a conjecture by Van Vloten, see p. ٣٩. note n. The day here indifferently called Mihrrūz and Rūzmihr (see lower) is the sixteenth day of each Persian month, consecrated to the sun.

2 The seventh month of the Persian year, corresponding to September.

3 As Inostrantzeff has endeavoured to prove, "the two lucky ones" and "two blissful ones" here mentioned must be Haurvatât, and Ameretât, the two spirits presiding over water and plants (Inostrantzeff, p. 031, 032).

name is Khujastah"[1] (خجسته); with me approaches the new year; I have brought good news and greetings and a message for the King."

So the King said: "Give him leave!" and to the man he said: "Come in!"

Then he put before the King a table of silver, containing cakes baked of different kinds of seed: of wheat, barley, millet, sorghum, peas, lentils, rice, sesame, beans and kidney beans. From each sort seven grains were taken and put on the table's sides while in the middle of it they put seven branches of trees which were deemed auspicious as well as their names, and whose aspect was thought a blessing, such as the willow, the olive, the quince-tree and the pomegranate-tree. Some of these branches were cut up to one node, some to two and some to three. Each branch was there in the name of a district among districts; and on several places they wrote[2] "abzūd", "abzāyed", "ābzūn", "barwār" and "ferahih"—which mean "increased", "increasing" and "increase", "provision", "joy" and "breadth".[3] Besides, they put on this table seven white earthern plates, seven white dirhems of the year's coinage, a new dinar and a bunch of ruta.[4] All this the King accepted while the messenger called on his head eternal life, unceasing kingdom, bliss and power.

All this day the King abstained from discussing any matter, fearing lest something unpleasant should come of it and head the whole year. The first thing

1 *i.e.* "the happy one".

2 The text lacks clearness. As Inostrantzeff presumes (p. 0,33) the inscriptions may have been made upon the cakes

3 The Persian words are a conjecture by Houtsma (see Van Vloten, p. ٣٦١ n. o) As Noldecke states, "ferahih" (فراهيذ) must correspond to فراخی with mutation of خ into ه and the old Pahlavi ending (see *ib.*)

4 The last word (Ar. سذبه) is a conjecture by Van Vloten, see p. ٣٦١ n. s.

brought before the King was a vase of gold or silver containing white sugar with fresh Indian nuts pared, and bowls of silver or gold. The King began with fresh, newly drawn milk, in which fresh dates had been soaked; he took small dates in the cocoa-nut's shell[1] giving some of them to those he liked and tasted what he liked of the sweets.

On each of the Neyrūz days they set a white falcon flying. Among other things which it was thought propitious to begin this day with, was a mouthful of pure fresh milk and fresh cheese, all the Kings of Persia took it as a blessing.

On each of the Neyrūz days water was stolen for the King in a jug of iron or silver. And he said.....[2] And they placed on the jug's neck a necklace of green jacinths[3] gathered on a string of gold with beads of green emerald drawn upon it. None stole this water save virgins, from beneath mills[4] and from channel cisterns.[5]

It happened, that when Neyrūz fell on the day of sabbath, the King ordered four thousand dirhems to be given to the rās-jalūth[6]; and there is no reason known for this, except that their tradition was such; it had grown as binding as the head-tax.

Twenty five days before Neyrūz they built in the inner

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1 Such, according to Inostrantzeff (whose interpretation we here adopt), must be the meaning of ديتناول نالنار جيل تميرات standing in the text (see Inostr p 026) (compare نارجيله as meaning a pipe whose head is made of a cocoanut's shell).

2 Here the text is hardly comprehensible and probably corrupt, it contains an allusion to "the two lucky ones" and "two blissful ones" mentioned above.

3 Arabic ياقوت بواقيت—Greek ὑάκινθος—a precious stone of the Korund species, which may be of white, yellow, red, blue and green colour.

4 صلرات الارحاء—the first word is a conjecture by Van Vloten, see p ٣٩٢ n. r

5 مضائع القنى—a conjecture by Rosen, instead of صنائع العنى standing in the text (see Inostrantzeff p. 0, 27).

6 ראש גלות—"head of exile", *i. e.* president of the Babylonian Jewish community

court of the King's house twelve columns of sun-dried brick.

One column was sown with wheat, one with barley, another with rice, the other ones with lentils, beans, kortom,[1] millet, sorghum, kidney beans, peas, sesame and mungo-beans. And the harvest thereof was never gathered but with songs and music and mirth; which happened on the sixth day after the beginning of Neyrūz. Having gathered it, they strew it in the hall; and the columns were not broken till Rūzmihr[2] of month Farwardin.[3]

And, verily, these seeds were sown to divine by them; the best of them in growth and the most perfect in ripeness would be a sign, they said, that the same kind of seed, sown in this year, would grow best. For the King the sight of growing barley was particularly deemed a blessing.

On Neyrūz the trainer of archers offered the King a bow with five arrows, and the King offered a lemon to the intendant of his house.

Fragment II.

Among the presents which the kings of different nations gave to the Persian Kings were the rarest wonders of their lands. From Hind came elephants, swords, musk, and skins; from Tibet and China—musk, silk, sukk[4] and plates, from Sind[5]—peacocks and parrots; from Rūm—brocade and carpets. Moreover, the generals, merzebans[6] and suwwars[7] gave arrows and massive war clubs made

1 Carthamus tinctorius—a plant giving a red dye, much used in the East

2 This word—a conjecture by Van Vloten, see p ٣٤٣ n. d

3 First month of the Persian year, corresponding to March

4 A perfume made with amber and benzoin, or, according to others, with musk and gillyflower-oil (see Kremer Kulturgesch. d. Orients II, 210).

5 Northern India

6 Feudal rulers, holding the kingdom's boundary.

7 Ar. سوّاراساورة—Phlv. اسوّ ثار—Knights of the Persian cavalry

of gold and silver. Weziers, Katibs[1] and private courtiers approaching them gave gold and silver bowls set with jewels and bowls of silver enriched with gold. Great men and nobles gave falcons, eagles, gentils, hawks, lynxes and saddles with their apparel. Sometimes a nobleman would give a whip, which the King would accept.[2] Wise men gave their wisdom; poets, their verses; jewel dealers, their jewels. Those concerned in animal breeding gave: some a fiery horse, some a rare palfrey, some an Egyptian ass, or light-paced mules. Men renowned for wit gave bags[3] of China silk filled with rose water. Warriors gave bows, spears and arrows; sword-smiths and armourers,—sword-blades, coat-mails, armours, helmets and lances. The King's wives gave: some a full-bosomed girl, some a beautiful female slave, some a precious pearl, a jewel of value, a ring-signet and other things of the light and elegant kind. Cloth dealers gave valuable clothes of khazz,[4] wašy,[5] brocade and other tissues. Money changers gave lumps of gold and silver and silver bowls filled with dinars. People of the middle class gave dinars and dirhems of the year's coinage put in a lemon, a quince or an apple.

And a clerk stood there, inscribing (the name of) every donor as well as the reward of all those whom the King rewarded for their present—all this to be recorded in the code of Neyrūz.

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1 The word "Kātib," generally designating a secretary or clerk, here, as in similar texts, stands for the Phlv. "dapir", meaning a high dignitary of the Persian court (*cf.* Nöldecke, Gesch. d. Perser und Arab. p. 147).

2 It may be remembered that the whip was held as a symbol of royal power by Scythian and Indo-Scythian Kings, see Rostowtzeff. "The equestrian Iranian god and the Russian south" in the Collection of writings in honour of Žebelew s Jubilee (S Cornik statei w čest S. A Žebelewa) a. 1926 p. 539.

3 Literally قرب—leather bottles.

4 A kind of silk—see Kremer II, 290.

5 A tissue of heavy silk variegated in colour and sometimes worked with gold.

THE 1468 YEARS OF THE WORLD CONFLAGRATION IN MANICHÆISM.

By Charles J. Ogden, Ph D

One of the riddles in the study of Mānī's religion has been the duration of 1468 years assigned in his eschatological scheme to the conflagration which attends the end of the world This number is not found in the Christian accounts but is given by the Muhammadan authors an-Nadīm[1] and Shahrastānī,[2] whose testimony is now confirmed by the occurrence, in one of the Turfan fragments,[3] of the words *cahār sad šast 'ād hašt sār*, "four hundred sixty and eight years," which stand at the top of a leaf, underneath the caption ['A] DOR VAZURG 'The Great Fire"[4]

Flugel, in discussing this enigmatic number,[5] quoted the opinion of his friend Hensel, who suggested the period of 1461 days, or a quadrennium, as having possibly some bearing upon it,[6] but who preferred to see in it a luni solar cycle (1468 years = 18,157 lunations) This explanation, however, has not commended itself to scholars, and none more satisfactory has yet been advanced, at least in the opinion of the latest writers upon the subject.[7]

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1 In his Fihrist, ed G Flugel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1862, p 58, tr *ibid* p 90

2 See trans by Th Haarbrucker, *Religionsparteien und Philosophen Schulen*, Halle, 1850 51, I 290

3 M 470, see F W K Müller, "Handschriften Reste in Estrangelo Schrift aus Turfan II," in *Abhandlungen der Kgl preuss Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1904, Anhang, Phil u hist Abh II*, p 19

4 We may infer accordingly that the missing word for "thousand was the last one on the preceding page, now lost.

5 *Op cit* pp 237 239, n 139

6 Flugel, in a supplementary note pp 238 239 bottom seems to identify the quadrennium with the "Sothic period"

7 See A V W Jackson *Z oastrian Studies*, p 192, n 44 New York, 1928, H H Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichaischen Systems*, p 82 n 1, Leipzig 1927 Schaeder thinks that the number must somehow have been arrived at astrologically

the fabulous bird phœnix, says that some believed it appeared at intervals of 1461 years, instead of 500 as generally supposed.[1]

Now Mānī's pursuit of astronomical studies is attested by his ex-follower Augustine, who says of him rather rudely that "he wrote much concerning these things, raving most abundantly" (*de his rebus multa scripsit copiosissime delirans*).[2] We cannot indeed prove that Mānī was directly acquainted with any Greco-Egyptian discussion of the Sothic period, but in any event he might easily have derived his knowledge through the Syrian Christian writer Bardesanes (154-222 A.D.), to whom he was much indebted.[3] We might also conjecture that this cycle would have a special interest for him on account of the similarity between the Egyptian and the ancient Iranian calendars, both of which possessed years of twelve months containing thirty days each together with five epagomenal days to make the total of 365.

If this be a possible explanation of the 1461 years, it is suggested that the remaining seven years of Mani's mystic 1468 should be interpreted as an apocalyptic "week", a concept familiar to Jewish eschatological speculation from the "seventy weeks" of Daniel, 9. 24, onwards.

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1 On an Alexandrian coin of the sixth year of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) there appears the representation of a phœnix with the Greek word *aiōn*, "age, epoch," in commemoration of the completion of a Sothic cycle in 139, as indicated by Censorinus, *op. cit.* c. 21. See R. S Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, p. 117, no. 1004, London, 1892, and *cf. ibid.* introd. p. lvi. For this information I am indebted to Mr E. T. Newell, president of the American Numismatic Society.

2 *Confessions*, 5. 3. 6. See also Al-Bīrūnī's *India*, tr. E. C. Sachau, 1. 381 London, 1888 (1910), where Mānī is represented as criticizing the theory of the (astrological) "spheres".

3 Bardesanes professed to be familiar with both Egyptian and Chaldæan astrology; see a passage in the Liber Legum Regionum ascribed to him, *Patrologia Syriaca*, 1. 2. 580-581, Paris, 1907, and the citations by F. Nau, *ibid.* pp 499 501. See also the fragmentary mention of Bardesanes in Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. C. E. Sachau, p 189, London, 1879

WAS ZARATHUSHTRA, THE PROPHET OF THE PARSIS, A FREEMASON ?

By Jehangir Barjorji Sanjana, B.A., P.M.

Besides the outstanding virtue of large-hearted charity, the three principal features in the Parsi character are practicality, adventurousness, and adaptability to environments. These attributes have distinguished the Parsi race since remote ages. Herodotus has recorded that the Persians adopt foreign customs most readily of all men. So, it is quite in the fitness of things that Parsis, the descendants of the ancient Persians, should have been the first among the peoples of India to take up Freemasonry. The first Indian who, by the force of his own high character and popularity with the Europeans, succeeded in becoming a Freemason himself and in getting removed the bar which European prejudice had set up against the admittance of Indian gentlemen into the masonic craft was a Parsi of Bombay, Right Worshipful Brother Maneckjeee Cursetjee.

To this great pioneer another Parsi Mason of high renown, Right Worshipful Brother K. R. Cama, paid a fitting tribute of praise in a speech made by him over half a century ago. "Right Worshipful Brother Maneckjee Cursetjee has been", said he, "the pioneer man introducing several other kinds of improvements in the native community, but if he had been nothing else than simply the first to open the portals of Freemasonry to the natives of this country, he would have, by that act alone, entitled himself to the grateful, kind and reverential recognition of his fellow-countrymen."

Parsis are not only quick to adopt foreign customs and generously to impart to others what they have found

in like way it is enjoined in Freemasonry that while the publishable matters of the Craft could be given out to all, the mysteries must be confined to the members, and that all this pointed to the conclusion that Zoroastrianism had close connection with Freemasonry and to the conjecture that Zoroaster was a Freemason

It will be noticed that after all Brother Cama does not emphatically assert that Zoroaster must have been a Freemason His words are "ધારવા મેલે" *the conjecture* is that Zoroaster was a Freemason

The belief in one God, the Giver of all Good, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the doctrine that men shall be judged by their actions, the insistence on the practice of benevolence, tolerance and goodwill to wards all, and obedience to properly constituted authority, Zoroastrianism inculcates, and so does Freemasonry But this analogy the critical and scientific mind cannot accept as sufficient to justify the theory that Zoroastrianism and Freemasonry are allied or that the founder of the former was an adept in the latter Nor can such theory be proved to have been established by the fact that it is mentioned in some places in the Parsi scriptures that the *Mānthras* or Mysteries are not to be divulged or taught save to certain class of persons

In the Khordad Yasht occurs a passage which Darmesteter translates thus —"O Zarathushtra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Âthravan to his pupil in black hair, devoted to the good law, who devoted to the good law, holy and brave stills all the Druges'

The same passage occurs in the Behram Yasht slightly contraced

In a discourse which the Right Worshipful Brother K. R. Cama delivered at the Masonic Hall, Baboola Tank Road, Bombay, on 22nd March 1876, he observed that from the Avestic writings this much could be gathered that there were some mystic words which were to be preserved only among a select few, and that the Khordad and Behram Yashts referred to a certain *Mãnthra* which was to be transmitted only to the closely related or exalted Athornâns. He explained that the *Mãnthra* in its simple signification meant a sentiment expressed in a word or words, and that the word 'mystery' itself was closely allied to it etymologically, since it came from the word 'myth', which is the Greek form of the Avestic *Mãnthra*. "By myth or mystery", observed he, "we understand more than a simple word or sentiment; a certain degree of secrecy is associated with it as with the Avestic *Mãnthra*. Myth, mystery, *Mãnthra*, are not vulgarly comprehended; to the common herd they are veiled by, and surrounded with, secrecy. Hence *Mãnthras* are to be communicated to the intelligent few. They are said to be very efficacious. They are used in the Avesta for good purposes, to promote the welfare and happiness of the people..... These *Mãnthras* were perhaps communicated in the innermost chamber of a Daré Meher."

The word 'mystery' has its root in the Greek word *mystes* which means one initiated, from *mys* to close, to shut. So a mystery is what is imparted only to the initiated and shut off from all others. There are mysterious rites and mysterious words in vogue among the Zoroastrians, mostly traceable to Magian and other influences later than Zoroaster. The Prophet's own compositions, the Gâthâs, also contain *Mãnthra Spenta* or holy *mantras*.

But it would be rash to conclude that Zoroaster must have been a Freemason because there are mysterious rites, rituals and words in Zoroastrianism in the same

way as there are mysterious rites, rituals and words in Freemasonry. For, as every student of history knows, from ancient times several nations have had their own Mysteries,—Mysteries, that is, in the sense of words, rites and rituals communicable only to the initiates after tests and trials. Such, for instance, were the Druidistic Mysteries of the Celtic nations in Gaul, Britain and Germany; such were the Eleusinian Mysteries practised in ancient Greece, such were the Mithraic Mysteries which starting in Persia were carried to and practised in a considerable part of Europe for some centuries until suppressed by Christianity; and such are the Brahminic rites and *mantras* practised to this day.

Nearly all the ancient schools of philosophy, such as that of Pythagoras, were secret, and clothed their lessons of wisdom with the covering of symbolism. Pythagoras formed his adherents into a select society, bound by a vow to himself and to each other, for the purpose of studying his philosophical system and cultivating the ascetic observances and religious rites enjoined by him. Among the members of his society there were several gradations; and there was also a more general division of his disciples under the names Esoteric and Exoteric,—the former being applied to all who were admitted to the more abstruse doctrines and sublimer teachings of their master, the latter to those who received only the instruction open to all. The instruction to the former was clear and unveiled, that to the latter was symbolic and enigmatical.

It appears that Jesus Christ had an esoteric school. It is narrated in the Christian Gospels that Jesus went throughout every city and village, preaching and shewing the glad tidings of the Kingdom of God, and He spake many things unto the multitude in parables. Once His disciples questioned Him why He spoke to the multitude in parables. His answer was: "Because it is given unto you

to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but unto them is not given." "Blessed are your eyes," said He to His disciples, "for they see, and your ears for they hear; for verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear and have not heard them ".[1]

The expressions "Kingdom of God" and "Kingdom of Heaven" have been variously interpreted, the interpretation chiefly depending on the context. In the foregoing text from Matthew, chap. XIII, these expressions are meant to apply to a secret society which was composed of the disciples of Jesus, which was carefully guarded from the gaze of the public, and whose cult was wrapped in mysteries.

One of the instructions given by Jesus to His disciples in His Sermon on the Mount was "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you".[2] This instruction is noteworthy, as is also the fact that the model prayer which Jesus taught to His disciples, and which is known as the Lord's Prayer and also called Pater Noster, formed part of all the ancient Christian liturgies or rituals, and its use was considered so secret that it was reserved from pagans and catechumens[3] under what is known as Discipline of the Secret.

In advising "Neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet and turn again and rend you," Jesus sounded a warning note very similar to that proclaimed in one of our old Parsi books Aerpatistân, wherein in Ch. I, 17, it is declared that he

1 Verses 10 etc, chap. XIII, Matthew.

2 Matthew VII, 6.

3 A catechumen is one who is under instruction in the first rudiments of Christianity.

gives a tongue to the wolf who imparts the knowledge of the Holy Word (*Mãnthra*) to the heretic.

The fact stands clear that Jesus had formed a secret or esoteric society and taught to His disciples certain things which were to be strictly guarded from the profane or uninitiated. Nevertheless, so far as I know, no one has ever advanced on the basis of this fact the theory that He was a Freemason. On the contrary, Freemasonry has been condemned by the Popes of Rome as the devil's own work, and for centuries, Freemasons were subjected, in Christian countries, to severe persecutions as heretics.

So we must not rush to the conclusion that Zoroaster was a Freemason because Parsi Scriptures lay down that the knowledge of the holy *Mãnthras* is not to be communicated indiscriminately to all and sundry.

A writer in Chambers' Encyclopædia states that Pythagoras had derived a great part of his knowledge from Zoroaster and His disciples; and at p. 132 of Motivala and Sahiar's book "Enlightened Non-Zoroastrians on Mazdayasnism", Dr. J. D. Buck is quoted as having said at a Theosophical Congress that more than one Masonic writer, like Dr. Oliver and Dr. MacKey, trace Masonry to the Secret Society of the Essenes,[1] and that the most common traditions of Masonry claim Zoroaster and Pythagoras as ancient Masters in Masonry.

On the other hand, no less an authority than Arthur H. Bleeck has observed, in his Introduction to the English translation of the Avesta from Spiegel's German translation, that since the Parsi religion is, beyond doubt, of far more ancient origin than Freemasonry (no matter how great may be the antiquity of the latter), it appears highly probable that Freemasonry is indebted to the religion of Zoroaster for some of its mystic ceremonies.

1 Among the Jews, a sect remarkable for their strictness and abstinence.

In the Parsi Scriptures Zoroaster has been mentioned as the first (*i.e.* highest) Atharvan or Fire-priest, the first (*i.e.* highest) Ratheshtâr or Warrior, and the first (*i.e.* highest) Vâstriosh or Agriculturist. But as far as my knowledge goes he has nowhere in the Scriptures been mentioned as a Master of Geometry or the Science of Building. Neither from the contents of the 21 Nasks as epitomised in the Dinkard do I find that any of the Nasks dealt with the said science; nor in the extant Gâthâs, which are the composition of either the Prophet himself or His disciples and direct successors, symbols derived from that science can be discovered.

However, I ought not to omit to mention that Dr. James Burns had stated as follows in an address delivered by him in Lodge St. Andrews in the East, Poona, on 24th June 1847:—

> "It is not enough to say that the symbol which I hold in my hand, the triangle within a circle, was used by Zoroaster and Pythagoras, six centuries before Christ to typify what it represents in this place. Ages before this era it has been exhibited in the pyramids of Egypt, the cave temples of India, the pagodas of China and Japan, and the grottos of Scandinavia, to shadow forth, as it does here, the increasing eternity." (*Vide* The Masonic Record of Western India, April 1864, p. 103).

We will not attempt to dispute Dr. Burns' statement that the symbol of the triangle within a circle was used by Zoroaster to typify what it represents in Freemasonry, although the learned doctor has not pointed out his authority for it. But from the particulars which I shall presently set out below the unprejudiced reader will promptly agree with me that it would be hazardous to conclude from the fact of Zoroaster having employed a

symbol which is also employed in Freemasonry that He must have been a Freemason.

One of the most ancient symbols in Hindu Symbology, a symbol which to this very day is in full vogue from one end of India to the other, is the Swastika ॐ. We find it prominent in the beautiful drawings in powdered chalk with which Hindu ladies daily decorate their door-steps and court-yards. One would suppose it was essentially a Hindu symbol. As a matter of fact it has been in vogue since prehistoric times among the peoples originating in the valley of the Danube. It extends, on one side, among the Greeks, Etruscans, Latins, Gauls, British, and Scandinavians; on the other side, to Asia Minor, Persia, the Indies, China, and Japan.

In an article on the Unity of the Human Species, in the Smithsonian Report for 1897, the Marquis de Nadaillac makes the following pertinent observation :—

> "The diffusion of a sign so complicated as the Swastika throughout all time and in all countries is something to be remarked, and of which we should recognise the importance. Our astonishment is doubled when we find the symbol among the Ashantees on the western coast of Africa, and see it figured in America among the most ancient civilisation of which we have any knowledge. By what migration has it crossed the Atlantic, by what migrations has it penetrated such distant countries and appeared among races of men so different?"

We are fairly entitled to assume that just as the symbol Swastika, which has been in existence from prehistoric times, has penetrated widely apart continents and appeared among widely different races, the symbol of the Triangle within a Circle might, in like way, have penetrated distant countries, and appeared among distant

standing the remarkable similitude between several Masonic signs and symbols and those in vogue among the primitive Negroes, that these rude people have ever known what we know as Freemasonry. Dr. Churchward holds out a distinct warning in this respect. Says he, "Do not fall into the error of thinking that these people ever knew anything about Freemasonry. They did not, but they instituted their sacred ceremonies to represent in Sign language what they could not say in words, because at that early time they had not developed terminology to express all their ideas and the superhuman powers of Nature which they had observed. The signs and symbols have been handed down from generation to generation and that is why we (Freemasons) have used them. We can now express in words what were 'mental pictures' to them."

I wish to hold out to my Parsi Brothers a similar warning not to fall into the error of taking for granted that Zoroaster the Prophet must have been a Freemason because there is similitude between some of the main doctrines of Freemasonry and the tenets of Zoroaster and there exist injunctions in Parsi Scriptures not to impart certain *Mãnthas* save to certain class of persons as they exist also in Freemasonry prohibiting the communication of any of the Masonic signs and secrets to outsiders. If we were to say on the ground of such similitude that the Prophet of the Parsis was a Freemason, we might as well say that the Prophet of the Christians was one also, a claim which we are not aware has at any time been put forward.

In spite of tradition and a deep-rooted belief in the hoary antiquity of the Order of Freemasons no doubt is now felt by those who have made careful researches into the origin of the Order that the religion of Zoroaster is much more ancient than Freemasonry.

In his article in the first number of the "Zarthoshti Abhyâs", referred to in the early part of this paper, the late Right Worshipful Brother K. R. Cama stated that any Freemason looking at the pose and dress of Zoroaster as appearing in the picture given by Sir John Malcolm in his History of Persia from an ancient sculpture on the Tâk-i-Bostân would not fail to entertain the thought that the picture was that of a Freemason. Brother Cama was however frank enough to admit that he had doubts whether the picture was really of the Prophet or of some other person.

This picture first became available to us early in the last century through Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia and Sir R. Ker Porter's Travels, with the hint that it might represent the Prophet Zoroaster. But after personal inspection Dr. Jeevanji Modi has found himself unable to support the tradition in favour of identifying this figure with Zoroaster.

Prof. Rawlinson and Mr. Thomas have suggested that the figure is that of Ahura Mazda; and Dr. Justi is of opinion that it is that of Mithra or Meher Yazad.

The latest view is that advanced by Sir Jehangirshah Coovarji Coyajee, Professor of Presidency College, Calcutta, namely, that the figure is that of the angel Behrâm.

Personally I am inclined to the hypothesis that the figure is that of Behrâm, the angel of Victory; and with every deference to Brother Cama I must say that for my part I have failed to recognise in the pose and dress of the figure in the picture anything to convince me that the figure is that of a Freemason. Besides, as far as I know, not a single European or American savant has noticed the so-called Masonic pose and dress of it and thrown out the least hint in this direction.

THE DARYÂÎ NÔRÔZ.

By M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S.

The Zoroastrians of India have given to the sixth day Khordâd of the twelfth month Aspandâd of their Shehenshâhî calendar the names Daryâî Nôrôz, Avardâd-sâlgâh, Zâvalî Nôrôz and Sôḍî Nahroj, the first two being still in common use, whereas the last two are obsolete and only to be found in old books and manuscripts. The Shehenshahis regard the day as a Jashn (holiday), and a special Afringân prayer has to be recited on it. The chief object of this paper is to explain the names, and suggest reasons for giving them to this day.

The Zoroastrians of Persia have no Jashn on the sixth day of the twelfth month of the calendar used by them since Sasanian times and now known as the Kadîm or Kadîmî, but the Shehenshahi Jashn in question coincides with the Nôrôz or Naurôz or new-year's day of the Kadîmî calendar. On the strength of these two facts and the appellation Nôrôz, *i.e.* new-year's day in the names of the Jashn, the Kadîmî Dastur Mulla Firoze contended[1] during the Kabisa controversy among the Parsis of India, that this Jashn was instituted by the Zoroastrians of India, when they intercalated a month and formed the Shehenshahi calendar, in order to commemorate the new-year's day of the Kadîmî calendar which they had been using till then. There can be little doubt that this contention was correct, and the explanations given in this paper of the terms Avardâdsâlgâh and Sôdî Nahrôz furnish further arguments in support of it.

Daryâî Nôrôz literally means "marine new-year's day". Mulla Firoze's statement about it in his Avijeh

1 See his Avijeh Dîn published in 1830, pp 547 ff,, and especially p. 589.

Dîn (p. 589) is, "એ દહાડો દરીઆવરદીના તમામ લોકો પોતાના શુમારમાં લાવે છે તે સરવે લોકોને જાહેર છે," *i.e.*, "It is known to all people that this day is used in their calculations by all sea-faring men". Similarly Cowasji Patel states in his Chronology (1866) when describing the Yazdajardî Era (p. 29), "The new year is reckoned from the first day (Hormazd) of the first month (Farwardîn). This day is called Dureeayee Nowrôz, or sea-reckoning, as it is employed in all nautical calculations of Asiatic mariners". Neither author quotes any authority for his statements, and at first sight one may suspect that they are merely conjectures based on the literal meaning of the expression. But the following passages from the Mohît (Ocean) a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian seas written in 1553 A.D. by Sîdî Al Chelebi, Captain of the fleet of Sultân Suleimân, based on a number of older books and translated by Baron von Hammer, extracts from which are published at pages 545 ff. of vol. III of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1834, leave no doubt that the Yazdajardî calendar was used by Arab and Persian navigators for many centuries. The passages occur at pages 548 and 549 of the Journal :—

"Section 2. Of the different sorts of monsoons and the time they blow in.—Be it known, that the ancient masters of navigation have fixed the time of the monsoon, that is to say the time of voyages at sea, according to the year of Yazdajird, and that the pilots of recent times follow their steps; but as there is in every true solar, that is to say Jalâlian, year near the fourth of a degree more, every four years, a day is intercalated so that this day is deficient in the Yazdajirdian year. The late master Suleiman Ben Ahmad wrote his book Omdat (the Column) in the year of the Hijra 917 (1511)[1] and fixed

1 The figures in parentheses are the corresponding years of the Christian Era, given either by the translator von Hammer or the editor of the Journal, James Prinsep. The English dates given in parentheses later on have admittedly been put in by Prinsep.

then the time of the monsoons according to that year, since which, upto that of this translation, 961 (1553) more than forty years have elapsed, so that the time fixed by him for the monsoon, falls now short by ten days For example, the monsoon which sets then in on the 120th day of the Yazdajirdian year, sets in now on the 130th, and that which was fixed then on the 160th, falls now on the 170th The rest must be calculated in the same way, in order to avoid error and confusion, but even the intercalation of a day every fourth or fifth year is not free from error, it is therefore the most expedient to calculate according to the zodiacal year,[1] that is to say, the Jalâlian year,[1] which requires no intercalary days The monsoon of each country is limited by its fixed time At the time when the ancient Arabic pilots wrote their works, the radical Jalâlian year was not yet established,[1] neither were the Roman[2] months known in these countries, and they calculated therefore according to the Yazdajirdian year, but the calculation of the Jalâlian year is much easier Be it known that at the time when the above said book (the Column of Suleiman Ben Ahmad) was translated, Nauroze Sultânî, that is to say, the Jalâlian new year's day, fell on the 135th day of the Yazdajirdian year, that is to say, on the 15th of Mordad."[3]

1 The Jalâli calendar was introduced by Sultân Jalâl ud-din Malikshâh Seljuki in A D 1079 Its new year s day was intended to keep very close to the entry of the sun into the zodiacal sign Aries This could be done in two ways either by the intercalation of a day every 4 or 5 years according to some definite rule, or by astronomical observation and calculation The author prefers the latter method as more accurate The Jalâli year thus becomes Burji or zodiacal, Burj being a sign of the zodiac

2 Probably the word in the original is Rûmî, and that term is usually applied to the Syrian months which correspond with the Julian months but have different names

3 This leaves no doubt that the Yazdajirdian year of the author was the Kadimî In fact the Shehenshahi calendar was unknown outside India and all references by others than Indian Zoroastrians to Yazdajirdi dates may be safely assumed to apply to the Kadimi calendar

There follows a description of a large number of monsoons (Arabic Mausim), that is, seasonal winds of different places. It will be sufficient to quote the description of the first to show how the Yazdajardi calendar is used :—

"The monsoon of Aden, Gujerat, and Concona, from the 130th day of the Yazdajirdian year, which is the 360th of the Jalâlîan, that is five days before the next new-year's day (16th March). The point from which it arises is Aden; sometimes it ceases within the 170th of the Yazdajirdian year, which is the 35th Jalâlîan (24th April). From Aden ships set out within the 150th or 160th day of the Yazdajirdian year, which answer to the 15th or 25th Jalâlîan (4th-15th April), they arrive on the 180th of the Yazdajirdian, or 15th of the Jalâlîan year (4th May) at Sheher; proceed from thence to Gujerat and Concona, but not onwards to Manibar (Malabar), where there is much rain and danger."

In this description the new-year's day of the Yazdajardî year is that according to the Kadîmî calendar, and the days of the year instead of being divided into months are numbered from 1 to 365. Now in most almanacs published by Parsis in Gujerati before A.D. 1866 will be found a column headed Daryâî Nôrôz in which the days are numbered in a similar way from 1 to 365 beginning with the new-year's day of the Kadîmî calendar or sixth day of the twelfth month of the Shehenshahi. In these almanacs each day of the year is called Daryâî Nôrôz the first day being called the 1st Daryâî Nôrôz, the 50th the 50th Daryâî Nôrôz, and so on and Mulla Firoze also uses similar language (Avijeh Dîn, p. 589) "જે દાહાડે ૩૬૬ મો નોરોજ થાયે છે તે દાહાડે ૧ લો નોરોજ પાછો થાયે છે," *i.e.* "on the day the 366th Nôrôz occurs the first Nôrôz occurs again." Properly speaking the word Nôrôz is only applicable to the first day.

At present Parsi publishers of almanacs give two columns one headed Kadmî Daryâî Nôrôz, and the other Shehenshahi Daryâî Nôrôz the days being numbered in both from 1 to 365, the first commencing with the Kadîmî new-year's day as before, and the second with the Shehenshahî new-year's day. This seems to have been first done in the almanac for Samvat 1923 (A.D. 1866-67) published by Cowasji Dadabhoy at the Akhbâr-i Soudâgar Press. In the prefatory part of the almanac describing the different calendars in column 8 under the heading દરીઆઇ નોરોજ પીશે "about the Daryâî Nôrôz", it is said: "જાણવું કે પારસી લોકોનું નવુ વરશ શરૂ થાએ છે તેજ દીનેથી દરીઆઇ નોરોજની શરૂ થાએ છે. દરીઆઇ નોરોજ એટલે જે વરશના ૩૬૫ દાહાડાની ગણુતરી બતાવામાં આવે છે તે પરમાણે આ વખતે બેએ લીટી જુદી પાડી એ બંધે ટોલાને સરખો ઇનસાફ આપેલો છે." This means "Be it known that from the day the Parsi new year commences the Daryâî Nôrôz also commences. Daryâî Nôrôz means the reckoning which shows the 365 days of the year. Accordingly this time by giving separate columns equal justice has been done to both sects" (*i.e.* the Kadîmîs and Shehenshahis). Evidently the writer was ignorant of the true denotation of the expression and its history, that it was only applicable to the Kadîmî new-year's day because sailors used to reckon from that day. Under the wrong impression that the expression was derived only from the mode of enumerating the days of the year, he has dubbed both the new-year's days, Daryâî Nôrôz, and thus created an artificial calendar which was never used by any one before. Other Parsi almanac publishers have since then gradually adopted the same system, and it seems now to be followed by all. Since the adoption of this system there has also taken place another change. The word Nôrôz is often now divided into two parts the "Nô" being treated as the Gujerati genitive suffix appended to the word Daryâî, so that the whole is transformed into દરીઆઇનો રોજ Daryâî-nô Rôz, "the mariner's day". It is suggested that

that the Parsi month and day are of the Shehenshahi calendar, and it is also very probable that the true Hindu Samvat was 1439. But the Parsi year 752 must be the Kadîmî year, and not the Shehenshahi. In the latter case the day of the week would be Friday, the Hindu date Vad 1, and the Samvat 1440. In the Kadîmî year 752 all the data agree, the 6th day of the 12th month Shehenshâhî corresponding to the Nôrôz of the Kadîmî year falling on Thursday Poush Shud 6 Samvat 1439, the Christian date being 11th December 1382 A D[1]

The name Avardâdsâlgâh is that generally employed in connection with the Jashn and its religious ceremonies, it being the name given to this day in the Khshnûman of the special Afringân prayer for it[2] The name is composed of four Persian words Avar, Dâd, Sâl and Gâh, and very probably means "the place (or time) of the year that was given up" referring to the Kadîmî year and its first day that were given up, when a month was added to make up the Shehenshahi calendar. The word "Avar" is the old form of the Persian "Bar" as any Pazand glossary will show, and "Bar Dâdan" means "to give up, to quit" as any Persian dictionary will show. As will be presently shown the name Sôdî Nahroz has a similar meaning, *viz*, "the new-year's day that was quitted".

During the Kabisa controversy the Shehenshahi Dastur Edulji Sanjana in his book Khoreh Vehizak published in 1828 advanced the theory that the Avardâd-

1 This, it may be noted, is the second most ancient date in the Shehenshahi calendar hitherto known which can be tested owing to its being accompanied by the week day and corresponding date in another known calendar The most ancient date so known hitherto is that of the completion of the Yasna manuscript K5 in the University Library at Copenhagen, *viz*, Roz 27 Mah 10 Wednesday Margashrisha Shud 8 Samvat 1379, corresponding to 17th November 1322 A D

2 See Ervad Manekji Unwala's edition of Darab Hormazdiar's Rivayat, vol I, page 527, where this prayer is given and also Mr. K. R Cama's Lectures of 1868 69 printed in 1869, p 208.

sâlgâh Jashn was instituted in old Persia as a mark of the Kabisa, meaning thereby the intercalation of a month every 120 years. The Kadîmî Dastur Mulla Firoze, as stated before, refuted this theory by pointing out that this Jashn was unknown in Persia and was most probably instituted by the Zoroastrians of India to commemôrate the original new-year's day. About forty years later Mr. K. R. Cama started the theory[1] that the old Persians must have intercalated a day every four years, and that the Avardâdsâlgâh Jashn was instituted to commemorate this additional day which used to be appended to the five Gathas forming a sixth. At that time he interpreted the name as meaning "વરસનો છેલ્લો વખત દહાડો" "the last time or day of the year", evidently taking Avardâd to mean "last".[1] About thirty years later Mr. Cama formed a committee of himself and other scholars including Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha to investigate the question of the Parsi calendar. This committee held many sittings from 1895 onwards and published its final report in 1904. In this report also the same theory has been advanced as to the nature of this Jashn as in 1868-69, but the expression Avardâd has been interpreted as "બીજો આપેલો, ઉમેરેલો, અથવા ઊપજગનો", *i.e.* "additional given, added, or supernumerary".[2] But apart from the argument that the theory of the intercalation of one day every four years by the old Persians is directly opposed to all historical evidence, the fact very properly insisted upon by Mulla Firoze that the Jashn was unknown in Persia is fatal to this theory as well as that of Dastur Edulji Sanjana. The fact that the Gathas are mentioned in the Khshnuman of the Afringân of this Jashn, whereas they are not so mentioned in the Afringân of any other Jashn save the Gathas themselves, has been put forward in support of his theory by Mr. Cama. But this fact is in no way inconsistent with

1 The Lectures just cited pp. 115 ff., 2 18 ff *et cetera*.

2 See page 42 of the Report of the Committee printed in 1904.

the other view. It is natural that when the Zoroastrian priests of India devised a special Afringân for this new occasion they should have put in words of propitiation for the Gathas as well as the new-year's day, for both were shifted from their old places when the month was intercalated.

One of the earliest extant references to the names Avardâdsâlgâh and Nôrôz-i Zâvalî is in Darab Hormazdiar's Rivayat compiled about 1675 A.D., a lithographed edition of which was prepared by the late Ervad M. R. Unvala and published in 1922. At page 516 of this edition occurs the following passage:—

از کتاب اوستا و زند رسمهای بهدینان اینست که ماه اسپندارمد روز خورداد آنرا خورداد سال گاه نوروز زاولی گویند و دریائی نیز گویند

"The customs of the Behdîns (extracted) from a Zand-Avesta work are these, that they call Roz Khûrdâd of Mâh Aspandârmad Khûrdâdsâlgâh,[1] Naurôz-i Zâvalî, and also Daryâî."

Then again in the same book a little later (p. 519) occurs the following:—

از کتاب اوستا و زند ماه اسپندارمد روز خورداد آنرا اورداد سالگاه نوروز زاولی گویند و دریائی نیز گویند

"(Extracted) from a Zand-Avesta took: They call Mah Aspandârmad Roz Khûrdâd Avardâdsâlgâh, Naurôz-i Zâvalî and also Daryâî".

1 Khûrdâdsâlgâh is a mistake for Avardâdsâlgâh. The latter is the name given in the same book in the passage at p 519, as well as in the Âfringân prayer at p 527, and in most other books and in common use. Khûrdâdsâl is the name of the sixth day of the first month Farvardin. The mistake seems due to the fact that in Pahlavi and Pazand the word Avardâl is often used for Khûrdâd. Mr. Cama and his colleagues of the inquiry committee have also given warning not to confuse these two separate Jashns and their two distinct names (see page 42 of the Committee's Report of 1904 quoted above)

It may be noted that this Jashn is referred to as one of the customs of the Behdins and extracted from a Zand-Avesta book. Such a reference usually occurs when the matter dealt with is not to be found in any of the Rivayats received from Persia since about the fifteenth century, but is one of the practices of the Indian Zoroastrians and mentioned in their books of prayer.

Other references to these names are to be found in old manuscripts of the Khorda Avesta, the contents of some of which have been summarised by Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha in his very learned and useful preface to the Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part I. Thus in summarising the contents of the manuscript EMU_8 belonging to Ervad Maneckji R. Unvala and completed on Roz Din Mah Spendarmad A.Y. 1078 (corresponding to 20-10-1709 A.D.) he writes (p. xv):—

"A chapter describing the customs of the Behdins (1) Avardâdsâlgâh, also called Naôrôz-ê Zâvalî or Naôrôz-e Dariyâî on the Khordâd Rôj of Spandârmad Mâh."

This manuscript also contains the Âfringân or special prayer for this Jashn. Three other manuscripts out of those referred to by Sheriarji also contain this Âfringân, *viz.* EMU_5 (p. xi), and EMU_{12} (p.xx), and EMU_{11} (p. xviii).

The only reference so far as I know to the name Sôdî Nahroj is in the manuscript EMU_{11} written in 1750-51 A.D. This is what Sheriarji writes about it (p. xviii):—

"Folio 80, Âfrangân Bâj Sôdî Nâhrôjnî, *i.e.* the Âfrangân and the Bâj of the day of Sôdi. This is the Khshnuman of what is called 'Avirdâd sâl gâh' *i.e.* literally Avestâ Haurvatâto + Yâiryâ hushiti + saredhaeibyo + gâthâbyo, these being invoked in the Khshnuman. It is to be recited on the Khôrdâd day of the Spendarmad Mâh. [N.B.—I think Sôdî is the Pahlavi Sadîk – Sk. शोध्य 'correction of time' in the calendar. It occurs as the last part of the word mâhîke sadîk, 'lunisolar', *i.e.* lunar year with the

correction of time From this I infer that the feast of Avardâd sâl gâh celebrated on the sixth day of the month Spendârmad is commemorative of intercalating time in order to make up the arrear of the pure lunar year in the civil solar year of 365 days [Compare Dinkard Chapter 419 and Vendidad XVIII § 23 Spiegel]"

This passage is quoted only to show the use of the name Solî Nahroj Sheriarji's explanations as to the meanings of the names cannot be accepted containing as they do several very doubtful assertions,[1] especially when there are other much simpler explanations consistent with all the facts of the case Nahroj (નહરોજ) is the form very commonly used by Indian Parsis for the original Nôrôz or Naurôz 'new year's day', and Sodî (સોડી) is probably nothing more than another form of Chhodî (છોડી) "given up, quitted" No doubt in modern Gujerati the participle when used as an adjective would usually be Chhôdelî (છોડેલી), but in old Gujerati this form with a લ (l) was not used, and the form without it such as (છોડી) Chhôdî was

1 One of these is the interpretation of the Pahlavi termination Sadîk or Sîtîk or Ittîk in the word Mâhsatîk or Mâhîkdîtîk as correction' This word occurs only in Dinkard III 419 and Ervad Sheriarji has himself read it in various ways at different times In 1895 (see the Report of the Society for Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion published in 1902 page 151) he proposed to read the word as Mâh Sîêdî and suggested that it may be an imitation of the form Khurshedî for 'solar In the Cama Memorial Volume page 13 in A D 1900 he stated that the word had not yet been satisfactorily deciphered and so did not transliterate it In the Report of the Committee of 1904 cited above at page 43 the word has been read as Mahîkdîtîk In all these cases it has been translated simply as lunar' and rightly so because the year described under that name in this passage is a purely lunar one of twelve lunar months, there is no idea of correction' connected with this name Not only are the explanations far fetched, based on very doubtful assertions and inconsistent with the other facts but they are also inconsistent with Mr Cama's theory which Sheriarji himself seems to have adopted when he signed the report of 1904 Nobody then thought of a lunar year or any intercalation to make it accord with the solar connection with the disputes as to the Parsi calendar or the Avardâd-sâl-gâh Nor was the word Avardâd in the name of the Jashn taken to mean Khûrdâd but it was expressly pointed out that such an interpretation was erroneous

there were Zoroastrians in Zâbul also Zâbul and Sîstân formed but one province and were so intimately connected that Firdausî in his Shâhnâma has used both names indiscriminately [1]

Just as the name Zâvalî seems to have been given to this day on account of its being the new year's day of the Zoroastrians of Zabul, with whom they came into contact by land, so also it appears to have been called Daryâi on account of its being the new year's day of the mariners with whom the Zoroastrians of India came into contact by sea So far as I know neither appellation is given to this day in any Persian dictionary or in any book written in Persia, or in any Persian almanac, and that is intelligible considering that in Persia this Norôz was not confined to the people of Zabul or to mariners It was the Noroz of the old Persian calendar used by all classes before the institution of the Jalâlî calendar in A D 1079, and thereafter named Kadim or "old" to distinguish it from that of the new calendar which was called Norôz i Jalâli or Sultani In a similar manner the Zoroastrians of India when they instituted the Shehenshâhî calendar seem to have called the old Noroz by the names Zavali and Daryâi according to their circumstances and ideas

There is no direct evidence as to when the change in the calendar was made by the Indian Zoroastrians, but probably it was some time between 1125 and 1250 A D The vernal equinox could have occurred on the last Shehenshâhi Gatha or in the Shehenshâhi month Farvardin only during that period and the motive for the change was probably to bring this about

1 See as to this the following remark in the General Index to Warner's translation of the Shahnama vol IX p 33 under the word Nimrûz — Nîmrûz = Sîstân = Zâbulistân Properly speaking Zabul stands for the name of the hilly country about the upper waters of the Helmund, while Nimruz and Sîstân are synonymous names for the lowlying land to which its waters descend but Firdausî does not seem to make any such distinction

ON THE SEVEN CLIMATA OF THE WORLD.

By Dr. J. M. Unwala, ph.d. (heidelberg.)

The short Persian text published in this article occurs on one of the first pages of a MS. of the Shahnameh of Firdusi belonging to Dr. Said Khan Kurdistani of Teheran.[1] The MS. has no colophon, but has the impression of the seal of a certain Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd, to whom it must have originally belonged, and what is highly probable, at whose request it was originally written. Taking into consideration the high antiquity of the MS., we can suppose that this Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd is perhaps the son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who ruled from 980–1030 A.D. He has not yet adopted the title of king on this seal. The MS. was, therefore, written to his order during his father's life-time.

The text is very defective and most probably full of lacunae. Still it is interesting as it is found in no other known MS. of the Shahnameh. It is copied from an unknown original by an ignorant scribe to whom the names of the seven climata are totally unknown; hence his barbarous spellings of their names. While describing the boundaries of Īrānshahr the author has taken Ghazni as the starting point, which, as the capital of Sultan Mahmud, was of great importance for him.

Short descriptions of the seven climata are found in the Pahlavi Bundahishn, ed. Anklesaria, fol. 39 a, line 10 seq., in the Suppléments Persans, No. 46 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, fol. 407 v. 408 r., and in MS. No. 68 of the State Library of Munich, 3rd part, fol. 2 r., last line—fol. 3 r., line 11, and 8th part. MS. No. 20 of this library, fol. 97 r.—fol. 119 r., is a copy of the Suppléments Persans,

1 The text was copied for me by Dr. Said Khan. He did not mention the folio on which it occurs

No. 46, fol. 411-436 of Paris made by Mueller. It has a description of the customs of different peoples in different parts of the world.

All these MSS. appertain to the Zoroastrian literature written in Modern Persian, with the exception of the Pahlavi Bundahishn. They are unanimously of opinion that the seventh clima Xaniras-Bāmi is the only one inhabited by the known races of men, and that in it the seven great countries are situated, *viz.*, Arabia, Iran, Mazandaran, Turan, Rum, Sind, and China. But curiously enough they are called *aqlīm*, i.e., climata. I shall quote these MSS. at the end of the article.

The text is as follows :—

در صفت قسمت کردن هفت اقلیم

هر کجا از امکان جهان بود از مردمان بچهار سوی جهان از کران تا کران این زمین را ببخشیدند و بهفت بهر کردند و بهر بهری کشوری خواندند نخستین را ازده خواندند دوم را ماسوت سیوم را برخین چهارم را بدرخش پنجم اوریزست خواندند ششم را اجرسب هفتم جیره نامی خواندند اینست که ما بذو اندریم و شاهان ایران شهر خواندندی و کوشهٔ آنرا امت خواندندی و آن چین و ماچین است و هندوان و بربر و روم و خزر و کلاب و برطاس و آنکه بیرون از اوست یکیسه خواندند و ایران شهر از روذ آموی است تا روذ مصر و این سرحد دیگر بیرامون اویند و از این هفت کشور ایران شهر بزرکوارتر است بهر هندی آنکه از سوی باختر است چنیان دارند و آنکه از سوی راست اوست هندوان دارند و آنکه از سوی جب اوست ترکان دارند و دیکر خزریان دارند و از جب دوم خاوریان دارند و مازندریان دارند و مصر کویند از مازندرانست و این دکر همه ایران زمین است

Translation:—

About the description of the division (of the world) into seven climata.

In every place (lit., everywhere of places) there was the world. Men divided this land from shore to shore on four sides of this world and made seven parts and called every part a *keshvar*. They called the first *Arzah* (ارده sic.), the second *Māsūt* (sic.), the third *Fradadafsh* (فرخین. sic.), the fourth *Vidadafsh* (بدرخش sic.), they called the fifth *Vorubarast* (اوربرست sic.), the sixth *Voruzarast* (اجرسب sic.), and they called the seventh *Khaniras-Bāmī* (خیره بامی). It is that in which we are (living). And the kings used to call it *Irānshahr*. And they used to call a corner of that (Irānshahr) *Amat* (?), and that is China and Great China—and the Indians, and the Barbars, and the Rūms, and the Khazars, and the Saklābs, and the Barṭās. And that part which is outside it (*i.e.*, Irānshahr) they called *Bikīsah* (?). And Irānshahr is (stretching itself) from the River Oxus to the River *Meṣr*. And this boundary—other (*keshvars*) are around it. And of these seven *keshvars* Irānshahr is the greatest. At any rate that which is to the east the Chinese possess, and that which is to the right of it (*i.e.*, China) the Indians possess, and that which is to the left of it (*i.e.*, China) the Turks possess, and (that which is) further (to the left) the Khazars possess, and (that which is) still further to the left (lit., to the second left) the Khāvarians possess, and the Māzandaranis possess,—and they call it *Meṣr*—it is from Māzandaran. And all this other—is the land of Irān.

ماسوت is difficult to explain. سوت is most probably a corruption of سوه امت and بیکیسه are thoroughly obscure. The Saklābs are, according to Johnson, the people of Slavonia. The Barṭās are the people of Mordava in Southern Russia. The River Meṣr is most probably the Shat al-Arab, as it flows on the frontiers of Mesopotamia and Persia. The Khāvarians are the people of Khorasan.

Suppléments Persans, No. 46, fol. 407 v.—408 r. :

ارزه شوه فرددفش ویددفش وُروبرست وُروزست خنرس بامی درخنرس نامی هفت اقلیم است نامهاء ایشان اینست تازکان ایران مازندران توران روم سند چینیستان اقلیم اول ملك هندوستان اقلیم دوم ملك چین اقلیم سیوم ملك عرب وحشی اقلیم چهارم ملك ایران زمین اقلیم پنجم ملك توران زمین اقلیم ششم ملك روم اقلیم هفتم مازندران دیکر ایران کویج و کنکدژ ورجمکرد و کشمیر این هر چهار داخل خنرس نامیست از ارزه تا وروررست اینهمه چهار چهار هزار فرسنك اند

Munich, MS. No. 68, 3rd part, fol. 2 r. last line—fol. 3 r., line 11 :

در هفت کیشور زمین ملکها ارزه در کوشه مغرب سوه در کوشه حاور فرددفشه در کوشه جنوب و کوشه اکن (अयन) ویده دفشه درکوشه جنوب نیروت (नैऋत) وورو برشته در کوشه شمال و وروزرشته شمال و یشان (ईशान) کوشه خنرسامی درمیان ایشان هست و این شش کیشور از خنرسامی هفصد فرسنك دوراند هریك فرسنك میل چهار شود و در زبان زند اوستا کنکدژ کفته است کردش او هفصد فرسنك کفته است اینجا پادشاهی سروش است و کویت شاه سردار هست و کنکدژ و ایران کویژ ورجمکرد کفتار پیش نوشته است تمام حقیقت ار جاماسپی این کفتار شد شهر درست کرده نوشته است و در خنرسامی ملك هفت است اسم آن هفت نوشته است تازیکان یعنی عربستان ایران توران مازندران روم هندوستان چین این هفت ملك خنرسامی داخل هست و دیکر کنکدژ و ایرکویژ ورجمکرد کشمیر و دیکر تمام ملك داخل خنرسامی هست این همه ملك اشو باشند

Munich, MS. No. 68, 8th part, h :

نام هفت اقلیم که در کشور خنرث نامی است ایران توران تازکان مازندران روم سند یعنی هندوستان چینستان

Munich, MS. No. 20 (Muller 106), fol. 97 r.—fol. 119 r. describes the customs of different peoples in different parts of the world; *e.g.*, those on the Mt. Alburz, those in the six *keshwars*, those in هندوستان, those in کنکدژ و ایران کویج و ورجکرد, those who are ورچشمان و چین و ترکان و تازکان و بربر و مازندران, those who are called وورکوشان و تشتیزکان و دوال پایان و کرباسران and live in the دریا زره سیلانی.

According to the Pahlavi Bundahishn Arsa is in the east, Savah in the west, Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh in the south, Vorubarasht and Vorugarasht in the north and Khaniras in the centre.

FORMAL PEACE-NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE-TREATIES BETWEEN PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERSIA AND OTHER STATES

By Prof. Louis H. Gray, M.A., Ph.D. (Columbia).

Authentic diplomatic history began in Persia, significantly enough, only when Iran came in contact with the highly civilised Greeks. Before this period there had doubtless been agreements of more or less formal character between the Iranians and neighbouring peoples, but no records of them have survived; and it seems safe to assume that, so far as historical evidence goes, the entire system of negotiations for, and treaties of, peace in Persia previous to the Arab Conquest was based on Greek models and inspired by Greek spirit.

Except in the case of the Perso-Lacedæmonian Alliances of 412-411 B.C., no authentic texts of the treaties have been preserved. Only summaries have been transmitted, and even here one is compelled to suspect, in view of the discrepancies between the Oriental and the Occidental records (of which the latter seem by far the more trustworthy), the existence of lacunæ in articles and conditions, sometimes suppressed, it is to be feared, in deference to the *amour propre* of one or other High Contracting Party. Yet even if one must suppose that certain treaties have been imperfectly transmitted, one may see at least something of the character of such documents and even something of the mode of procedure. With history in itself, especially as concerns the political and military causes for the treaties, or with their subsequent execution or violation and the results therefrom arising, we are not here concerned. Neither is any attempt here made to record every treaty of, or negotiation for,

exchange of wedlock between them ; they adjudged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without a strong bond agreements will not keep their strength'.[1]

According to Plutarch (*Vita Cimonis*, xiii, 4-5), Cimon of Athens so humbled Artaxerxes I in 449 that the latter 'made the terms of that notorious peace, by which he was to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day, and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles [commanding the entrance to the Bosporus] with ships of war. And yet Callisthenes denies that the Barbarian made any such terms. .. But in the decrees collected by Craterus there is a copy of the treaty in its due place, as though it has actually been made'.[2]

In 412 two treaties of alliance were drawn up between Lacedæmon and Persia, followed by a third in the following year, and they are recorded textually by Thucydides (viii, 18, 37, 58).[3]

(*a*) 'The Lacedæmonians and their allies have concluded an alliance with the King and Tissaphernes on the following terms :

'1. Whatsoever territory and cities the King holds or the forefathers of the King held, shall belong to the King; and from these cities whatsoever money or anything else came in for the Athenians shall be stopped by the King and the Lacedæmonians and their allies acting in common, to the end that the Athenians shall receive neither money nor anything else.

'2. And the war against the Athenians shall be waged in common by the King and the Lacedæmonians

1 Herodotus, i, 74 (tr. A D. Godley, in *Loeb Classical Library*) *cf.* Barbeyrac, i, 46.

2 Tr. B Perrin, in *Loeb Classical Library*; *cf.* Barbeyrac, i, 97-100, 110 1. The authenticity of the treaty is highly doubtful.

3 Tr. C. F. Smith, in *Loeb Classical Library*; *cf.* Barbeyrac, i, 157-60.

and their allies, and an end of the war against the Athenians is not to be made except with the consent of both parties, the King as well as the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

'3. If any revolt from the King, they shall be enemies to both the Lacedæmonians and their allies; and if any revolt from the Lacedæmonians and their allies, they shall be enemies to the King in like manner'.

(*b*) 'Compact of the Lacedæmonians and their allies with King Darius and the King's sons and Tissaphernes. There shall be a treaty and friendship on the following terms:

'1. Whatsoever territory and cities belong to King Darius or belonged to his father or their ancestors, against these shall neither the Lacedæmonians nor their allies go either for war or to do any harm; nor shall either the Lacedæmonians or their allies exact tribute from these cities. Nor shall King Darius or those over whom the King rules go against the Lacedæmonians or their allies for war or to do any harm.

'2. If the Lacedæmonians or their allies have need of anything from the King or the King from the Lacedæmonians or their allies, whatever they shall persuade one another to do, this shall be right for them to do.

'3. The war against the Athenians and their allies both parties shall wage in common; and if they make peace, both shall make it in common.

'4. Whatsoever forces shall be in the territory of the King, on the summons of the King, shall be maintained at the expense of the King.

'5. If any of the cities that have entered into this compact with the King shall go against the country of the King, the rest shall strive to prevent this and aid the

King to the extent of their power; and if any of those who inhabit the King's territory or any territory over which the King has dominion shall go against the territory of the Lacedæmonians or of their allies, the King shall strive to prevent this and give aid to the extent of his power'.

(c) 'In the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius, while Alexippidas was ephor at Lacedæmon, an agreement was made in the plain of the Meander by the Lacedæmonians and their allies with Tissaphernes, Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnaces respecting the King's affairs and those of the Lacedæmonians and their allies:

'1. The King's country, as much of it as in Asia, shall be the King's, and concerning his own country the King shall determine as he pleases.

'2. The Lacedæmonians and their allies shall not go against the country of the King to do any harm, nor the King against that of the Lacedæmonians or their allies to do any harm. If any of the Lacedæmonians or their allies shall go with harmful intent against the country of the King, the Lacedæmonians and their allies shall prevent it; and if any from the King's country shall go with harmful intent against the Lacedæmonians or their allies, the King shall prevent it.

'3. Maintenance for the ships now present shall be provided by Tissaphernes according to the compact until the King's ships shall come; and the Lacedæmonians and their allies, after the King's ships arrive, shall be at liberty to maintain their own ships if they so wish. If, however, they desire to receive maintenance from Tissaphernes, he shall furnish it; but the Lacedæmonians and their allies, when the war ends, shall pay back to Tissaphernes whatever money they have received.

'4. And when the ships of the King arrive, the ships of the Lacedæmonians and their allies and those of the

King shall wage war in common, according as it may seem best to Tissaphernes and to the Lacedæmonians and their allies. And if they wish to end the war with the Athenians, it shall be ended on the same footing for both'.

In 392 peace-negotiations were undertaken between the Greeks and the Persians. The Lacedæmonians 'sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus [satrap of Western Armenia][1] .. to endeavour to make peace between the state and the King. But when the Athenians learned of this, they likewise sent ambassadors, Conon at their head, and Hermogenes, Dion, Callisthenes, and Callimedon. They also invited ambassadors from their allies to go with them; and ambassadors did come from the Bœotians, from Corinth, and from Argos. When they had reached their destination, Antalcidas said to Tiribazus that he had come desiring peace between his state and the King, and, furthermore, just such a peace as the King had wished for. For the Lacedæmonians, he said, urged no claim against the King to the Greek cities in Asia, and they were content that all the islands and the Greek cities in general should be independent. "And yet", he said, "if we are ready to agree to such conditions, why should the King be at war with us or be spending money? Indeed, if such terms were made, we could not take the field against the King either; the Athenians could not unless we assumed the leadership, and we could not if the cities were independent".

'Now Tiribazus was mightily pleased at hearing the words of Antalcidas; but to the opponents of Antalcidas these proposals went no further than words. For the Athenians were afraid to agree that the cities and the islands should be independent lest they should be deprived of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros [which, in line, command the entrance to the Dardanelles]; and the Thebans, lest they should be compelled to leave the Bœotian cities independ-

1 *Cf.* F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 326

ent, while the Argives thought that they could not keep Corinth as Argos, a thing which they desired, if such an agreement and peace were concluded So it was that this project of peace came to naught, and the ambassadors returned to their several homes'[1]

Agreement was actually reached, however, in 387 by the 'Peace of Antalcidas' on the terms presented in a Royal Letter from Artaxerxes: 'King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenæ and Cyprus among the islands, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and that these should belong, as of old, to the Athenians But whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, upon them I will make war, in company with those who desire this arrangement, both by land and by sea, with ships and with money'[2]

Ten years of struggle between the Persians and Evagoras, King of Cyprus, ended between 385 and 377[3] when Orontes[4] sent envoys to Evagoras 'to negotiate regarding settlement and to bid a peace be made on what terms he [Evagoras] deemed it proper to be made as relating to Tiribazus Accordingly, Evagoras...made peace so that he ruled Salamis [in Cyprus] and paid the stipulated tribute annually, and as King obeyed the King [of Persia] when he commanded'[5]

In the final struggle of Greece with the Achæmenian Dynasty, Darius sent envoys to Alexander the Great, then engaged in the siege of Tyre, 'stating that Darius was

1 Xenophon *Hellenica*, IV, viii, 12 5 (tr C L Browuson in *Loeb Classical Library*) *cf* Barbeyrac, i 188 90

2 Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, i, 31, *cf* Plutarch, *Vita Agesilai*, xxiii, 1, *Vita Artaxerxis*, xxi, 4 5, Diodorus Siculus xiv, 110

3 See Swoboda in Pauly Wissowa, *Real Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1895 sqq, vi, 825

4 *Cf* Justi, p 235

5 Diodorus xv, 9, *cf* Barbeyrac, i, 193 1

willing to give Alexander ten thousand talents for his mother and wife and children, that all the land between the Euphrates and the sea should be Greek (and) Alexander's; and that Alexander should marry the daughter of Darius and be Darius's friend and ally'.[1] The traditional Persian version of this[2] was that if Alexander would make peace, Darius would send him all his wealth and be his ally, and all his household would naturally be restored to him by a conqueror of such nobility, to which Alexander replied by returning the family of Darius, ignoring any question of reparations, and assuring Darius that his sway over Iran would continue to be as of old.

According to a wholly fictitious but wide-spread Iranian tradition devised to lessen the disgrace of the conquest of Persia by Alexander, Darius had already defeated Fēliqūs (Philip of Macedon), with whom he had made peace upon marrying the Macedonian monarch's daughter, by whom he became the father of Iskandar (Alexander the Great), and of receiving an annual tribute of 10,000 eggs of molten gold, each weighing forty *miθqāls* (about six ounces Troy) and all manner of kingly jewels.[3]

In the war between Phraates II (136–127) and Antiochus VII, the Parthian King 'sent peace-envoys, to whom Antiochus replied that he would make peace if he [Phraates] would free his [Antiochus's] brother Demetrius from captivity and surrender him, withdraw from the domains which he had seized, and, holding his own dominions, pay tribute'—terms which were refused by Antiochus.[4]

The hostilities between Tigranes I of Armenia and Phraates III of Parthia were mediated by Pompey, who,

1 Arrian, *Expeditio Alexandri*, II, 25; Curtius Rufus, IV, v, 1 (the land offered, that between the Hellespont and the Halys), Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri*, XXIX, 4; Diodorus, XVII, 39.

2 *Shāh-Nāmah*, ed and tr. J. Mohl, Paris, 1838 78, v, 82: 273 84: 287.

3 *ib.* v, 51 · 71 80.

4 Diodorus, XXXIV XXXV, 15.

ent, while the Argives thought that they could not keep Corinth as Argos, a thing which they desired, if such an agreement and peace were concluded. So it was that this project of peace came to naught, and the ambassadors returned to their several homes'[1]

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4 *Cf* Justi, p 235

5 Diodorus, xv, 9 *cf* Barbeyrac, i, 191 1

in 64, appointed a boundary commission for them, 'asserting that the dispute which the prince [Phraates] had with Tigranes concerned some boundaries, andt hat three men should decide the case for them These he actually sent, and they were enrolled as *bonâ fide* arbitrators by the two kings, who then settled their mutual complaints' [1]

In 2 B C Phrataces (Phraates V) of Parthia averted armed conflict with the West by coming to terms with Rome on condition that 'he himself would renounce Armenia, and that his brothers should remain beyond the sea'.[2]

A long period now followed during which there is no record of formal negotiations or documents of the type here under consideration, and the next treaty was that made in 297 A D between Diocletian and the Sasanian monarch Narses on condition that 'on the east the Romans should hold Intelene [read Ingelene] with Sophene, and Arzamene with Carduene and Zabdicene, that the Tigris should be the boundary of both Powers, that the fortress of Zintha, lying on the frontier of Media, should mark the limit of Armenia, that the King of Iberia should owe the insignia of his sovereignty to the Romans, and that Nisibis, situated on the Tigris, should be the place of contracts' [3]

In 363 Sapor II of Persia made successful offers of peace to Jovian, Emperor of Rome, on the following terms 'the restoration of five regions beyond the Tigris—

1 Dio Cassius, XXXVII, vii, 3 (tr E Cary, in *Loeb Classical Library*), *cf* Barbeyrac, I, 43[9]

2 Dio Cassius, LV x[a] 4

3 Petrus Patricius frag 9 (most conveniently ed C de Boor, *Excerpta de legationibus*, Berlin, 1903 p 4) *cf* Barbeyrac, II, 46 7 The phrase τοπον τῶν συναλλαγματων seems to mean that Nisibis as the centre of international trade between Persia and the Roman Empire, was the place of deposit of contracts See, further, H Hubschmann 'Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen,' in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XVI (1904), 219 20

Arzanene and Moxoene and Zabdicene and likewise Rehimene and Corduene with fifteen fortresses, and Nisibis and Singara and Castra Maurorum ... and that no aid against the Persians should be given Arsaces [III of Armenia]',[1] the only modifications insisted upon by Jovian being that Nisibis and Singara, evacuated by their inhabitants, should pass into Persian possession, and that the Romans in ceded fortresses should be permitted to go to others under the control of their own sovereign, and, finally, the duration of the peace was fixed at thirty years.[2]

In 484 the Sāsanian Peroz gave Akhshunwar (or Khushnawaz),[3] King of the Hayṭal (the Ephthalites, or White Huns), a written treaty, signed and witnessed, that, if permitted to withdraw in peace from his unsuccessful invasion of Ephthalite territory, he would never again march against them, seek their country, or send an armed force into it, and that he would delimit a frontier between the Ephthalite areas and his own. His speedy violation of this treaty offended Ephthalites and Persians alike, though the various versions give divergent accounts of a duplicity as foolish as it was contemptible.[4] At-Tabari, here the most reliable authority, states that Pērōz endeavoured to circumvent the conditions by having the boundary pillar on which the treaty was inscribed, and which both High Contracting Parties were bound not to pass, moved along in advance of his forces so that he might allege that he had not overstepped the

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1 Justi, p. 29.

2 Ammianus Marcellinus XXV, vii, 9-11-2; Zosimus III, 31; Faustus of Byzantium, IV, 21 (tr. J. B. Emine in V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris 1867-69, I, 258-9). Firdausi (V, 468-537-470-548) apparently alludes to this same treaty. See also Barbeyrac, II, 60-1.

3 Justi, p. 14.

4 Cf. F. Spiegel, *Eränische Alterthumskunde*, III (Leipzig, 1878), 375-9.

frontier.[1] Firdausī,[2] on the other hand, declares that the treaty had been made by Bahrām Gōr (420-438) with the conquered Turks (*i.e.* the inhabitants of Turkistān) and that it had been inscribed on a pillar erected on the Jaihūn (Oxus, Āmū Daryā), which was declared to be the frontier between Persia and Turkistan; but Pērōz substituted the name of the Terek for that of the Jaihūn, and in the battle which justly proved fatal to the perfidious Sāsānian, Akhshunvār bore a copy of the true treaty on the tip of his lance.

Pērōz's successor, Valagash (484-488), sent Nik'or Vshnaspdat as an envoy to Vahan the Mamikonian of Armenia,[3] who offered to make peace on the three following terms: 'The first, most essential, and most important of these three, is to guarantee us the laws of our country and our fathers; to make no Armenian a Magian [*i.e.* to convert none to Zoroastrianism]; to accord no one duties and honours because he exercises the functions of a Magian; to remove the fire-temples from Armenia; no longer to cause the Church to suffer outrage as has hitherto been the case because of infamous and despicable men; to permit Christians, [both laity] and clergy, to practise freely and fearlessly the rites and laws of the Christian religion where and as they will. .. The second is not to judge individuals arbitrarily, but to distinguish the good from the bad.... The third condition is this: we desire the Lord of the Aryans and the King of the nation [*i.e.* Valagash] to see all with his own eyes and to hear all with his own ears, himself to know the good and the bad, and not to

1 T Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der Chronik des Tabari übersetzt*, Leiden, 1879, p. 179, *cf. ib.* pp. 125-6, and also Lazar of P'arp', lxxii (tr. S. Ghesarian, in Langlois, ii, 350).

2 v, 682 : 1576 7, vi, 96 : 51-98 : 67. His geography here is impossible, for the Terek is in Cis-Caucasia, nor can he mean the Atrek, which is south of the Āmū Daryā One would expect the alleged boundary river to be the Yaxartes (the modern Sir Daryā, called Darya-i-Gang in *Shīh Nāmah*, ii, 474 : 490).

3 Justi, pp. 219, 315, 338.

employ another's mouth for deciding weighty affairs. .. If you grant us these conditions and place these promises in our hands, confirming them by the Royal seal and signature, summon us, and we shall come; we shall submit, and obey the King's command, and carry out all that he shall command'.[1]

In 533 peace was concluded between Justinian and Khusrav Anūshīrvān (531-578) on these conditions: the two monarchs should consider themselves brothers, in accordance with ancient custom; they should supply each other with money or men as need might arise; all places captured by either side during the war just ended should be restored to those from whom they had been taken, the Romans to give back to the Persians, among other towns, Bolon and Pharangion, and the Persians, in turn, to restore to the Romans the fortresses in Lazica; that the Roman Commander of the East should henceforth be stationed at Constantine instead of at Daras (Qasr al-Bunj, near Nisibis); that the Romans should give the Persians a fixed sum in lieu of being bound to dismantle Daras and to co-operate with the Persians in guarding the Caspian Gates; that the Iberian refugees might either reside at Constantinople or return home; and that a certain Dagaris might be exchanged for another person of equal rank.[2]

In his account of the conversations in 562 between Justinian and Khusrav, Menander Protector[3] gives almost a *procès-verbal* of the method of procedure in negotiating peace. At Daras the Roman ambassadors, Petrus Patricius and Eusebius, met the Persian envoy, Iesdegusnaph.[4] After a long address from Petrus, dwelling at length on the prowess and virtue of his people, Iesdegusnaph

1 Lazar of P'arp'i, lxxvi (tr. in Langlois, II, 354-5).

2 Procopius, *De bello Persico*, I, 22, *cf.* Barbeyrac, II, 174-7.

3 *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. de Boor, pp. 171-83, *cf.* Barbeyrac II, 193-4, 195-200.

4 Justi, p. 149.

replied in similar vein, and these being duly translated by the interpreters on both sides, a number of other speeches were made both for practical and for oratorical reasons lest either group should seem to be behind the other in desire for peace Coming down to details, the Persians desired the peace to be perpetual, and they asked to receive a certain amount of gold annually as a condition that they refrain from hostilities, a lump sum for forty, or at least thirty, years to be paid immediately The Romans replied that they must decline to make any payment, and that they wished the peace limited to a brief period After long and apparently acrimonious discussion, of which Menander gives no details, it was decided that peace should last for fifty years throughout the East, including Armenia and Lazica [Lazistan], that the Persians should restore Lazica to the Romans, that thirty thousand pieces of gold should be paid annually to Persia by Rome to keep the peace, seven years' sum immediately, and three years' amount at the expiry of seven years, after which payment should be made regularly year by year It was likewise agreed that the terms reached by the ambassadors should be confirmed in writing both by Justinian and by Khusrav, the Persian monarch's letter being given in full Provision was also made for a separate promise by Justinian that the three years' payment would be discharged at the exact date agreed upon, and Khusrav was bound, in turn, on receiving this money, to give written assurance that he would keep peace

At a subsequent conference, the question of Suania—the only important problem still outstanding—was taken up After preliminary magniloquence on both sides, Petrus set forth the historic basis of the Roman claims to the country, and it was decided, after thorough debate, to submit the matter to Khusrav for decision, Iesdegusnaph promising to use his good offices on behalf of Petrus. Other

sixth Article, that any individuals who had passed, in time of war, from the Romans to the Persians or from the Persians to the Romans might, if they so desired, return home without let or hindrance; but in time of peace no one might desert or flee from the territory of one High Contracting Party into that of the other, but must be handed over, voluntarily or involuntarily, to those from whom he had fled. The seventh Article, that any complaints, brought by subjects of one of the High Contracting Parties against subjects of the other High Contracting Party should be settled by trial either by the plaintiffs[1] or by certain men meeting on the frontier in the presence of officials of both High Contracting Parties, the individuals found guilty to make the damage good. The eighth Article, that, to avoid any future ground of complaint against the Romans on the part of the Persians because of fortification of Daras, neither High Contracting Party should build walls around either it or any other frontier area. The ninth Article, that neither High Contracting Party might invade or make war upon a people or territory subject to the other High Contracting Party. The tenth Article, that no troops should be stationed at Daras except such as might be required to garrison it; nor might the [Roman] Commander of the East remain in its vicinity lest it become a base for invasion of or injury to Persian territory, in which events the Governor of Daras should make reparations. The eleventh Article, that if either High Contracting Party should wrong the other by underhand activities which might give rise to ill feeling, the matter should be punctiliously adjusted by the judges stationed on the common frontier of both States. If they should be unable to make settlement, the case should be referred to the [Roman] Commander of the East, and if then it were not adjusted within six months, and damages

[1] ἢ δι ἑαντῶν τῶν τὴν βλάβην πεπονθότων ἢ δι οἰκείων ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ., but the phrase seems rather curious.

made good, the party at fault should be liable for twice the amount in reparations. If even this should prove ineffective, the plaintiff should appeal to the sovereign of the defendant, and if that monarch should not pay the plaintiff double damages within a year, this Article should be deemed violated. The twelfth Article invoked the Divine blessing upon those who should faithfully maintain the treaty and the Divine curse upon those who should violate it; and the thirteenth (and last) Article fixed the duration of the treaty at fifty years.

The document thus drawn up by the envoys was confirmed by Letters Royal both from Justinian and from Khusrav; and when it had so been ratified, a separate Convention was made governing the status of Christians in Persia: they might build churches,[1] practise their religion and sing hymns of thanksgiving freely, and inter their dead[2]; they could not be constrained to attend Zoroastrian religious rites or to worship Zoroastrian deities against their will; but, on the other hand, they were forbidden to make converts from Zoroastrianism to Christianity.

Two copies of these documents were made and carefully compared to ensure identity of wording and content; and other copies were then prepared from them. The two original copies were fastened with wax seals and stamped with the signets of the envoys as well as of twelve interpreters, six for each High Contracting Party, after which Iesdegusnaph gave Petrus the original copy written in Persian and another in the same language but written in Greek letters, receiving in return the original copy written in Greek as well as another in the same language but written in Persian characters, these second copies being

1 At Tabari (Noldeke, p. 288) adds that Justinian was equally bound to build fire temples for Zoroastrians in his dominions

2 Instead of exposing them on 'Towers of Silence' according to Zoroastrian usage

unsealed and serving merely as *aide-mémoires* (τὸ σωθήσεσθαί οἱ τὰς μνήμας).

The conference now broke up, and Iesdegusnaph returned home, Petrus remaining at Daras to celebrate Christmas. Shortly after Epiphany, the Greek envoy, having first paid the seven years' sum stipulated in the treaty, went to Betharmais to endeavour to settle the Suanian question with Khusrav himself; but these conversations, reported at length by Menander, and based upon historical arguments, led to no change in the status of the region, which remained under Persian dominion.

In 590-591, Bahrām Čōpīn having been elevated to the throne, Khusrav II Parvēz (590-628)[1] appealed for aid to the Byzantine Emperor Mauricius (582-602), who granted it only on condition that, according to Firdausī,[2] Bahrām would sign a treaty never to make war on Byzantium so that 'henceforth Irān and Rūm may be one, and that we may not seek to separate these lands', and that the Sāsānian monarch would marry one of the daughters of Mauricius; to which the Armenian historian Thomas Artsruni[3] adds that Bahrām agreed to cede to Byzantium, Syria and Assyria as far as Nisibis, Tanuterakan in Armenia as far as Ararat and Dvin and the shores of Lake Bznunik' to the village of Arest, and the major part of Iberia as far as Tiflis.

Firdausi, who completed his Persian epic, the *Shāh-Nāmah* ('Book of Kings'), in 1010 A.D., mentions, besides the documents already cited, a few other treaties of legendary character, probably modelled on the historic agreements of the Greek and Byzantine periods. The importance of the poem in present connexion lies in the fact that

1 Justi, pp 363, 135, Noldeke *Tabari*, pp 282 5, 474 8, Barbeyrac, ii, 231-4, 240.

2 vii, 114 : 1343 116 : 1358, 120 : 1394-122 : 1423.

3 ii, 3 (tr. M Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, Petrograd, 1874, i, 76); for other, and slightly different versions, see Hubschmann, pp 228 32.

it is the oldest and fullest extant historical record of pre-Muhammadan Persia, and that the later Persian and Arabic historians followed much the same sources, and worked along much the same lines as did Firdausī.

Pashang, King of 'Tūrān', sent an envoy to Kai Qubād (legendary date 1005-990 B.C.)[1] to sue for peace, proposing that the division of the known world by Farēdūn between his sons—Rūm (the Byzantine Empire) and the West to Salm, Turkistān and China to Tūr, and Irān to Īraj—[2] should be maintained. 'If we depart from this and engage in war, we shall make the world strait for us..... If King Qubād is pleased herewith, ...neither of us will see the Jaihūn (even) in dream, and no Iranian will come this side of the river, save with greetings and peace and messages'; and on these terms a treaty (پیمان) was made.[3]

Siyāvakhsh, son of Kai Kā'ūs (legendary date 990-840 B.C. [!]), made peace with Pashang's son, Afrāsiyāb,[4] on condition that the latter would send him a hundred hostages of his own kinsmen, known to and chosen by the famous Rustam, evacuate all areas of Irān then held by him, return to 'Tūrān', and renounce any future resort to arms.[5]

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1 Justi, pp. 245, 159. E. W. West in *Sacred Books of the East*, xlvii (Oxford, 1897), p. xxix

2 *Shāh-Nāmah*, i, 138 : 290 303.

3 *ib.* i, 476 : 149 55, 478 : 162 4, 175-8. For پیمان F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, London, n. d., p 269, gives the meanings 'promise, agreement, compact, convention, treaty, stipulation, pledge, security, confirmation'. It appears in Pahlavi (Middle Persian) as *patmān* (Avesta **paiti māna-*), and is borrowed in Armenian as *payman* (*cf.* H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, Strasbourg, 1897, p. 220).

4 Jus , pp 299, 10 .

5 *Shāh-Nāmah*, n 272, 902 6, 920 4. For a fraudulent offer of peace by the 'Tūrānian' leader Pēran, pretending to sacrifice all his conquests to Codurz, general of Kai Khusrav (*cf.* Justi, pp. 252, 118), see *ib.* m, 504 : 1106 sqq.

NATURAM EXPELLAS FURCÂ.

By Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, d.litt., m.a.

...*Tamen usque recurret*—so ran an old saying we associate with Horace, the sage of Rome. Pitchfork human nature, and it will come right back again. Man has worded his nature under a manifold of aspects—notably in ancient Egypt—and by a manifold of terms—notably in Germany of the day before yesterday; we find him there and then, not only wording himself as I, or as we, as we still do, but the other man as either thou, or he, or you, or (a little later) they.[1] But in neither case was there any doubt in him as to the *unitary meaning* in his pronouns. The speaker and the man spoken-to were, each, one. Queen Victoria, in her now classic remark, might say, "We are not amused." But she actually meant: 'I' am not... Moreover this "we", or "I" expressed a unique unity. She did not mean by it the bundle of physio-psychological factors labelled "I". She meant I, the appraiser, the judge; the estimator of your story, as reported by my hearing and tried according to my taste, my *savoir faire*—these being the instruments by which I judge—*I* decide *you* do not amuse *me*.

For the queen at that moment, and at any similar moment, her forming the worth or value, and making it articulate was the fundamentally real, true expression of her nature as man, that is, as human being, *homo*, *puruṣa*, *ātman*. It would not have been equally so, had she thought of the matter as a hearing, a valuing, a verdict, *without self-reference*. This would relegate the act to 'a' procedure common to intelligent persons, expressed in general terms commonly accepted. But this was 'her' estimate, unique, in that what went to form it was, in its conditions, not just the

1 Du, Er, Ihr, Sie.

same as that of any one but herself. She made it, she worded it, she was responsible for it. "I valued, I spoke, I must stand by it":—if the personal factor here (whether expressed by pronoun, by verb, or by both,) be cut out, we no longer have what is fundamental in the speaker's nature; we are trying to pitchfork nature out.

Now this was what the teaching best known as Hīnayāna Buddhism sought to do, as it drew, in time and in point of view, ever further from its original inspiration It sought to do it verbally, by coming to use the negativ *anatta*, not as in the early warning, namely, as That who body and mind were not, but for the owner of body and mind as non-existent. At first, while using *atta-* for man (*puggala*) freely, it only deprecated seeing in the meaning of this word those implications of the Divine (immutability, not-ill) taught in Brahman lore. Little by little the use of *attan* was avoided, save on the one hand where common usage called for a reflexive term,[1] and on the other, where a pitchforking of the 'man' was deemed desirable. Herein it sought to do verbally what it held mentally.

The causes of this divergence in doctrine, as due to other conditions as well as that indicated above, I have gone into elsewhere.[2] I have also dealt elsewhere with the usual evasion called the "two ways of teaching (*dve kathā*) practised by the Founders".[3] This, emerging only in the later commentaries, is without pertinent scriptural support, is not used in the scriptures where sorely needed—the Kathāvatthu, No. I—and is indeed virtually negatived by a very explicit repudiation of double method ascribed to the Founder's last utterances.[4]

Here I am pointing, not to the pitchforking so much, as to the 'recurret' of the "man".

1 *e.g. attano kātam*

2 *Gotama the Man*, London, 1928, etc

3 JI R. Asiatic Society, January 1929

4 Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta.

It was a *volte face* wondrous in its thoroughness—its *apparent* thoroughness—accomplished by Buddhism while yet in India, that, in the country of the most notable utterance of "the man" (*purusa* – *ātman* – Brahman), the man should be declared as not real, as no thing *if* taken to be more than body and mind Whether it was for this, partly or at all, that India finally would have no more of Buddhism we do not know But this we know the *volte-face* might be in idea, but it could not become as much in language Nothing is more plastic than the word Nothing is more curious, more fascinating than to watch the changes, the fissions, the permutations in words But there are limits to changes in the general structure of speech as the man's expression of himself In 'I do this', we may expel the doer from two thirds —*karo mi etad*—but the fundamental attitude of the man expressing himself remains Buddhism could not pitchfork the fundamental idea of the agent in language

But there were ways round, ways of covering up And that could be effected by other common, if less fundamentally based usages, the common name, for instance, serving to bind together bundles of actions in thought word and deed These three are such bundles, but there are cords yet "more saying" than these, uniting them actually or potentially, such as, mind, or again states, phenomena, things, *dhammā* It was less of a wrench in language to speak of *manas*, or *citta*, or again of *paññā* (*prajñā*) or *sati* (*smrti*) performing this or that, *as if it were* the "man", the "I" And this is what we actually find in the Buddhist classics, less in the more archaic Sutta form of the Digha and other older portions, more in the more sophisticated Majjhima, the Abhidhamma, and more, much more, in the Milinda and the Commentaries

What, for instance, could not that Sutta of ancient seeming, the Mahavedalla, 43rd of the Majjhima tell

king enjoying a fivefold revenue It is only in their definitions, not their illustrations, that both writers extrude the man, while tending to use the artificial diction of personifying his ways, and of making mannikins of his attributes

When we look to the still later attitude represented in such a standard manual as the Abhidhammatthasangaha,[1] we find the man, still pitchforked as much as ever, come back in a more decisive way, if still under a misfitting name The flat quincunx of the groups bodily and mental (*skandhas*) is practically shelved—they were a most unfortunate choice from the first—and their successor is, apart from *rūpa* (the body), "*citta* and *cetasikā*,"[2] that is, mind and 'mentals' When a *citta* arises, it may be analyzed into a number of properties, (*cetasikā*) some constant, some occasional Thus we once more get a quasi unity, producing a number of mind ways We are here *halfway back at least* to the natural, the more fundamental standpoint of the one, the man, wielding his instruments

I do not think that this feature in Buddhist literature has been given the attention it merits To credit the way, the process, with creative, productive activities belonging to the user of the way, the proceeder, is a slovenly mode of thought and language, it is an importing into prose the license and play of poetry But it has served as a compromise, whereby Buddhist thought has managed to come along as it has, sounding the hollow tom tom of *anatta* on the one hand, and on the other, teaching in apparently reasonable terms concerning humanity

'Apparently reasonable' it has sounded to many, even today Nay, not even today, let me rather say, especially today For it is today, (yet not today only) that we too have set up something like that tom tomming concerning

1 Translated (Pali Text Soc) as *Compendium of Philosophy*

2 These just peep out already in the Abhidhamma Pitaka

the very man, and are teaching with much the same slovenly usage, by transferring terms and phrases befitting the mind-er to the mind, that is, to the mind-ing. Turn with me to what was, perhaps more than any other work, the nurse of our crude young science of psychology trying to wean itself from its own mother, philosophy. We need not seek long: "The mind very often sets itself on work in search of some hidden idea, and turns as it were the eye of the soul upon it" (there Locke actually brings in the 'man' as a rival, or even as an instrument of the mind!); "though sometimes too they start up of their own accord, (ideas here = *dhammā*), and offer themselves to the understanding".[1] In *this* vein Locke might have written the Milinda!

I will not burden this brief article with seeking analogous slovenlinesses in Locke's heirs, the Scottish or British psychologists. The latest, my own teacher and his teacher, Robertson and Bain, were fastidiously 'unsloven' in their diction, as in their thought. They were chiefly myopic in this: they shelved the man or self, who, though unanalyzable, should have formed the avowed limit-point, the very *poû stô*. In their analysis, they are compelled (by man's recognition of 'the man' in language) to be ever drawing in the 'we', and 'I'. This always reminds me of a gibe in Leslie Stephen's ethics: shooting ever at a target with the avowed aim of not hitting it.

Rather would I show how, in a sample of today's psychology, we seem to have *reverted* to the rhetoric of Locke. In *The New Psychology*[2] this is abundantly the case. "The rational faculty prompts the mind to refuse implicit obedience .." But the mind worried by this mannikin (*dhamma*) hits back! "The complex responsible for the act ..is not recognized by the mind..." (How like

1 *On the Human Understanding*, (1690) II, ch. 10.

2 By A. G. Tansley, 1920.

the Queen's 'we are not amused'!) "most minds simply cannot tolerate a recognition they expend untiring ingenuity in inventing some more respectable reason" (*ie* mannikin) and so on *ad nauseam*[1]

I would not for a moment fail in the respect due to the work and importance of psychology I am not so disloyal to 'my first love' More power to her elbow! But her power is likely to be more effectual in her object, the discovering the true, if she will but take up a sound attitude from the first, and not one which has led her into the very slovenliness in subterfuge, on which the Buddhists of old fell back, *on which they fall back today* Elsewhere I have referred to James Ward's call to her to do this, and to his own failure, in the teeth of the time spirit, to follow up his call and to win over his colleagues[2] I should like to see that call given a fair chance I should like to see the "man" *tamen usque recurrens* Psychology has followed physiology with too little vision She has not seen that she is not a parallel study with that of the body She is the study of the valuer, the contemplator, analyzer, willer *in the ways by which he wields the body* She is a middle term Not to see this is to have to 'expel nature' In the personified 'mind' and 'ideas', nature, as we have seen, comes back But it is a recurring, hooded and cloaked in the servant's guise Beethoven has been shoved into the piano, but the piano keeps sounding 'Beethoven!' What a pitiful muddle!

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1 Chap XV

2 *The Will to Peace, Kindred Sayings on Buddhism* III (Introduction)

to suggest the similarity of the bird and tree legends of that Yasht to corresponding belief of China in the feudal age. In the present paper the same task is continued and, among others, the old cults of water and of mountains, as well as that of the Royal Glory (Khvareh) are dealt with. Attention is also drawn to individual legends relating to the heroes Keresasp and Faridun. I admit in all humility that my work in this field is bound to show those defects and imperfections from which an amateur's efforts can never be free. But from what study and thought I have devoted to the field, I can confidently assert that a great harvest awaits accomplished scholars of Iranian and Chinese Archæology, when they turn their attention to the scientific and systematic comparison of these two great spheres of beliefs and legends. As said above, it is in the Feudal Age of China anterior to the second century before Christ that the best material of such comparative study will be found. As one of the great authorities on the subject, Prof. Marcel Granet has emphasised that it is to the average type or form of the feudal legends that attention has been so far most directed (*cf.* the preface to his work "La Religion des Chinois"). But for obtaining the best results in this comparative study we shall have to take account of provincial peculiarities of legends and in particular of the legends in Chinese provinces and seigniories bordering on Iran and the land of the Sakas. Such a specialised and detailed study is a necessary preliminary to thorough comparative work. All that is attempted here is to utilise the material furnished in the works of such savants as Granet, de Harlez, de Groot and Father Doré in order to give a few examples of the interaction between the religious and heroic legends of old Iran and ancient China.

The Cult of the Waters.

We find the Iranian and other heroes described in

the Aban Yasht as offering sacrifices to Ardvisura (the goddess of the waters). We note further that they used to offer up to the goddess hundreds of male horses, thousands of oxen and ten thousands of lambs. Sometimes, indeed both parties to a war or battle offer up similar sacrifices to the goddess and we find her favouring one worshipper and rejecting the prayer of the other at her will.

Very similar sacrifices were offered in ancient China especially in the province of Tsin. In that province, more than anywhere else in that empire, vows were made to the spirit of waters and sacrifies were offered up to him.[1] As the Iranian heroes have certain holy rivers and mountains near which they sacrificed to the waters, so the Chinese warriors favour the lake of Tsong-ki[2] or the Mount Yang-yu which are places where their predecessors from Yu the Great downwards had sacrificed to the waters.[3] For long periods did the goddess protect the lords of Tsin against their foes and help them in their vendettas, and a great number of Chinese heroes of the line claimed and obtained her assistance in their wars.[3] Nor was the worship confined to the princes and friends of Tsin. Their enemies—the princes of Tchou—though at first reluctant to worship the goddess of their foes, at last came into a line and worshipped her, as their ambitions expanded.[4] Similarly in the Aban Yasht enemies like Arejataspa and Kavi Vishtaspa, Tusa and the sons of Vaesaka, Frangrasyan and Husravah strive to gain the favour of Ardvisura. When in China the Tsin, the special worshippers of the god of river, were conquered, the conqueror hastened to offer a sacrifice to the god and thus to placate him.[5] These conquerors had first thought of erecting a mound to celebrate their victory, but on second thought substituted for it a sacrifice to the god of

1 Granet "Danses et Legendes de la Chine Ancienne," p. 472.
2 *Ibid* p 469. note 4
3 *Ibid*, p. 473, note and p. 480, note 1.
4 *Ibid*, p. 480, note 1.
5 *Ibid*, p. 473, note.

waters whom their rivals had worshipped so long.

(a) *The Sacrificial Animals.*

The Iranian heroes sacrificed to Ardvisura horses and oxen and lambs in their thousands. The Chinese also sacrificed to the god of waters horses, oxen and other animals. White horses were preferred, and we read of the Hans throwing a horse and a jade ring into the river.[1] At Lintsin which was another great place for the worship of "the Yellow River" the sacrifices were offered at the times of frost and thaw and consisted of bulls and calves, to which were added in some places the first fruits of cereals. Bay colts with black manes were also offered to the waters.[2] But it was not considered right or proper to offer to the waters a bull with a completely white head, as it was considered inauspicious.[3] The victims were of course offered up by immersion.[4] Great care was taken in selecting the victims. The priests or invokers of the deity chose the victims[5] beforehand. On the day of the sacrifice the prince with his soldiers went to see if the victims were of the right sort.[5] The sacrifices were on a large scale both in Persia (where victims were offered up in their hundreds and their thousands) and in China where the ceremony cost millions.[6]

(b) *Apparel of the Spirit of Waters.*

In Aban Yasht (paras 127-130), Ardvisura Anāhita is described as wearing golden earrings, a golden crown with fillets streaming down and garments made of skins of beavers. That reminds us of the Chinese tradition that the spirit of waters demanded from one of the worshippers the present of a cap or crown made of the skin of stags, decorated with red precious stones, the fillets of the crown

1 Granet, p. 477, note 3
2 *Ibid* p. 476 note 6.
3 *Ibid.* p. 473, note 2.
4 *Ibid.* p 473.
5 *Ibid.* p. 474, note 5.
6 *Ibid.* p. 475 note 1.

to be ornamented with other precious stones. As this demand was not complied with, the prayer of the worshipper was rejected with the result that he was defeated and slain in battle.[1] It may be, by analogy, that the Iranian heroes were also expected to provide the apparel mentioned in the Yasht as a part of their offerings.

(c) *Palace of the Spirit of Waters.*

In describing the dwelling or palace of the goddess of waters the Awesta writings give us excellent poetry. Ardvisura Anāhita "has a thousand cells and a thousand channels: the extent of each of these cells, of *each of these channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days*, riding on a good horse. In *each channel there stands a palace*".[2] These lines of poetic description are exactly those followed by the Chinese classics in describing the goddess of waters. One of her old Chinese names is "Ping-i", which being interpreted means "one who spreads forward like a charger or war-horse". This is an analogy similar to that in the Awesta where only the speed of the horse is said to measure the progress of the many channels of the waters. We read again in another Chinese classic that line: "the reservoir of waters is the hidden palace of Ping-i". Here again we have a close analogue of the palace of Ardvisura Anāhita. Similarity of poetic conception as well as of the underlying thought could not well go further.[3] Proceeding further, in Aban Yasht (para 102) we read of the palaces of Ardvisura Anāhita containing "well-laid, well-scented beds covered with pillows" for her. This is reminiscent of the legends in which the Chinese princes provided brides for the god of waters and also supplied nuptial beds for him.[4] We can

1 Granet p. 480. note 2. 2 Aban Yasht. para 101.

3 *Cf.* de Harlez "Le Livre des Esprits et des Immortels," pp. 180–181; Doré II, 10,779. 4 Granet, p. 476 note. 4.

also now understand why a jade ring was thrown into the river with a sacrifice or when vows were made to the god of waters.[1]

Thus the principality bordering on the Yellow River in China preserved contact with the local god of waters by periodical sacrifices of beautiful girls.[2] The bride of the spirit of waters was dressed in full bridal attire and was placed on a couch which was set afloat on the river. Thousands of persons used to crowd the banks to watch the ceremony.[3]

(d) *Chariot of the Goddess of Waters.*

Again in the Abān Yasht, the goddess of waters "drives forward on her chariot, holding the reins of the chariot" (para 11). Curiously enough, on a bas-relief at Chan-tong there is depicted a god of waters going out in a car drawn by fishes and escorted by all kinds of aquatic beings bearing arms.[4] It might be added that in China cars were also offered to the goddess of waters in some provinces,[5] together with four bay colts with black manes.

(e) *Places of Sacrifice to the Waters.*

We note that in old Iran and also in Turan, the sacrifice to Ardvisura was offered either on the banks of a river or lake, or on a mountain. Thus in the Abān Yasht, king Haoshyangha sacrifices to her on the Hara Mountain (sec. 21), Yima on the height of Hukairya (sec. 21) and Kavi Usa on Mount Erezifya (sec. 45). No explanation is given of this apparently strange practice of sacrificing to the goddess of waters on the mountains. Chinese heroes also tried to avert floods and droughts by worshipping either on mountains or on the banks of rivers. The reason given is that

1 Doré II, 10, 780. 2 Granet "La Religion de Chinois", p 63.
3 *Ibid.* p 476. 4 *Ibid.* p. 481, note 1.
5 *Ibid.* p. 476, note 6.

rivers and mountains are both instrumental in producing rain; consequently the sacrifices necessary to avert a remedy, droughts and floods might be offered either on mountains or on banks of rivers.[1] Hence also the kings of China offered habitually the same sacrifice "Wang" in honour both of mountains and rivers.[2] The sacrifices to mountains and rivers were supposed to keep off diseases also. An oracle attributed to Confucius runs to the effect that "the beneficient influences or spirits of mountains and rivers suffice to regulate the world; the guardians of the earth and of harvests are related to them.[3] Above all mountains and rivers are the terrestrial delegates of high Heaven; and as earthly power is but the shadow of heavenly greatness, the meetings of feudal vassals were held on such sacred spots.[4]

It is very significant that when we want to observe such numerous and detailed resemblances between the Iranian and Chinese cults we have to go far back to the ancient Chinese legends. The resemblance almost disappears when we look to the more recent cults of waters prevalent among the Chinese. Thus neither the cult of Tien-Fei, a goddess worshipped by the navigators to save them from shipwreck,[5] nor the numerous later cults incorporated in Part II Vol. 10 of Doré's great work afford us any parallels of note to the Awesta or Pahlavi legends.

(f) *Animal shapes assumed by the Spirit of Waters*

So far we have mostly found Chinese parallels to the accounts of the spirit of waters found in the Abān Yasht but, occasionally such parallels are found in other Yashts as well. Thus we all know of the great fight in the Tir

1 Granet, p 467, note 2. 2 *Ibid.* p. 412, note 1 and pp 560 and 347.
3 *Ibid.* p 346-7. 4 *Ibid.* p. 65.
5 Doré, Part II, Vol. 11, pp. 914-920.

Yasht between the white horse (representing the water-god Tishtar) and the black horse Apaosha (representing drought). Incidentally in that Yasht the spirit of waters (Tishtar) assumes the shape of an ox as well. There is a very similar Chinese legend which seems worth drawing attention to. It would appear that a spirit or dragon of waters was laying in the rivers and lakes of China and was causing numerous floods which were devastating the province of Kiang Si. The dragon-slayer Hsu Chen-chun suspected this and prepared to get rid of the destructive water spirit. The latter becoming aware of the steps being taken against him, changed himself into a *yellow ox* and fled. The dragon-slayer at once transformed himself into a *black ox* and started in pursuit. The yellow ox jumped down a well to hide, but the black ox followed suit. The yellow ox jumped out again and assumed the human form but was cornered and made to assume the shape of a lake,[1] and to promise to stop his destructive activities. There is another similar legend in which a bull with yellow or golden hair again represents the spirit of the waters[2]

There has been much speculation about the great aquatic animals described in Bundahish Ch. XIX.[3] The three-legged ass is said there to stand in the midst of the ocean shaking the waters and preserving them from contamination. Darmesteter takes this description as a meteorological myth, while West accounts for the animal as a foreign god tolerated by the Iranian priesthood from political motives.[4] Both suppositions, I venture to submit, are wide of the mark, the legend being a part of the floating mass of legends to be found in Persia, Central Asia and China. Thus China has a legend very similar to the one which we are considering. "In the Eastern sea is found an animal with the appearance of a bull ; its body is green and it has

1 Warner, "Myths and Legends of China", p. 223-24.
2 Doré, Part II, Vol. 9, p 1050 3 S B E, Vol V, pp 67-78
4 S.B.E., V. p. 67, note 4

in China the "glory" or "regulating virtue" of a dynasty declined towards its end and that of another dynasty came into prominence This glory or virtue exerted itself both in time and space, for the new and vigorous dynasty *drove the unruly elements of the state over the four holy mountains which formed* the boundaries of the empire[1] Moreover, homage was paid to the new sovereign by his assembled vassals on the four mountains which had thus both a political and a religious importance[2] But there was *a more miraculous way in which the Royal Glory was connected with the mountains* One of these *cardinal mountains* emitted a cloud or aura of the colour corresponding to that ascribed to the new king Thus Mount Tou near the Eastern sea emitted a yellow cloud or vapour when Houang ti became emperor, and a red vapour when Yao was raised to power[3] Thus in a very material sense the Royal Glory was seen on the mountains. Consequently in China too the Mount Fou near the sea was the seat of the Royal Glory in an *important respect just as in Awesta we find Mount* Ushidarena was the seat of the glory made by Mazda[4] Like Mount Fou, Mount Ushidarena on which the glory reposes was also "surrounded by waters"[5] Then again "regulating virtue or glory" of the Chinese emperors was helpful in expelling the non Chinese barbarians from China over the borders of the empire The glory of the Chinese emperors had thus an important effect in promulgating civilization, for it expelled "the barbarians of the four seas" as well as the barbarians of the desert. Just so in Zamyad Yasht, paras 68 and 69, the Glory is the keeper of the Aryan nations and its force is directed towards extinguishing all the non-Aryan nations Another point of resemblance is that the Royal

1 Granet pp 249 251
2 *Ibid* p 249
3 *Ibid* p 237, note 1
4 Zamyad Yasht, last para
5 Zamyād Yasht para 66

Glory changes with the dynasties in China and has a rise, a point of culmination and a decline.[1] In the same way in the Zamyād Yasht, paras 92-94, the glory passes from the line of Thraetaona to Frangrasyan and thence to the line of Husravah and then to that of Vishtaspa. It has also a culmination period and a time of disappearance; for we are told that it culminated in Thraetaona when Azidahāka was killed, and in Frangrasyan when Dravau was killed and again in Husravah when Frangrasyan was killed.

We note further the fact that the mountain which was most associated with the Royal Glory in the case of China was situated on the Eastern Sea[2] This is very interesting in view of the connection in the Awesta between the Royal Khvareh and the watery angel Apam Napāt. Lommel in his introduction to the Zamyad Yasht has expressed the view that "an original connection exists between the thoroughly alien god Apam Napāt and the kingly Khvareh which according to the folklore has its habitation in water".[3] And now we see how the ideas of Royal Khvareh and of the waters were connected in old China also. Here again we see either a reciprocal influence of Chinese and Iranian myths or the potentialities of a common source of inspiration.

It is interesting to observe what a high authority has to say on the subject of the connection between the "Royal Glory" or "Regulating Virtue" and holy mountains. We note in the great work "Les Memoires Historiques de Se-ma Tsien",[4] that Mount Fou was a marvellous mountain situated in the Eastern Sea; it emitted a vapour which changed its colour according to the emperor who was called upon to reign. The vapour was red under Yao who ruled by virtue of fire; and it was

1 Granet, p 227. 2 *Ibid* Religion, p 66.
3 Lommel "Die Yashts des Awesta," p. 174. 4 Vol. 1, p. 31.

yellow in the time of the emperor Hoang-ti. Hoang-ti ascended the mountain to verify if the magical vapour was of the colour of the earth, *i.e.* yellow. It is on occasion of these visits to the mountain that the insignia and title deeds of the barons and lords of the empire were verified.

We note that in the Zamyād Yasht and in the corresponding Chinese legends[1] we have *the theory of sovereignty as held in old Persia and China.* When the Royal virtue was perfect then, according to Chinese accounts, the sovereign was the true son of Heaven and was identified in his life with the Order of the Universe. So too, in old Iran, such a king held the Royal Glory made by Mazdā; when however he did sinful or tyrannical acts the Royal Glory left him as it left Yim and Frangrasyan. To proceed further, in China the glory of ancestral kings normally passed to their worthy successors and thus were connected the cults of ancestor worship and of Royal Virtue. So also our Zamyād Yasht is at once a glorification of the successive kings of Persia as well as a hymnology to Royal Glory. If the dynasty declines in virtue the Glory goes over to another line ; and it is this change of dynasty which the Chinese texts particularly emphasise. Lastly, according to both accounts, the cult of the mountains is an incidental part of the theory of Royal Glory and Virtue. For, the mountains as the chief of holy places are at once the regional and terrestrial delegates of Heaven and the emblems of the exercise of the power of earthly sovereigns, since the meetings of nobility in China at least were held on their neutral ground. The mountains, again, are explicitly connected in the Chinese texts with the cardinal points; this point of view is implicit in the Zamyād Yasht which begins with an

1 For a summary of these Chinese legends see "La Religion de Chinois", by Granet, pp. 53—66.

enumeration of the mountains beginning with those in the East.

While we are on the topic of the Royal Glory (Khvareh) we might note that in the Laws of Manu[1] we have the mention of a belief very similar to that which was current in old Persia and China; only in the latter countries the belief was developed much further. Manu speaks there of the "tejas" of the king or the royal "lustre" (or glory) which is as in China associated with the cardinal points. These points which are eight in the case of India are mentioned by Manu by implication through a reference to the eight deities which are the lords of these points.

Legends about the Winds.

There is a remarkable similarity between the legends of ancient China and Persia as regards the wind in its malevolent aspect. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this thesis.

(1) In the Chinese classics we read that on a certain occasion Fei Lien (the dragon of the wind) and his evil allies raised furious winds and storms in the region of the South. The Emperor Yao deputed the "Heavenly Archer', by name Shen-I, to bring that turbulent spirit to reason. Shen-I, wounded the spirit of the wind by an arrow in the chest; another arrow which hit the knee of the wind spirit forced it to surrender and to promise not to repeat its mischievous activities.[2]

So similar is the following account of Keresasp's encounter with and victory over the wind as given in the Persian Revayet of Kama Bohra that further commentary is useless. There Keresasp narrates that on one occasion Ahriman and the devils misled the wind into causing

1 Chap. 7, ss. 4 and 5.

2 *Cf* Doré 'Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine", Part II, Vol 10, pp. 700-701.

great storms; the storms were so severe that trees and even mountains were levelled with the ground. However the wind could not overthrow the hero Keresasp. That warrior seized the malevolent wind, threw it on the ground and made it promise to resume the useful activities which had been assigned to it by Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspentas.[1]

Again, in the Shahnameh, Rustam kills the demon Akwan who possessed the body of a stag, the stripes of a tiger and the nature of a dragon; while its movements were quick as those of the wind. This demon is also a manifestation of the wind-demon, which according to Chinese legends possesses the body of a stag, the size of a leopard and the tail of a serpent; and it can make the wind blow whenever it wishes.[2]

In my essay on "Shahnameh Legends and their Chinese Parallels" I have shown how closely similar the exploits of the Seistan heroes Keresasp and Rustam, were to those of the "Divine Archer" Shen-I. That topic brings us to the legend of the Kamak bird mentioned in the Minokhirad,[3] as well as in the Persian Revayets.

Legend of the Kamak Bird.

In the Revayet of Kama Bohrah Keresasp boasts of his exploit against the bird Kamak which had darkened the world and created a general drought by intercepting all rain with its wings—Keresasp shot arrows at it for seven days continuously and brought it down after which he crushed its beak with his mace.[4]

This legend, too, is explained by a reference to Chinese mythology, which shows that the bird Kamak is a

1 See Darab Hormazdiyar's Rewayat edited by Dr. J. J. Modi, Vol. I, p. 63.

2 Warner "Myths and Legends of China," p. 205.

3 Minokhirad, ch. 27, para 50.

4 *Cf.* Darab Hormazdiyar's Revayat, edited by Dr. J. J. Modi, Vol. I, p. 64.

reference to the maleficient activity of the sun in causing droughts. The Divine Archer Shen-Yi combats the nine false suns which were causing a great drought; the drought was dispelled after the nine false suns had been shot down successively.[1]

A Legend of King Faredun.

Not only in the case of the great cults but in the matter of individual episodes of heroes the resemblance between Chinese and Iranian accounts is noteworthy Thus in the Dinkard[2] we read of a fight between the king Faredun and the demons of Mazendaran in which the king vanquishes them by the instrumentality of the hot and cold wind issuing from his nostrils. "The victorious Faredun pursued them to the foremost upland and his nostrils flamed upon it so that they split it through, from his right nostril is the cutting and sharp scorching of the ice that has fallen and of the cold of winter; and from his left nostril is the cutting and sharp scorching of the rock that has fallen, which is similarly burning to a fire the size of a house, carrying the dust from the feet of the male ox Barmayun, of the obstructed victor, the mighty Faredun". It is rather difficult to guess from this narration the connection between the breathing exploits of Faredun and the appearance of the "male-ox".

But the Chinese legend of Tcheng-luen presents the matter more clearly and shows that common material was utilised by the Pahlavi legend and the Chinese myth. In the war which led to the establishment of the Chou dynasty, there figured a great warrior named Tcheng-luen who possessed the wonderful capacity of breathing out and ejecting through his nostrils two white columns of light which could scorch whole battalions out of existence.

1 *Cf* Granet "Danses et Legends de la Chine Ancienne," pp 370 and 377.

2 Book IX, ch 21, ss 21 22.

After a long career of victories gained by these means Tcheng-luen met his death at the hands of Kin-ta-cheng who was a "bull-spirit". It is to be noted that all the elements of the Pahlavi and Chinese legends are common including the breathing miracle and the bull spirit.[1]

These legends about hproes, who could kill by their breath, are of great interest and throw light on the history of the practice of the Yoga in Persia and China. In China the Taoist sages attached great importance to respiratory exercises which prepared them for sublime tasks.[2] It was believed that through prolonged retention of breath they could produce results at a distance from their earthly body. The legend regarding Feridun also shows that similar beliefs were held in Iran at and before the times of the Pahlavi writers

King Kawoos and the Emperor Chou-wang.

A far more sustained and historically important comparison can be instituted between the incidents of the life of King Kawoos (the Kai-Us of the Pahlavi writings) of Iran as narrated in the Shahnameh and of the career of the Emperor Chou-wang who ruled in China from B.C. 1154 to 1123. The character and reign of Chou-wang are known to us from the pages of the great Chinese epic named Feng-shen-yen-i which has been in part translated for us by the scholarly labours of Wilhelm Grube under the title " Die Metamorphosen der Goetter ". But for the untimely death of that great scholar in 1908 we should have possessed a full translation of the great Chinese classic which is a historico-mythological romance of ancient China. What I would emphasise is that the resemblance and comparison which I suggest is, not so much between the life of the Emperor Chou-wang and that of King Kawoos as narrated in the Pahlavi writings,

1 See Doré ' Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine," Part II, Vol. 9, pp 582-583 and Warner *op cit* pp 144 145.

2 *Cf.* Granet, "La Religion de Chinois", p 151

the resemblance is confined to the additional episodes about Kawoos supplied to us by the Shahnameh. The inference is obvious; for such a great and well-known popular epic as the "Feng-Shen-Yen-i" must have influenced the epic and ballad-literature of Central Asia, and through it the Chinese epic might well have supplied incidents to the great Persian poet. Here we emerge on the problem of the influence of the great Chinese epic upon the Persian epic. It is for this reason that the comparison which we are going to institute between the legends of King Kawoos and those relating to the Emperor Chou-wang is of great interest to the students both of Persian literature and legends.

Firdausi narrates that the Eblis took counsel with his demons to darken the life and counsels of King Kawoos and to deprive him of his glory. One of his chief demons thereupon undertook the task o misleading the judgment of King Kawoos and of turning him away from the path of wisdom and rectitude.

According to the Chinese legend the goddess Niu-Kua being offended with the Emperor Chou-wang summoned to her presence the three leading demons and commanded them to go to work so as to bring about the ruin of the emperor. The demons were ordered to enter the palace of the emperor in disguise and to darken the judgment of the king.[1] The chief of these demons was the noted Fox-demon who soon found an opportunity to carry out his purpose.

King Kawoos was informed that the prince of Hamawaran (a Saka province) had a

The Emperor Chou-wang was informed by his minister Fei Chung that the tributary

1 Grube, pp. 7-8

very beautiful daughter named Sodabeh and he forthwith sent a nobleman to demand her in marriage for the king. The prince of Hamawaran was most reluctant to marry his daughter to the king of Iran. The insistence of the king in his demand naturally led to a war in which the troops of Iran were worsted at first and imprisoned in the city of "Shaheh" in Hamawaran. In the end however, with the help of Rustam, the prince of Hamawaran was defeated and Sodabeh was given in marriage to King Kawoos. But she became the evil genius of the king and was the source of many troubles which befell him.

Sodabeh, having seen prince Siyawash, fell in love with him and induced King Kawoos to order the prince to go to the royal harem. There Sodabeh made improper advances to him which was repelled by that virtuous prince. Vexed by this indifference, Sodabeh accused him of assailing

prince Su Hu possessed a daughter (named Ta Ki) of heavenly beauty. The emperor at once asked Su Hu for the hand of his daughter in marriage. Su Hu however flatly refused this offer[1] and defied the emperor. The result of this refusal was a war in which the royal troops were at first defeated.[2] In the end however Su Hu was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to the emperor. While, however, she was being conveyed to the imperial palace the Fox-demons managed to take possession of her and it was through her that the demon managed to mislead the emperor to his ruin.[3]

Ta-Ki now installed as the empress happened to see prince Po Yi-Kao and fell in love with him. She induced the Emperor Chou-wang to order Po Yi-Kao to come to the royal harem on the pretext that she wanted to learn from the prince how to play on the lute ; for the prince was an acknow-

1 Grube pp. 13 4
2 *Ibid.* pp 15 45
3 *Ibid.* chap. IV.

her virtue with the result that Siyawash left Iran and went over to Turan where he was ultimately murdered.

The Shahnameh mentions another queen of King Kawoos by whom was born prince Siyawash. At the birth of this prince the astrologers prognosticated an unhappy life for him and hence Kawoos gave over the prince to Rustam to be brought up abroad and to be educated. On his return to his father's court after an absence of seven years he was, as we have seen, persecuted by his step-mother Sodabeh. In the course of this persecution Sodabeh accused the prince of being the father of certain prematurely born children of a woman about the palace. But King Kawoos learned the true facts by the help of some astrologers. He was going to punish Sodabeh

ledged master of that instrument. Under pretence of learning the lute from Po Yi-Kao she offered her love to the prince. When he rejected these advances she intrigued against him and brought about his destruction.[1]

All the elements of the stories condensed in the opposite paragraph are found in the Chinese legends but they are arranged in a different order. As it is very interesting to find how the same facts are differently arranged in the two great epics, a brief summary is given here of the Chinese-version Ta Ki, once admitted to the palace, plotted against the life of the senior queen Kiang. When the son of the Empress Kiang was born he looked like a lump of flesh; and Ta Ki took occasion to inform the emperor that a monster had been borne in his palace. The emperor ordered the mother to be killed and the child to be cast out of the city. The saint and immor-

1 Grube, Chap. 19

who was however pardoned at the request of Siyawash himself. In Iran, after the death of Siyawash, great honours were paid to his memory and he was held in reverence as the personification of persecuted innocence.

tal Chin-jin, however found the child, foresaw its glorious destiny and reared it up for seven years after which he informed the child of his royal ancestry. On attaining maturity the prince Tai-Sui (for so he was named) avenged the wrongs of his mother on the infamous Ta Ki.[1] For his dutiful conduct Tai Sui was canonised in later ages.[1]

The reader might be left to judge from these comparisons how closely the two epics agree in portraying the salient features of the lives of Chou-wang and Kawoos. To me however the most striking comparison is the last one that I have put forward—for there we have the strongest evidence of the use of common material in both epics All the elements are there—the monstrous birth, the casting out of the child, the fact of his being brought up by a stranger, the same period of such tutelage (*i e.* seven years) the indignation of the child against the vindictive stepmother and finally the canonisation of the child.

But it is not only in the persons of Kawoos and Chou Wang that the colours of the history and mythology of China and Persia have got blended. Another very interesting parallelism can be traced between the two great mystical sovereigns, Kai Khusrau and Hwang Ti. Both were warlike and victorious emperors who gave their names to notable and flourishing periods of national prosperity and who stood for epochs of their countries' unity and greatness. Both of them abdicated at the height of their power and gave up their earthly sove-

1 Grube chapter VI, de Harlez "Le Livre des esprits et des Immortels", pp 136 37.

reignty in order to reach the heights of spiritual greatness. In the end, both ascended to heaven in their lifetime through their spiritual greatness. Both sovereigns occupy a distinguished place in the histories of mysticism of their respective lands—the Persian being remembered particularly through his speciality of the *Jâm-i-Kai-Khusrau*, and the Chinese monarch being distinguished by his possession of the "pearl of wisdom". But the development of this thesis would unduly enlarge the limits of the present article and must be left for a fuller exposition to some future occasion.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to my object in writing these essays on the parallelisms between the older Chinese and Iranian legends and cults. Scholars like de Groot, de Harlez and W. Grube have drawn attention to the occurrence of Buddhistic elements in the Chinese cycle of legends. The Chinese have admitted quite a number of Buddhist saints to their pantheons. Indian gods have also been admitted to the Chinese gods though, as de Harlez adds, they are not included in the spirits venerated by the people.[1] The entry of Buddhistic *personalities* into Chinese —for the dogmas had no great success—was due to as exceptional combination of circumstances, *viz.*, the political weakness of China under the pressure of barbarians and the accompaying social disintegration of the time.[2] While the points of contact between Chinese and Indian mythology have been sufficiently attended to, no effort has so far been made to trace the intercourse between Persia and China in cults and legends. And yet in these papers sufficient examples have been furnished to show a wide and close parallelism. If the legends relating to the faith of the great Sakyamuni have forced their entry into China so have also the legends relating to the military heroes of the Saka race.

1 De Harlez *op. cit.* p. 20

2 Granet, "La Religion de Chinois", p. 178.

VISHTĀSPA.

By Prof. Ernst Herzfeld.

The name of the protector of the prophet Zoroaster in the Avestic literature is Kavi Vishtāspa 'King Vishtāsp', or in the Pahlavi literature Kaivishtāsp-shāh 'King-Vishtāsp-King'. The name of the father of Darius I in the old Persian inscriptions is Vishtāspa and his title χšāyaθiya, 'shāh'. The identity of the two historic names and titles is an amply sufficient reason to discuss the question of the identity or non-identity of their bearers. The question has several times been answered in the affirmative as well as in the negative. I should not dare to deal with this thorny problem which seems to bring blame upon everybody who touches it, and which has become a *noli me tangere*, if I did not believe to be able to show it under a light under which it has not yet been looked at, and to adduce some fresh material for its elucidation which has not yet been used. And I have one more reason: it is a problem which has been more than once the subject of correspondence with the venerable scholar and promoter of science to whom these lines are dedicated.

A. Vishtāspa, the Father of Darius.

The OP inscriptions reveal clearly the political division of Iran proper, as it was before or at the beginning of the reign of Darius and at its end. The material from which we may infer that political division is twofold: on the one hand we have the paragraphs of the Behistūn inscription of Darius which relate the history of the rebellions of the different provinces, and on the other hand the three lists of various nations of the empire.

According to the first group of information, the

following are the five satrapies constituting Iran proper: (1) Mâda, (2) Pârsa, (3) Parthava, (4) Bâkhtrish, and (5) Harakhvatish.

Then § 15 says: ima tya adam akunavam pasâva yaθâ χšâyaθiya abavam, "this is what I did after I had become king", but before the king proceeded to reorganize this newly pacified empire. Hence the political division, as contained in the Behistūn inscription, is the old system of Cyrus and Cambyses.

The following paragraphs tell the story of the rebellion in Babylon and Elam; §§ 24–25, the beginning of the rebellion of Media; §§ 26–30, an episode in Armenia; §§ 31–32, the rising of Fravartish in Media; § 33, that of the Sagartian Čithrantakhma,[1] pretending to descend from the house of Huvakhshtra, and his execution at Arbela. Then, § 34 says: ima tya manâ krtam Mâdaiy, "this is what has been done by me in Media." It follows that previous to the rising, Armenia as a whole and Assyria, east of the Tigris, both of them old possessions of the Median empire, were included into the satrapy of Media.

The following paragraphs relate the partaking of Parthava and Vṛkāna in the Median rebellion. Viš-tâspa manâ pitâ hauv parθavaiy âha, "Vishtâspa, my father, he was in Parthava" are the words so highly

1 The Asagarta were a tribe widely spread over Iran already during the Achaemenian period, exactly like the modern Kurds whose ancestors they seem to have been. Their name still survives in modern Si'irt, between the great bend of the Tigris and the lake of Van, Armen. syerd or syerth. *cf.* Hübschmann, *Altarm. Ortsnamen*, p 312 s. The Arab geographers render it by sâ'irt or sa'irt, *i.e.* sêirt, or by is'irt, *i.e.* s'êrt. *cf.* Guy le Strange, *Lands of the East Cal.*, p 114 Far in the East, the name occurs under the shape Σιγαλ as the capital of Σαγαστανη and residence of the Saka kings in Isidorus of Charax §18, in the district Παραιταγηνη, *i.e.* OP. para-ita ka, an appellative corresponding exactly to modern rûdbâr, name of a district at the lower Hêlmand. Isidor's Σιγαλ appears as Σιγαρα, in Ptolemy, a town in Arachosia under 113° 15' Long. 30° Lat.

important for our problem The paragraph ends with the words: "This is what has been done by me in Parthava" Hence Vrkâna formed part of the satrapy of the father of Darius, and, it has been proved that the old Parthava comprised always the modern district of Kûhistân[1] Besides, Parthava included also, as we shall see soon, Haraiva—Herat and Zranka—Sistân. Follows the rebellion of Frâda in Margush Marw, crushed by the "satrap" Didrshish of Bactria § 39: "This is what has been done by me in Bactria", shows that Marw was part of the satrapy of Bactria Besides, this satrapy included Sugda Soghd, as will be shown later The next chapters treat of the rising of Vahyazdâta in the town of Târavâ, modern Târum, in the land Yautiya in Pârs, who appears as a second Pseudo-Bardiya Yautiya (or Yutiya) is the same as the ethnical name οὐτιοι in Herodotus's list of satrapies and the catalogue of the army of Xerxes Their land is the later province Kirmân: originally having formed part of Pars, that land lost the privilege of being freed from taxes in consequence of its rebellion, and remained separated from Pârs later on § 44: "This is what has been done by me in Pârs" Next come the events in Arachosia. An army had been sent by Vahyazdâta against Vivahana, the loyal "satrap" of Arachosia The first battle took place at Kâpishakânish, not Kapisa of the Greek authors, but medieval Qiqan, situated in the Quetta-Khuzdar region. The second battle was at Gandutawa, Gandawa of to day. The commander of the rebels fled to Arshâda in Arachosia, the usual residence of Vivahana, hence apparently in the neighbourhood of Kandahâr, where he

1 On Kûhistân and Pahlav *cf* Marquart *Beitrâge* p. 630 s under Pahlav Yaqût has preserved some passages of al Ruhnî, a native of the region, living about 300 H, s v Ispîdh rustâq Jûsf (error for Khûsp), Junâbidh the districts Spedh Rustâq or Junâbidh as well as Khûsp form part of Pahlav Parthav. The shifting of the old name to Iṣfahan and Media in other and younger authors is due to misunderstanding and confusion between the name of the province and that of the Arsacid empire

was captured and executed. § 48 : " This is what has been done by me in Harakhvatish."

Zranka, later Sakastân-Sîstân, is not mentioned in this connexion, although its situation between Fārs and Arachosia seems to require it. The region was of course not a separate satrapy, but part of a larger one. It is of highest importance to know of which one.

There are two possible communications between Kirmân and Kandahâr: the northern one leading directly through the great central desert to Sîstân and, thence, to Kandahâr, the southern one leaving the southern border of the desert to the left and proceeding through parts of Makrân and Balûchistân to Kandahâr. The most simple explanation of the silence of the inscription regarding Zranka would be that it was included in Arachosia and that the rebellion spread from Yautiya-Kirmân immediately into Arachosia, which, if including Zranka, would have been adjacent to Yautiya. To support such a conclusion one might quote the fact that at the time of Alexander, Drangiana and Arachosia formed indeed one satrapy under Barsaēntes.[1] But it would be rash to take this as granted. And as a matter of fact, the rebellion spread over Xvādaiĉaya, modern Khwāsh in Baluchistān, to the Quetta-Khuzdār region.

We know of a number of important changes that happened during the course of centuries in the administration of the empire, and our whole attention must be directed on the discovering of these changes. And there is a strong reason that forbids the simple solution of the problem, contained in the inscriptions themselves, *i.e.* in the lists of the nations of the empire, that second source of information, to which we must now turn.

We possess three lists, in § 6 of the Behistūn inscription, dating 519 B.C., in Persepolis e, dating 518-17 B.C.,

1 Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 21, 1; Quint. Curtius, VI, 6, 36.

and in the Naksh-i Rustam inscription, dating 486 B.C. Besides we possess a much larger document preserved by Herodotus. The list of Herodotus like those of the inscriptions reflect an official document of Achaemenian administration, a list of the satrapies, which enumerated under the headlines of the different satrapies all the various tribes inhabiting them,' together with the sums they paid as taxes. The lists of the inscriptions are but short excerpts, selected from the original document according to certain historical and moral considerations. The list of Herodotus is much nearer to the original, though not complete. Although it is usually done, it cannot be used, as it stands, for historical researches, for it is much spoiled and must at first be checked and corrected with the help of the Persian lists and other materials. The main reason for the confusion reigning throughout it, is that already the source of Herodotus had altered the natural order of the document which, originally, like the Persian lists, began with Pārs, Media and Elam, certainly not with Greece. Moreover, from the beginning we may distinguish two mutilated documents, which were patched up and completed by various information. But since the detailed official lists are at the base of the excerpts in the inscriptions, and the scribes did not jump to and fro when selecting their texts, it is evident that the headlines of the original, the division into satrapies, cannot be effaced altogether.

There are many examples. If, *e.g.*, in all the three inscriptions Bākhtrish is regularly followed by Sugda, we must infer that Sugda—like Marw, as we have seen—belonged to the satrapy of Bākhtrish. And if in Behistūn (519 B.C.) as well as in Persepolis e (518-17 B.C.) we find the group Parθava—Zranka—Haraiva, but in Naksh-i Rustam (486 B.C.) Parθava Haraiva—Xwārazmiš—Zranka Haraχvatiš, we must infer, at first that Haraiva-Herāt

always formed part of Parthava, secondly that Zranka originally was included into Parthava and was only separated from it and united with Arachosia after the reorganisation of the empire by Darius. So it remained until the time of Alexander, as we have seen.

Hence, the father of Darius, Vishtāspa, was, previous to 520 B.C., at least under Cambyses, possibly already under Cyrus, governor of Parthava, a large satrapy which included Vṛkāna, Haraiva, Kōhistān and Zranka.

He may have been more than a mere satrap. At the place quoted above, § 35, the title of Vishtāspa is not mentioned, like, *e.g.*, that of Dadṛshish and Vivahana. But from §§ 2 and 3 of the same inscription we learn that his title was χšāyaϑiya, like that of his ancestors. In the same way Cyrus, in the short inscription of Pasargadae, calls himself χšāyaϑiya, the simple Median title, and, besides, in the new inscriptions from Pasargadae, χšāyaϑiya vazṛka, like his ancestors, the 'kings of Anžan'. In § 4 of the Behistūn inscription Darius says: "Eight of my race were kings before, I am the ninth, nine we are kings dvitāprnam 'in two lines'." Those nine 'kings' are:

1. Čahišpiš, great king, king of Anžan.

2. Cyrus I, great king, king of Anžan.
3. Cambyses I, great king, king of Anžan.
4. Cyrus II, the Great, great king, king of kings, king of the lands.
5. Cambyses II, great king, king of kings, etc.

6. Ariyarāmna, king.
7. Arshāma, king.
8. Vishtāspa, king.
9. Darius, great king, king of kings, king in Pārs, king of the lands etc. etc.

My latest discoveries in Fārs of ancient monuments and sites previous to the period of Darius compared with cuneiform texts lately published by A. Poebel, make it sure that Fārs was the old land of Anžan. Cyrus and his predecessors at any rate resided in Fārs, as kings of Anžan. Their title 'great king' does not contradict the statement of Herodotus I 129 that the Persians were the 'slaves' of the Medes. During the Sasanian epoch there were several 'great kings' under the sway of the Sasanian 'king of kings', *i.e.* the buzurg Arminānšāh, the buzurg Kušānšāh. The Median empire was not yet the strongly centralized one of their Achaemenian successors. In the Babylonian cylinder of Nabunaid Cyrus is called 'arad, slave' of Ištuigu-Astyages, the exact counterpart of the δοῦλος of Herodotus and the 'bandaka' of Darius' inscriptions. The real man who united Iran was Cyrus and after him Darius.

As the older branch of the family ruled in Fārs at least three generations or about 75 years previous to Cyrus the Great or to 559 B.C., hence since about 635 B.C. or a few years only after the annihilation of the Susian empire by the Assyrians, the most natural assumption would be that not only Vishtāspa, but the whole younger branch of the family were hereditary rulers of Parthava, under Median suzerainty. In one of the fragments of Ctesias, handed down to us in the epitome of Photius, that author says that Cyrus, when dying, appointed his second son, Tanyoxarkes, *i.e.* Bardiya, prince-governor of the land of the Bactrians, the Choramnians, the Parthians, and the Carmanians, and he adds that after the murder of Tanyoxarkes, it was the mage Sphendadates, the later pseudo-Smerdis, who ruled the provinces in question until his revolt against Cambyses. There is no doubt that Ctesias, the physician in ordinary to the queen Parysatis and to Artaxerxes II, has been a very bad historian,[1] but

1 The fragments of Ctesias are collected and made easily accessible in te hedition of E. Gilmore, London, 1888

he has preserved many details, especially regarding the family history of the Achaemenids, unknown even to Herodotus, and to leave aside everything he says, because he tells sometimes things untrue, is depriving ourselves of a source of information, where information is scanty. Ctesias' assertions must be used with criticism. Now, what he is saying above, would amount to an almost complete division of the empire between his two sons, Cambyses and Bardiya, which might have been the inducement for Cambyses to murder his brother. But the §§ 10 ss. of the Behistūn inscription contradict at least parts of Ctesias' representation of the facts, which we cannot accept as a whole. The seat of the rebellion of the Magus Gaumāta-Sphendadates, following the inscription, was Fārs and Media, and not the eastern provinces of Iran. Carmania-Yautiya, according to the inscriptions, did not belong to the East during the period in question, and Parthava was ruled by Vishtāspa. But it may be true, that the real Bardiya was, at the end of Cyrus' reign, prince-governor of the Bactrians and Choramnians, just as in the early Sasanian time the princes used to administrate the same regions as 'buzurg Kūšānšāh'. We have seen that Bactria included Soghd, and the name of the Choramnians, never mentioned elsewhere, survived in that of the modern town of Khulm.[1]

We do not hear of any satraps of Pārs and Media before or at the beginning of Darius' reign. When during Cambyses' absence in Egypt, the Magus Gaumāta revolted, it is not any satrap, but the Persian and Median 'kāra,' the nobility that formed the army, which joined the cause of the usurper. Those allodial lands seem to have been under a special administration, possibly under the great king himself, whereas the other main provinces were all governed by Achaemenian princes, *e.g.* Babylon

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by Cambyses under Cyrus, Bactria and Sugda by Bardiya, Parthava by the younger branch of the Achaemenids, the house of Vishtāspa.

Bactria formed an integrant part already of the preceding Median empire, a fact that has remained almost unnoticed, and is often overlooked when the problem of a possible pre-Achaemenian 'Bactrian empire' is dealt with. The passing of the sovereignty from the Medes to the Persian is known to us from two sources, Herodotus and Ctesias. They both agree in saying that Cyrus not only spared the life of his predecessor Astyages, but did any kind of honour to him. Herodotus gives us no hint as to the reason of this unusual conduct. The reason we may infer from Ctesias: after the overthrow of the Medes, Cyrus had to fight for his recognition by the various Iranian provinces, exactly as in the later time Darius or Ardashîr I. The principle of legitimacy, so astonishingly strong throughout the course of history in Iran, was to be considered already by him. The capture of Agbatāna had been in 550 B.C., the conquest of Lydia in 547-46 B.C. According to Herodotus the subduing of the Bactrians took place only after the conquest of Lydia: at least this might be inferred from Herodotus I 153, but it seems improbable that foreign conquests should have preceded the pacification of Iran proper. According to Ctesias, who in this case seems to have preserved the better version, the event took place before the Lydian campaign, and the Bactrians recognized the sovereignty of Cyrus, after a fight, foregone without decision, when they learned that not only Astyages was held in high honour by Cyrus, but that Cyrus had married Amytis the daughter of the vanquished king.[1]

1 The same history is repeated so many times again, that one feels inclined to doubt its authenticity: Cyrus marries the daughter of the last Median king, Darius, the widow of Cambyses, of the Pseudo-Smerdis (a very astonishing fact if he was indeed a pretender!), and other female relatives of Cyrus,

Apart from all the legendary details of the story, the mere fact is highly probable, because it contains the motive missing in the story of Herodotus, and because there are many similar examples in the history of Iran. This implies that Bactria had formed an integrant part of the Median empire already. And this, too, is highly probable. According to Herodotus I 102, already the second of his four Median kings, Phraortes, the successor of Deiokes, extended his rule over the other Iranian tribes, the Persians at first, and then, "supreme of these two powerful nations, he overran Asia, alternately subduing the peoples of which it was composed. He came at length to the Assyrians", but failed completely. At any rate, any attempt to attack the powerful empires of the Euphrates and Tigris basin, could only be undertaken with prospect of success after the union of the Iranians had been accomplished. And it has been accomplished shortly before 600 B.C., and immediately after the moment when those Iranian tribes had settled down in the countries, which they occupied henceforward. There is no place in history for any such Bactrian empire at all. The real 'hero of the Aryan lands, the one who united the empire' [*Yasht* V-49 and XV-32] can be none but Cyrus, who transformed the loose structure of the Median empire into the centralized, world-wide empire, in which the main lands were governed by members of his family and by himself.

Alexander marries Stateira and Roxane, Ardashir I marries the daughter of the last Arsacid, members of the family of Muḥammad are marrying princesses of the Sasanian family, a fact most important for the development of Persian Shiism, etc. Many of these examples are historical, and although the romantic circumstances of the tales may be legendary, we are not allowed to doubt the mere facts. According to the new Persian constitution, only a son born by a princess may become the successor of the Waliahd : it is dificult to think of anybody else but a Kajar princess. See the remarks of E. G. Browne, on the "Doctrine of the Divine Right" in Persian history, in his *Liter. Hist. of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 129 ss.

The residency of Vishtāspa, prince-governor of Parthava, at the period preceding the accession of his son Darius, must have been the capital of the province. This capital, during the long history of Iran, has always been in the fertile plains of Nishāpūr, and Tōs bounded to the North by high mountain ranges, among them the Kōh-i Rēwand, on which, until the medieval epoch, stood one of the three most sacred fires of Iran, called Ādhur burzīnmihr in Sasanian times. At present the capital is Mashhad, only a few miles from Tōs, since the Safawids transformed the modest tomb of the Imam Riza, at that place, into one of the greatest shrines of Persia, in order to avert the course of pilgrimage from Mecca to an Iranian site. During the late Sasanian period, as we learn from such an excellent source as Prokop, Nishāpūr was the seat of a governor whose title was χαναραγγης, Kanārang. At the beginning of the Sasanian period, the name of the capital had been, as usually, simply the name of the district, Aparshahr, *i.e.* land of the Aparna, the tribe to which the royal clan of the Arsacids belonged, replaced by the official name Nēw-Shāhpuhr, when Shapur I made it the important seat of administration. We can trace back the history of Tōs to the middle Arsacidan period, by Isidorus of Charax, and to the period of Alexander, who passed through *Tausia on his way from the land of the Ταπυροι, later Tabaristān, to Αλεξανδρεια Αρειων, later Herāt. There is enough reason to assume that during the Achaemenian period, the capital was at the same place as it was during the following two thousand years.

The name of Vishtāspa is a regular old-Iranian proper name; so is the name of Bardiya, or of Gaumāta. Names like Kurash—Cyrus and Kambūjiya—Cambyses are of an ethnical origin. Compared with them names like Sphendadates—Isfandiyār, whether it may signify 'given by the Holy [spirit]' or '[who holds] the Holy Law,' Dārayavahuš—Dārā, Artaχšaθra—Arda-

religiously neutral. In his surroundings appear the names Atossa and Sphendadates. He rules in the period previous to the restoration of the empire by Darius, over the Iranian satrapy of Parthava, which included Vṛkāna-Gurgān, Haraiva-Herāt, Kōhistān and Zranka-Sīstān, and the capital of which was in the neighbourhood of modern Tōs and Nishāpūr.

B. Vishtāspa, the Protector of Zoroaster.

In Zoroastrian literature as a whole Vishtāspa appears in three different rôles: the less distinct one is his mythical appearance. Much clearer are his rôle as protector of Zoroaster, and that as combatant and conqueror of his adversary Arjāsp.

This triple rôle corresponds exactly to the three categories into which we may divide the whole bulk of historical material contained in Zoroastrian literature, when analysing its origin. There is no fact, no feature that does not enter, as regards its origin, into one of these three categories of sources: (1) Aryan mythology, (2) life of Zoroaster, (3) historical facts, not older, sometimes younger than the Arsacidan period, about the beginning of the Christian era, reflected by the legend into much higher antiquity. We may here leave apart such elements which are a literary loan from scientific or fictitious books in Syriac or Greek.

To make clear the point, I choose an instance from the legend of Vishtāspa and Arjāsp. As J. Marquart has shown[1] the real history of Volagases I (51-78 A.D.) and the legendary history of Vishtāsp are parallel: the pseudo-historical rôle of Vishtāspa is the reflex into higher antiquity of the real history of Volagases I. Now, § 19 of the Pahlavi book Ayātkār ē Zarērān says: 'there at the forest of Aurus, and Marw the Zoroastrian, where there

1 *Beitrage zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran*, ZDMG 49, p 635 ss. and *Eranshahr*, p. 299.

are neither high mountains nor deep seas, but in that Hāmûn plain the brave knights and footmen may decide the battle'.[1]

The locality of the battle is here defined by three indications: (1) Aurus ražur, (2) Murw ē Zartuštān and (3) Dašt ē hāmūn. The first one appears in Rām Yasht XV, 31, a passage belonging to the old part of that Yasht, as the scene of the battle between Arvasâra and Kavi Husrava; the name means modern Siyārzur or Shahrzūr and belongs to the first of our categories of sources, Aryan mythology, or more precisely, Median legend.

The second indication is the well known town of Marw, often used with the other epithet 'Shāhigān' 'the Royal', *e.g.* on the coins, written with the ideogram MLKY. It belongs to the third of our categories of sources: Marw has been the place of the fight between Bahrām V Gōr and the Khāqān of the Turks, a historic detail of the Sasanian epoch, mixed with other facts from the real history of Volagases I and reflected into a legendary antiquity.

At last, the third indication, Dasht ē Hāmūn, is nothing else but the plain at the mouth of the Helmand which bears that name to the present day. It appears in the Arǰāsp legend, because Vishtāsp, in his rôle as protector of Zoroaster, is always thought of as in Sistān. The name belongs to our third category: Life of Zoroaster.

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1 ÂNOD PAT aurus ē ražur U murw ē [illegible] Ē NĒ kū ē tuš U NĒ var zafr, BĒ PAT ÂN dašt ē hāmūn [illegible] pahlān wēnēd. The edition has HVTVS instead of AVZIS for the name of Haoša, Greek Atossa, sister and wife of Vištāspa, as I have quite out of place From Bahm Yasht III, 9, compared with Farv. XIII, 14, where more correctly = "The White (or Hoary) Forest is the king of forests", it becomes evident that the author literally transcribed Av. aoši by Av'us, corrupted later on into Avtus, i.e. Hvtvs of the edition. Yasht IV, 2, has xvi spaētōtəm raznrəm. Av xvi = "six," rendered in the Pahlavi translations by ardā, is a synonym of spaēta-.

The short passage of the book of Zarēr, therefore, contains elements belonging to our three categories: the White Forest—Aryan mythology, Dasht ē Hamūn—life of Zoroaster, Marw—late history reflected into high age.

Another localization of the battle is found in the Ardvisūr Yasht V, 108, one of the oldest parts of the younger Awesta, the composition of which may go back to the time of Artaxerxes II (404-358 B.C.) From the early date of the passage it becomes evident that in the legend of Vishtāsp-Arjāsp the elements of Arsacidan history are mixed with older elements of Aryan mythology, our first category of sources. In the Yasht Vishtāspa is sacrificing before the battle at 'the waters of Frazdān', that means, in accordance with the 'dasht ē hāmūn' of the book of Zarēr, in Sīstān, for, the lake of Frazdān is the modern Gaud i Zira. The name 'var ē Frazdān' is missing in the other old Yasht, that reveals such an intimate knowledge of Sistān, the Yasht XIX (66). But the name appears, *e.g.* in Yasht III, 13, and in Bundehišn XXII, 1 and 5: there it is believed to be connected with the wide ocean, hence it must have had salt-water, like the Gaud i Zira. The etymology of the name is obscure. It is known to Ptolemy as Φραζανα 110° Long. 30° Lat., and, under the misspelt form Tazarene, it appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a document of the middle Arsacidan epoch. The *Geographus Ravennas*, who derives his material from the same source, preserves the better spelling: Parazene.[1]

1 Hence, we must not, with Tomaschek, (*cf.* also Marquart Erânš, pp 31 and 181) alter the name in the *Tabula* into Paradene, in order to assimilate it with Ptolemy's Παραδηνη VI, 21, 3, a region in Gedrosia With more probability, Ptolemy is wrong in localizing that name in Gedrosia, and it is, in reality, the land of the Pâradân of the Paikuli inscription, the Pârata of Varâhamihira, *Bṛihatsamhita*, transl Kern, *J R A S.* NS. V, p 90, at the banks of the river Pâradâ, modern Pâraḍi or Pâr in the Surat district north of Aparânta. At the present time, the name Frazdân, still exists as that of an old medieval castle of the Assassins, SE. of Birjand and Kâin in Kûhistân, called Ferizdûn As for

Geographical allusions are extremely rare in the Old Awestic writings. We may neglect here the first fargard of the Vīdēvdād, which cannot have been composed before the middle of the 2nd century B.C. It is no exaggeration if we say that even the main features of Iranian topography are not alluded to in the Awestic writings. The more striking is the fact that the Yasht XIX, the so called Zam-Yasht, consecrated to the 'Kavian χvarnah, the Royal Glory' is full of the most detailed knowledge of that small and otherwise insignificant region of modern Sistān, old Zranka.

We have dealt with the lake Frazdān. Besides, in Yasht XIX, 66, there is the hill Uši̊dhâo, a special place of worship of Ahuramazdāh, with a fire burning on it, the home of the Kavaēm χvarnō.[1] Whether we accept Bartholomae's etymology "he who resides in the dawn", or Sir Aurel Stein's "he whose sight is in the dawn", or "he who gives understanding," as proposed by Darmesteter, the fact is that among the "2244 mountains of Iran" this hill owns a peculiar sanctity in the Yashts and the Yasna. Yt. XIX, 66-7: "We worship the (Royal) Glory which attaches itself to him who rules (or appears from) there where is the lake Kānsavya formed by the Helmand, where mount Ushidhāo is, around which many mountain streams come together." This is exactly the situation of the present Kûh i Khwâja, the only hill in the whole region, in the midst of the Hâmûn lake, which is formed by the waters of the majestic Hēlmand river and many smaller rivulets. The lake Kānsavya[2] is the modern

the etymology of Frazdan, Aw. frazdânav, occurring besides in *Frahang i Oïm*, p. 17, 4g, Bartholomae thinks at *frazda dânav, the first element from the Ar root dhâ, the second the well known word for "river". The name has been applied to a river in Armenia, Hrazdan, a loan that must have taken place during the Arsacidan period, *cf.* Hubschmann, *Arm. Gram.* I, p. 48.

1 Cp. the late Yt. I, 28 and 31; Yasna I, 14, XXV f.

2 Av Kānsavya contains the prototype of the modern Sistāni word 'kang', in Miyān i kang', i e Mesopotamia, or Duab

Hāmūn, the epithet haêtumata "hêlmand-ian, formed by the Hêlmand" excludes every doubt. The Hāmūn[1] lake has sweet water, whereas the recipient of its overflow, the lower lying Gaud i Zira, the old var ē Frazdān, is salty. That name still retains in its second part the ancient word Zfayā 'sea' which gave the name to the land and its inhabitants: Zranka, Drangiana. Of the rivers of Sistān, the Yashts know the haêtumant, Phl. hēδmand, modern Hilmand. The name means "rich in dams, dikes", alluding to prehistoric irrigation works at the river banks. The modern name shows the regular change from -t- through -δ- into -l.

Of the small rivers that fall into the Kānsavya-Hâmûn, Sir Aurel Stein already has identified a number.[2] The xvâstrâ is the modern Khâshrûd, the hvaspâ modern Khuspâs, cp. Ptolemy's Χοασπα a town in Arachosia VI, 20, 4. The river Fradaδâ is known to Pliny as Ofradus, i.e. ὁ φραδος from a Greek source; it is the modern Frâh rûd. The name is at the same time that of a town, written FRHAN in the Pahlavi book *Shahrehā ē Erān*,[3] the foundation of which is ascribed to Rôtastahm ê Sagastânšâh, for the prototype of the hero Rustam was one of the kings of the Arsacidan dynasty of Sakastân. The lexicographer Stephanus of Byzanz quotes Φραδα πόλις ἐν Δράγγαις ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος Προφθασίαν μετωνόμασεν, "Frada, a town in Zrang whose name Alexander altered into Prophthasia"

1 Hâmûn is explained by the *Burhân i qâti'* as "a plain or desert or level ground void of swellings and hillocks", but the word is a dialectic one, the modern dialects of Sistân and Balûchistân employ it for any basin of a lake Zirâ or zira in modern Balûchistân means "well", but in the name Gaud i Zira it still retains the ancient meaning "depression of the sea".

2 M. A Stein, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XV, p. 21 ss.

3 The text of the *Shahrehâ* is found in J. M. Jamasp Asana's *Pahlavi Texts*, II, p. 18—26, a translation richly annotated, has been given by Dr. J. J. Modi in his *Asyâdgar i Zarirân*, 1899, p. 50—120 and p 129—163, a French translation is due to E. Blochet, in *Recueil de travaux relatifs á la philologie et l archéologie orientales* XVII, 1895. The most valuable corrections to the readings are found in J. Marquart's *Erânšahr* passim.

from the VIth book of the chronicle of Charax, a historian writing at Pergamon about 200 A.D. Isidoros of Charax Spasinu, (modern Muhammera) at least 100 years earlier, has the name under the form Φρα, like modern Frâh.[1] Xvarnahvati occurs under the shape of Pharnacotis in Pliny, and is to-day the Harrût. Zaṛnumati is according to *Bundh.* XX, 34, a surname of the Hêlmand. Urvâδâ is Ptolemy's Ῥοῦδα, 105 30 Long., 31 30 Lat. Of Ustavatî and Erzî we find traces in Ptolemy's Νοστανα and Ῥιζανα.

How to explain this intimate knowledge of that far away region, and the silence on all the other parts of Iran, so much more important? We shall find the explanation, if we answer the question, from which category of sources this material comes. It, apparently, does not belong to Aryan mythology, nor to Arsacidan history. If Vishtāspa appears as sacrificing on mount Ušidhāo, it is on account of his rôle as protector of Zoroaster, and the whole material belongs to the second of our categories of sources: the life of Zoroaster. It is an exact parallel to the geographical knowledge of *e.g.* the Evangelies: there we do not expect to find more than vague allusions to the geography of the Roman empire, but an intimate knowledge of Palestine.

Our explanation becomes a fact, established beyond any possible doubt, by another observation hitherto left aside: the region, so minutely described in the Yashts, is the land from which, at the Last Day, the Sōshyans will appear. Now, to expect the coming of the Saviour from a distinct place, implies that the same place, Sistān, was considered to have been the original place of the teaching of the prophet. The late but most interesting Pahlavi book '*Afdihā ē Sagastān*'[2] 'the Wonders of

1 *cf.* Tomaschek, *Histor. Topographie von Persien, Sb. Wine. Ak. W.* 1883, CII, p. 213 (p. 71 of the sep. print).

2 The text of the *Afdihā* has been published by Dastur J. M. Jamasp-Asana *Pahlavi Texts*, II, Bombay 1913, p. 25—26, *cf.* Introduction p. 17. A translation

Sistan' is an excellent commentary to the isolated passages of the Yashts and to the whole problem under discussion Zoroaster has been born, according to the rare, but—if properly analysed—unanimous allusions of the Awestic books and dependant authors, in Media, in the town of Raga—by the way, a fact that forbids any date anterior to that of the foundation of Agbatana—, he had no success in his native country, left it and preached on the Kuh i Khwajah in Zranka Sistan, where king Vishtāspa became his disciple and protector

In the Bundehishn we find another locality mentioned in connection with Vishtaspa Though of a younger date than even the Denkard, the material gathered in the compilation of the Bundehishn goes partly back to Awestic Nasks, since lost, and may be taken as very old[1] As long as we knew only the Indian recension of the Bundehishn, we could not understand the passage in question and the parallel account of it in Mas'udi's مروج الذهب better than Darmesteter and G Hoffmann explained it, *viz.* the transplantation of the Fire Ādhur khurrah from its original home in Khwarizm to a place called

into Gujerati and English, with copious notes, has been given by Dr J J Modi, in his *Asyâdgâr i Zarirân*, etc Bombay 1899, p 122—127 A transliteration and translation by E W West was published, with extracts from letters, as autographic facsimile through A V W Jackson in *J A O S* 36 p 115—121

1 The date of the *Dênkard* is well known its compilation was begun by Aturfarnbag son of Farrukhzât known by his disputation with Abalish in the presence of the khalif al Ma'mun, hence, between 813—38 A D , and was completed by Aturpāt son of Emêt (*Admet'*) mentioned in *Bundh* XXXIII, 11 as a contemporary of Zâtsparm who had been living in 881 A D , *cf Gr Ir Phil* II, p 91. But the main material from which the *Dênkard* has been compiled, dates from the time of Khusrau I, 531—79 A D , as proved by Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis d mittelirânischen Mundarten* III p. 9, who ingeniously recognized the different use of the predicates im bag " the former Majesty " referring to all the earlier kings and oe bag ' the present Majesty referring to Khusrau I. And the source of that work of Khusrau s time must have been the Denkard of Shāpur I The date of the *Bundehish i* is less limited, but its compilation is surely not later than the year 447 of the era of Yazdekert, corresponding to 1098 A D., see *Gr Ir. Phil* II, p 100 § 44 and the *Iran Bundh*, ed. Anklesaria, Bombay 1908 p 240 l 7—8

Kārikān, later Kāriyān in Fārs. This transplantation of one of the three holiest fires to a place in Fārs, the home of the Achaemenian and no other old dynasty, always seemed to me a certain proof that the king who did it belonged to the Achaemenian family, in other words, that Vishtāspa, the protector of Zoroaster, was an Achaemenid. But now we know better. In the Iranian Bundehishn (ed. Anklesaria, *Pahl. Texts*, Vol. III, p. 124 s.) the text runs—leaving out the passages which do not regard us here:

Yim ANDAR χvatāyih.....āturXVARRĒH.....PA XVARRĒHāwmand kōfePA χvārazm nišāste .... ANDAR χvatāyih vištāspŠĀH PA pētākih AŻ dēne AŻ χvārazm ō rōšane kōf ē kanārangkān DĒH (nišet) nišāst HĒnd čēgōn NŪNič ĀNŌ MĀNēt'

'Under the reign of Yim [Jamshīd] the Ādhurχvarrēh [Fire] was established on the Xvarnahwant Kōh [the Glorious Mountain] in Khwārizm ....., under the reign of Vishtāspshāh, upon a revelation from the religion, it became established [*i.e.* transferred] from Khwārizm to the Rōshan Kōh [the Shining Mountain] of the district of the Kanarangs, where it remains even now'.

It is evident that we learn here the name of the actual residence of Vishtāspa, for to no other place he can have transplanted that fire. The district of the Kanārangs is, as we know already, the plain of Nishāpūr, in which there has always been the capital of the province of Parthava.

To which category of sources does this and other similar mentions of the foundations and transplantations of fire-temples belong? In the *Murūj al-dhahab* of al Mas'ūdi, IV, 76 (ed. Cairo, I, p. ٢٦٦), a passage already quoted above, the words 'upon a revelation from the religion' are rendered, as they ought to be understood, by

'Zardusht had recommended the king to try to fetch the fire which Yim had venerated'. The passage of the Bundehishn belongs to our category of sources: life of Zoroaster.

The Kavi Vishtāspa or Kaivishtāspshāh of the legendary literature is the son of Aurvataspa-Luhrāsp. He is mentioned in Yasht V, 105, Dēnkard VIII, XIII, 15, Bundehishn XXXI, 28, but simply as the father of Vishtāspa. In Bundh. XXXIV, 7, it is said that Luhrāsp attained the mythical age of 120 years. In the Vishtāsp Yasht, a very late work, void of any historical or topographical allusion, even the name of Luhrāsp does not appear. Nothing is known about his reign. Hence, it is clear, that Luhrāsp belongs to the mythical side of Vishtāspa: he is an old Iranian god that became king.

If the Pahlavi book *Shahrehā ē Erān* attributes to Kai Luhrāsp the building of Kāin, the capital of Kōhistan, the reason is nothing but a mere popular etymology: Kai-[Luhrāsp] founds Kāin, exactly as in the case of Raχvat, *i.e.* Haraχvati—Kandahār, attributed to Rahām son of Gōdarz, or Bust attributed to Bastvar son of Zarēr. But it is noteworthy that the localities connected with the persons of the sphere of Vishtāspa centre around Sistān.[1]

Vishtāspa belongs to the Naotara family. The name is an appellative, the OP. comparative of 'nava, new,' the Greek νεωτεροι: 'the younger, sc. branch'. As the residence of that 'younger branch' the old town of Taosa-Tōs had the surname 'visa naotarānām', the town of the younger branch. Hence, beside Nishāpūr, the residence of the Awestic Vishtāspa was Tōs. In the poor Vishtāsp Yasht, the only hint at history may perhaps be discovered in the regular address to the king "O young king

1 The author of the Shahrehâ says that Bust was founded Pat AN gâs KAT vistâspsâh dêne dastvar PA frazdân DAT "at that time when ♁ Vishtâsp gave instruction of the religion at Frazdân".

Vishtāsp", so that we are allowed to conclude that the conversion of the king took place when he was still young.

The predecessor of Kavi Vishtāspa in Awestic legend is Kavi Husrava, called in Yasht V, 49, and XV, 32, 'the hero of the Aryan lands, the one who united the empire', an expression that sounds like the paraphrase, in the elated language of a hymn, of an actual title. It is evidently one of the very rare and isolated remembrances of real old Iranian history, and to no other historical figure in the whole history of Iran may such an expression refer, but to Cyrus. There is one more example: Kavi Usaδan, Kaikā'ūs is said to have 'ruled all the lands', an expression much too similar to the Median and Achaemenian titles χšāyaθiya dahyūnām, often with tyaišām parūnām, and χšayaθiya dahyūnām vispazanānām, to be a mere coincidence.

Among all the different Kavi's, it is Vishtāspa alone, to whose name, in Pahlavi literature, the title *shāh* is regularly attached. Hertel, in his treatise *Achaemeniden und Kayaniden*, 1924, has correctly proved that Aw. kavi, Pahl. kay has simply the signification 'prince, king'. The Pahl. kay is found in the Frahang i Pahlavīk under the shape KDY (explained by kay) and has been used, under the same shape, during the middle Sasanian period, *e.g.* by Yazdegard II and Pērōz, as title on the coins preceding the name. It has been emphasized that *Kavi* is never used in the Achaemenian inscriptions. But this fact onlys hows that *Kavi* belonged to an Eastern, *viz.*, the Sistān dialect, was foreign to Old Persian, and is replaced there by χšāyaθiya, exactly as OP *baga* replaced Aw. yazata. If in Pahlavi literature we find Kai-Vishtāsp-shāh, the redoubling of the titles shows that at that time Kai was no longer understood in its original signification. Kai and shāh are synonyms, both of them are no sovereign titles, and it is remarkable that the protector of Zoroaster,

in Pahlavi literature, always appears with the title of a prince-governor, whereas among his mythical predecessors, like Kavi Husrava and Kavi Usaδan, there appear paraphrases of the actual Achaemenian sovereign titles.

'According to Yasht XIII and the *Ayātkār ē Zarērān* the wife of Vishtāspa bears the name Hutaosa—Hutōs—Atossa, a typical name of female members of the Achaemenian family: one Atossa was the daughter-in-law of the historical Vishtāspa. The son of Vishtāspa, in the Awestic legend, has the name Spəntōdāta—Isfandiyār; in history Sphendadates appears in the epitome's of Ctesias, no doubt erroneously, as the name of the false Bardiya, the contemporary of the father of Darius. The names of two other sons, Frashaostra and Jāmāspa appear in the Gāthas, other names in the vicinity of Vishtāspa belong to the mythical category, like Luhrāsp and Arjāsp, still others to the Arsacidan category, *e.g.* Gōdarz, Rōtastahm—Rustam. Leaving apart those two latter groups, the proper names in the surroundings of Vishtāspa belong either to the period of the Gāthās of Zoroaster, or are of Achaemenian character. Names and titles together reflect clearly an Achaemenian 'milieu'.

We must now resume the facts we have gathered from Zoroastrian literature about Vishtāspa in his rôle of the protector of Zoroaster: He belongs to the family of the Naotara, the 'younger branch', and is the immediate successor of Kavi Husrava, who is called 'the hero of the Aryan lands, the one who united the empire,' an expression applicable only to the historic Cyrus. Members of the 'older branch' of the Kavis bear the Median and Achaemenian title 'ruler of all the lands', whereas Vishtāspa himself regularly appears with the modest title *shāh* of a prince-governor. His usual residency was in 'the district of the Kanārangs', *i.e.* later Nishāpūr, and at 'Taosa naotarānām', *i.e.* Tōs, the capital of the pro-

vince of Parthava, and his dominion included Zranka-Sīstān, where the prophet Zoroaster was preaching. He seems to have been a young man when he became a follower of the prophet and his protector. In his family appear, beside the Gāthic names of his sons, the Achaemenian names Sphendadates and Atossa.

Conclusion.

The identity of the names of the father of Darius and of the protector of Zoroaster alone justified the discussion of the identity of the two persons. The result of our analysis is a perfect parallelism, a duplicity of cases, for which there is but one explanation: we are forced to accept the identity of the two persons. Vishtāspa, the father of Darius, governor of Parthava and Zranka, is the protector of Zoroaster, when the prophet was teaching on mount Ushidhāo, the Kūh i Khwājah. The date of Zoroaster, as given in Zoroastrian tradition, in spite of the unhistoric appearance of that tradition, comes next to historic truth.

PARSIS AND FIRE WORSHIP

SOME SPURIOUS LINES OF THE SHAHNAMAH IN CONNECTION THEREWITH

By Mehrjibhai Nosherwanji Kuka, M A

Some Parsis are over sensitive about being called *Atash parast* or Fire worshippers, as they believe that such epithet places them in the category of idolaters, and therefore liable to be looked upon with contempt by those who profess to worship one supreme God only This sensitiveness has not been of modern growth, but seems to have existed for some centuries, possibly since the time of the Mahomedan rule and their ambition to set themselves right in this respect with their rulers seems to have inspired certain interpolations in the *Shahnamah* testifying to the pure monotheism of the Parsi religion The verses so interpolated are now the common stock in trade of all platform orators among us, whenever there is a lecture or sermon on the subject of 'Fire', and I myself have been hearing the lines for the last fifty years and more, ever since I first came across them in the writings of the Parsi poet 'Mansukh' The lines are

مگوئی که آتش پرستان بُدند پرستندهٔ پاک یزدان بُدند

"Say not that they were fire-worshippers, nay, they were worshippers of the Holy God"

Occasionally the following lines are tagged to the above.

چو مر تازیانرا براست محراب سنگ بدان گه بُدی آتش خوب رنگ

"Just as to the Arabs is the stone arch (in the mosque, showing the direction of *Ka'abah*,) so was to them those days the coloured fire."

The first couplet I have not seen in any printed or lithographed edition of the *Shâhnâmah*, and the second one I have come across only in one edition as mentioned further on. Both the couplets are given in the Gujarati transliteration and translation of the *Shâhnâmah* published a few years ago by the brothers, Ervad Mahyar Kutar and Ervad Faramurz Kutar, who give as their authority an old manuscript. The lines form part of the account given of King Hûshang, and along with the preceding and following lines they appear in the Kutar edition as under:

A همه کارِ مردم نبودي ببرگ B که پوشیدنی شان همه بود برگ

C پرستیدنِ ایزدی بود پیش D نیا را همین بود آئین و کیش

E بسنگ اندر آتش از او شد پدید F کز و روشنی در جهان گسترید

G مگوئی که آتش پرستان بُدند H پرستندهٔ پاک یزدان بُدند

I چو مرتا زیانراست محرابِ سنگ J بدان گه بُدی آتشِ خوب رنگ

K یکی روز شاهِ جهان سوی کوه L گذر کرد با چند کس همگروه

A "The people had none of the conveniences of life,
B "for their clothing was all of leaves.
C "Previously the worship of God had been in vogue,
D "and the grandfather (of Hûshang, *i.e.* the first King Gayomart) held the same belief and practice.
E "It was through him (Hûshang) that the fire appeared from stone,
F "whereby Light spread throughout the world.
G "Say not that they were fire-worshippers;
H "Nay, they were the worshippers of the Holy God.
I "Just as to the Arabs is the stone arch,
J "so was in those days the bright-coloured fire.
KL "One day the king of the world was going towards a mountain with a group of men."

And now follows an account of the incident which led to the discovery of Fire, and of the institution of the

festival called *Jashn i Sadah* The king when going to a mountain encountered a snake, and flung a stone at it to kill it; but the stone missed the mark and hit another stone, whereupon the impact produced fire

A few lines further on the poet says

M جهاندار پیش جهان آفرین N بپایش همی کرد و خواند آفرین

O که اورا فروغی چنین هدیه داد P همیں آتش آنگاه قبله نهاد

Q بگفتا فروغیست این ایزدی R پرستید باید اگر بخردی

M N "The king prayed to the Creator of the world, and glorified Him,

O "for His having conferred on him the boon of such a light,

P "And he then set up this fire as a *Qiblah* (the object which the adorer should face)

QK "He said, 'This is Divine Effulgence, it should be worshipped, if wise thou art'"

Turner Macan's Calcutta edition, and the editions lithographed in Bombay have the order of the verses A to L as under AB, CD, EF and KL Verses GH and IJ are wanting

Mohl and Vuller both have the order—AB, DC, JI, EF and KL Verses GH are wanting

It will be seen that the verses GH, which are quoted so often by our lecturers from the platform and the pulpit as a certificate from Firdausi about the nature of Parsi worship, are not to be found in the published editions There are several very valid reasons for regarding them as spurious

In the first place there is a grammatical mistake in the verse G. The word مکوئی can never be used for مکو A correct verse would be مکوئید کاش پرستاں بُدند or مکو این که آتش پرستان بُدند As regards the former it may be

said that Firdausi, when addressing the reader, never uses the plural form 'you'. And as regards the latter one may be sure that had there been any such verse written by Firdausi, it would have been found in almost all editions. The incorrect form in which the line has continued to be quoted for so many years is in itself an indication of interpolation by a scribe not too well versed in Persian.

Secondly, the lines GH are quite out of place after the verses EF, which, on the other hand, are closely connected with verses KL, as will be seen at a glance. The poet has just alluded to the first appearance of fire from stone, and he then proceeds to describe the incident which led to the discovery. Owing to this connection between the two couplets, it follows that verses IJ are also out of place and are interpolations.

Thirdly, it would be unreasonable to suppose that Firdausi could have said here anything about the people not being fire-worshippers, when a few lines further on (in verses QR) he speaks of Hûshang having *enjoined the worship of fire.*

A careful perusal of all the lines leads one to a conclusion quite contrary to the cherished belief of modern Parsis. Firdausi says that from the days of Gayomart upto the discovery of fire the worship was of God and that thereafter Hûshang instituted fire-worship.

As another example of the unscrupulous way in which interpolations have been made in the *Shâhnâmah* may be mentioned certain lines wherein Jamshed is said to have instituted the wearing of the *Kushti* or the sacred girdle. In Kutar's edition, in the section of Jamshed, after the well-known line

منم شهریاری و هم موبدی

there have been printed seven couplets which, the compilers confess, are not to be found in other editions but

are in an old manuscript. I give only three couplets:—

هر آن کس که کشتی میان بسته شد بهشتی شد و از گنه رسته شد
نشانیش کشتی بپیغمبری ز مینو خجسته سروش آوری
مر آنرا که کشتی نهادند نام ببستند جم با همه خاص و عام

To interpolate such ungrammatical and silly trash in Firdausi's grand lines is nothing short of sacrilege.

As regards the sentimental repudiation by the Parsis of the denomination 'fire-worshippers' applied to them, let us first see what the term 'fire-worshippers' really means, and then whether the Parsis can conscientiously aver that they are not fire-worshippers.

Worship implies reverence towards and praying to a Being or Entity, an animal or an object, and also the performance of certain rites. The prayer may consist of any or all of the following acts: Glorification of the Being addressed, thanksgiving, asking forgiveness for sins, asking for spiritual guidance and peace of mind, and asking for boons and blessings including among them such as are only in the power of Beings above the plane of humanity to bestow, *viz.*, health, longevity, offspring, etc.

The ordinary mind—one unaccustomed to abstract thinking—requires something concrete or capable of being visualized to which it can turn when adoring the Deity, and therefore even in monotheistic religions we find prayers addressed to images of saints, to ancestors, and to other objects which are regarded as the emblems of religion. When worship is that of an idol, except perhaps among savages, the idea underlying the outward act is not that the idol itself is capable of helping the worshipper but that owing to the believed immanence of the deity therein, brought about by the consecration of the idol, prayers addressed to it are sure of being heard by the god.

In polytheistic religions wherein there are several gods each of whom may be regarded by his votaries as the supreme one, when worship is offered at the god's shrine, it is possible that the idea latent in the mind of the worshipper is that of the supremacy of the god he is worshipping over the other gods of the pantheon. But in monotheistic religions, wherein only one Supreme God is recognised and the other beings such as angels, saints, etc., have their proper places in the celestial hierarchy, the worship does not imply as an essential condition that the being or object worshipped is the Supreme God.

When a Parsi prays before the fire and recites the *Âtash-niyayish*, he is giving utterance to words conveying a request to the fire to give to the adorer certain blessings such as longevity, strength, wisdom, greatness, happiness, good children, etc. This *does constitute worship of fire*, in spite of what sentimentalists may say, and no Parsi, who understands what he is reciting in the form of prayers, can conscientiously aver that he is not a fire-worshipper.

A PERSIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOM.

By R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Retd.*)

In an article entitled "A Visit to the Great Wall of China", Dr. Modi has referred to a curious custom prevailing in the province of Khorassan at the time of Masudi. I quote from his text[1]:

> "Among one of the pagan tribes of this district, there was prevalent in the time of Maçoudi the custom which we call *Satee* in India. Maçoudi thus speaks of the custom: They burn their dead by placing on the same funeral pile their beasts of burden, their arms and their dress. When a man dies, his wife is burnt alive with him; but if the woman dies first, the husband does not submit himself to the same fate. When one dies unmarried, they give him a wife after his death."

It is, of course, well known that in ancient times the death of a king or a great man led to a regular holocaust of human beings and animals. Mr. Woolley's recent excavations at Ur have brought to light tombs in which the deceased has been speeded on his way by the slaying of consorts, servants, and the cattle drawing the funeral chariot. They appear to have been slain first and then placed in position in the tomb.

I desire here, however, to invite attention to the concluding words of the extract, *i.e.*, to the marriage of the corpse of a man who dies unmarried. It will be found that this practice exists in the Bombay Presidency at the present day.[2] It would seem to be a spirit scaring rite. We must presumably look for the motives underlying this strange practice in the well-known custom of marrying a bachelor to a tree or other marriage guardian before he

1 *Asiatic Papers, Part III, p. 296, n. 1.*

2 See Bombay Folk-lore, p. 127.

may contract an alliance with a widow. This, as is now well-known, is a very common rite among the members of those castes and tribes that allow widow marriage to take place. The bride usually selected for the bachelor in such cases is most commonly a branch of the *Rui* tree (*Calotropis gigantea*) or of the *Shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*). After the ceremony, the plant bride is burnt.[1]

It is usually argued that the key to the problem of the nature of the motives underlying this marriage custom is to be found in the destruction of the bachelor's bride as soon as the ceremony has been completed.[2] The widow's husband has already become a disembodied spirit. The burning of the bachelor's bride provides another spirit. The two may be left to consort together, and thus the remarried widow may be freed from the risk of disturbance by the first husband's spirit when she has taken another partner. I confess that this explanation not only appears to me very plausible, but, further, it is extremely difficult to put forward any other theory to meet the facts of the case.

Assuming its correctness, I venture to think that an explanation of the marriage of a deceased bachelor may be sought on similar lines. It would appear that a bride is supplied to the corpse in such cases to appease the spirit of the deceased, which may not remain at peace in its solitary condition. Compare, in this connection, the special ceremonies that are in vogue to appease the spirit of a childless parent, or of a mother who dies in child-birth.[3]

It may also be noted that the deceased bachelor, in cases where a marriage is performed after his death, is married to a tree or other guardian just as the widow's bridegroom would be before he is permitted to go through the nuptial ceremony with the widow.

1 *Ibid.* See also Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Vol. I, p. 31.

2 Bombay Folk-lore, Vol. XXXVI, p. 219.

3 Bombay Folk-lore, p. 168.

THE SPENTA MAINYU IN THE GATHAS—THE SOURCE OF FRAVASHIS IN THE AVESTA AND OF THE LOGOS IN CHRISTIANITY

By Sorabji Nowroji Kanga, B A

What are Fravashis? Why are they not mentioned in the Gathas? And what is the source of Fravashis? These are questions now a days insistently asked It is one of the objects of this paper to show that Fravashis are emanations from Ahura Mazda, and that they appear through Spenta Mainyu, which is the Divine Spirit of Ahura Mazda Himself It would seem that Ahura Mazda reveals Himself through His Own Spirit and through Fravashis in this world

Whereas in the Gathas and in the later Avesta, the highest of Spiritual Beings, namely the Amesha Spentas—the Archangels—are said to have been 'given or created by Ahura Mazda —*vide* such expressions as the veritable maker of Asha,' 'the Father of Vohu Mana, and of Armaiti'[1] in the Gathas, and "given or created by Me," *Mana dâm*, in the later Avesta—no such appellations have been applied to Fravashis, and Spenta Mainyu is called simply His Own Mainyu

Intimate connection of Fravashis with Spenta Mainyu in the Avesta

According to Farvardin Yasht para 1 the Fravashis had come to the assistance of Ahura Mazda in maintaining creations and according to para 76, when the two Mainyu —Spenta and Angra—created the creations (*damân dadhâtem*) they were there, standing still. We thus see that before all creations, before all manifestations, the Spenta Mainyu and the Fravashis were in existence And

1 Yasna XXXI 8 9 2 Hormuz i Yasht 5

derived and developed. It must however be clearly understood that the comparison on the point between the Zoroastrian and Christian scriptures is strictly limited, and that while the concept of the Spenta Mainyu, as the Divine Spirit of Ahura Mazda, is kept all along within the bounds of its original significance, that of the Logos in the Christian writings has been allowed a latitude, which has been the cause of many controversies even amongst the Christians themselves.

The idea that the Christian Logos takes its rise from the concept of the Spenta Mainyu of the Gathas first came to my mind a few years ago when reading the "Hidden Wisdom of Christ," in two volumes, published in 1864 A.D. by Ernest de Bunsen. Bunsen states that according to an ancient Jewish tradition recorded in the writings of Philo, in the Mishna, and in later writings, Abraham was first taught Chaldaean doctrines. At the conclusion of the first chapter, he states that "at the outset the possibility must be admitted that the Aryan Apocrypha are the primary source of the Jewish Apocrypha. ... ..And that in the Apocryphal writings of the pre-Christian era... ..the doctrine about the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, as the first born among all creatures, as the mediator between God and man, as the organ of sanctification and immortality, is developed in general accordance with the principles of the Avesta." In this same chapter which has been styled "Adam the Reformer etc." he states that Zoroaster was the contemporary, if not the fore-runner of Abraham, ...and that the great Aryan reformer would be proved as identical with the Adam of the Bible. Adam has been called the son of God, and as pointed out by Bunsen at pg. 472 of vol. II, Plato calls Zoroaster the son of Oromazes, *i.e.*, the son of God (Alc. I, pg. 122 a.). But Zarathushtra has not been so-called in the Gathas or anywhere else. See Plato's Dialogues, Bohn's, vol. IV, pg. 311. In the

paragraph 29, if carefully studied, show this intimate connection between Ahura Mazda, Spenta-Mainyu and Fravashis. The use of the word *vidhāraya*, in the sense of supporting or maintaining, applied equally to these three is very suggestive. It is important to note that whereas in the act of creation, Spenta and Angra are mentioned in para 76 of the Farvardin Yasht as coming together, in the act of supporting or maintaining the creations, Spenta Mainyu alone is mentioned The other, namely Angra, is as if it is not. This is so all throughout the Avesta, and supports our contention from the Gathas that Spenta Mainyu alone is concerned in the management of the world.

If thus, in the Avesta excepting in the Gathic portion, Fravashis are freely mentioned, and the connection between Ahura Mazda, Spenta Mainyu and Fravashis made clear, wherever the occasion offers itself, can we say that because of the absence of any mention of Fravashis in the Gathas, the Avesta has introduced something new, and at the same time something foreign, in the words of Mills, to the spirit of the Gathas? I do not think that the authors of the later Avesta would dare to do that. For we remember that the Haptan Yasht—Yasht of Seven Chapters —which is written in the Gathic dialect, and in the Gathic spirit, shortly after the time of the Prophet, mentions Fravashis in more places than one.

So much for the Fravashis themselves and the intimate connection between Ahura Mazda, Spenta Mainyu and Fravashis, in this paper.

We now come to the subject proper of our paper. It is to show that the Spenta Mainyu in the Gathas carries with it almost the same significance as the Divine Spirit of the Apocryphal and Jewish and Christian writings, and that in point of fact the Spenta Mainyu is the source from which the doctrine of Logos in Christian writings is

derived and developed. It must however be clearly understood that the comparison on the point between the Zoroastrian and Christian scriptures is strictly limited and that while the concept of the Spenta Mainyu as the Divine Spirit of Ahura Mazda, is kept all along within the bounds of its original significance, that of the Logos in the Christian writings has been allowed a latitude, which has been the cause of many controversies even amongst the Christians themselves

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14th chapter on Chronology in the second volume, our author places Zoroaster at about 5874 years from to day. Similarly, in "The Gospel of Divine Humanity," ch III, it is stated that "before Abraham left Ur of Chaldea, a story of creation had been written and had probably been transmitted orally through several generations prior to its impression on clay tablets by Akkadian scribes" So also, the Most Reverend Dr Leo Meurin, S J corroborates the above statements when he states that the points of contact between the Zoroastrian religion and the primitive religion, as known through Moses, are as many as they are wonderful (*vide* Select Writings, pg 570, published in Bombay in 1909)

The Divine Spirit in Christianity

It is now necessary to have some idea of what is meant by the Divine Spirit and how it works among mankind according to Christian ideas "The living God is one and invisible, whom no man hath seen at any time" (John I, 18) "He is a spirit, and sends down His Spirit from above to be with man below" From this it can be imagined that having created mankind, God, who is said to be invisible to men, does not leave His creatures alone without a guiding spirit in the shape of His Own Divine Spirit On this point Bunsen states (vol II, pg 476) —"In all ages God has revealed His will unto mankind by ingrafting His Spirit and will, without destroying the liberty of the latter The never varying Spirit of God has always worked through the instrumentality of the ever varying spirit of man Revelation, therefore, is the unity of stability and development of the infinite and the finite, the supernatural and the natural Reason, unaided by revelation, can never reach the predestined mark, but since God has at no time left Himself without a witness, and since humanity lives, and moves, and has its being in God, the revealing

truth and grace of God has in a measure belonged to mankind in all ages. Revelation by miracle is but a peculiar kind of the manifestation of the revealing power of God. The line of development is the same in the Gentile world and in Israel; but application constitutes the difference. Revealed truth received its *imperfect* application in the Gentile world and, later, in the Jewish Theocracy, and its *perfect* application in Christ Jesus. Thus Heathenism led to Judaism, and Judaism to Christianity." We can generally agree with what has been said above by Bunsen, but we cannot easily understand why a particular line should be drawn in the matter of the action of the Divine Spirit, *i.e.*, of revelation, as in the above quotation, between one nation and another, *i.e.*, between the Gentile and the Jewish World. Nor can we understand why the development of the Divine Spirit should reach its perfection in *only one man* on earth, especially when we remember that millions of human beings have existed before and millions will exist hereafter. Our author goes on to state at pg. 483 that "if it is the object of God's love to raise mankind to the mark of its eternally predestinated high calling; ..... if those who are led or driven by the Spirit of God are the children of God, then there must be a few chosen ones, who among the many that are called, become spokesmen or advocates of the indwelling Divine Spirit. The parts of the Avesta point to Zoroaster as to a man resembling in all respects the prophets in Israel. It is through the spiritual power, the gift of God, that he was the messenger who revealed Divine Mysteries." It should be noted that however graceful the compliment, Zarathushtra has been placed on a lower pedestal to that of Jesus Christ, who, it is thought, as the son of God, alone could have in him the development of the Spirit of God in the most perfect degree. It is interesting to note in this connection that Gathic

Yasna XXIX talks of the preparation in heaven, long before he was born on earth at the appointed time, of Zarathushtra having been appointed as the "Ratu," Spiritual Guide, on earth, "for he alone, Zarathushtra Spitama, has hearkened to Ahura's enunciations." Can we imagine that Christianity has taken up from the above Gathic statement its idea of the only begotten Son of God and the only perfect Son of Man born on earth at the pedestined time?

The theory of the full development of the Divine Spirit being possible in only one human being on earth, namely, in Jesus Christ, has led to various awkward questions. This theory has been, to my mind, a natural corollary to the theory about original sin and original fall, and has led to theories regarding vicarious punishment, atonement, resurrection on the third day after crucifixion of Christ, Christ the only Saviour, the real presence, etc. For an explanation of the above theories and an attempt at their justification, we may refer to "the Lux Mundi, a series of studies in the religion of the Incarnation," edited by Charles Gore, M.A. The Doctrine of the Spenta Mainyu —the Divine Spirit of Ahura Mazda— in the Gathas has not however been so developed as that any human being, however perfect, can claim to be able to take the sins of all mankind on his own head, and absolve them from the consequences of their sins

Development of the Original Aryan Doctrine of the Divine Spirit in Christianity.

It would be interesting to trace the development, in Israel, of the original Aryan doctrine of the Divine Spirit working in the world, from the time of Moses onwards, receiving through the Zoroastrian contact a mighty impetus during and after the time of the Jewish Captivity, and passing through the

actually "became flesh" and entered in the fulness of time the body of Jesus of Nazareth Jesus who was human became divine through His perfect obedience to God's commandments Humanity was thus, through one person, raised to divinity The Son of man thus became the Son of God, and could now say, "I and my Father are one' But it must be remembered that even then the Father is considered greater than the Son For Jesus says "The servant is not greater than his Lord, neither he that is sent greater than He that sent him The object of God's sending His only begotten Son to the world, as St John states, is not to judge the world, but that the world should be saved through Him "He that believeth not in Him hath been judged already Only he that believeth in Him has eternal life (Ch III, 16 18) For this reason it is said in Christianity that all sins can be forgiven, but not the one committed against the Divine Spirit, the Holy Ghost On this point Bunsen makes the following important statement "Conscience, the echo of the divine word within us, can be rendered an infallible guide, by the grace of God and by human obedience Cut off from this Divine intercourse, is only that man who, by habitually quenching the Holy Spirit within him, commits the sin against the Holy Ghost But all those who are increasingly led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God They know that *without faith* in the power of God they will not be led by it, that the life of the Soul is the life in God, that God lives in man, as man lives in Him, that to be annointed with the unction from above, to be in Christ is to be a new creature, to be born again as citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem" (Vol II, ch XIII, pg 419)

I think we have said enough on the Christian idea of the Divine Spirit, and we now go to the

Zoroastrian idea about Spenta Mainyu, the Divine Spirit. We shall find that Zoroastrianism is in substantial agreement with the fundamental idea of the Divine Spirit, but that it is completely at variance with the extreme development to which it is carried in Christianity—namely, that the Divine Spirit or Word was made flesh and was made perfect in the case of only one human being on earth, and that it is through that divinely human or humanly divine person alone that mankind could be absolved of their sins and saved.

The Divine Spirit in Zoroastrianism.
The Spenta Mainyu.

The word Spenta Mainyu or Mainyu of Ahura Mazda occurs about twenty-five times in the Gathas. It is a remarkable fact that it occurs *only* in the Ahunavaiti and Ushtavaiti Gathas, and only in the first chapter of the Spenta Mainyu Gatha. How is it that in the subsequent chapters of the same Spenta Mainyu Gatha, and also in the fourth and fifth Gathas, the Spenta Mainyu is not even once mentioned? And whereas only stray references are made to Him in the first two Gathas, it is important to note that every one of the six strophes in the 47th Yasna (the first chapter of the Spenta Mainyu Gatha) has some reference or other to the Spenta Mainyu. Is this merely an accident, or is this done on set purpose? I am inclined to think that the latter is the case. The work of Spenta Mainyu is strictly limited. From the very beginning of creations, He is in some mysterious way working in man as the Guide, and as we shall see later on, He comes with Ahura Mazda at the time of "the creations' final change." Ahura Mazda Himself will give Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, Weal and Immortality, but He will give them only through Spenta Mainyu, because it may be imagined that having all along acted within the human body with the soul of a man, the Spenta Mainyu

witness of all that has gone on in man, and His evidence is thus, as it were, necessary at "the creations' final change." In order to obviate any possible confusion in the mind of man about Ahura Mazda and His Spirit, and also with a view to show exactly what the Spenta Mainyu is, and what His functions are, it would appear that Yasna XLVII is wholly and specially devoted to a mention of certain facts regarding Spenta Mainyu. It is interesting to note in passing that none of the other Yasnas in the Gathas is specially written, as is the case with the Yasna XLVII in honour either of any human or divine being, yea, even of Ahura Mazda Himself. We can now say, that it is for some such idea that having stated all that was necessary to state about Spenta Mainyu in Yasna XLVII, Zarathushtra thereafter talks as before, and refers everything in the name of Ahura Mazda alone. It is also interesting to note that none of the Avestan writers who have composed Yashts in honour of Ahura Mazda and other celestial beings have thought it necessary to compose a separate Yasht in the name of Spenta Mainyu. The reason is obvious. Spenta Mainyu is one with Ahura Mazda, and the dignity of the God-head is not to be impaired in any way.

The Angra Mainyu.

We have stated that Spenta Mainyu has been very often mentioned in the Gathas. But Angra Mainyu who according to Yasna XXX, came 'in the beginning' together with Spenta Mainyu, thus forming a pair, to make life and life's absence, (*gaemchā—a-jyāitimchā*), is mentioned in the Gathas comparatively on a few occasions only. Its place seems to have been taken up by Druj, personification of evil, or by Aka Mainyu, evil mind, which carry with them some more definite ideas than does Angra. Angra is as if it is not, and is only used by the Prophet, while on the subject of good and evil, as a necessary philosophical adjunct to

become the friend of God is described as superior to Asha itself." But it seems to me that if this were so, the very fact that according to Zoroastrianism a man can become superior to Asha goes strongly against the idea of Asha being the Logos, because the Christian Logos has always been superior to men and angels.

Stray References to Spenta Mainyu in the Gathas.— Zoroastrianism, a Revealed Religion.

We now go to some of the typical passages where Spenta Mainyu is mentioned in the Gathas. In Yasna XXVIII, 11, Zarathushtra beseeches Ahura Mazda to "teach unto me, Thou Ahura Mazda ! by the utterance of *Thy own* Mainyu, aye, through *Thy own mouth* ", in order that I may "know how the primeval world arose." This reminds us of St. John XIV, 10, where Christ, the Divine Spirit or Word, says "the words that I say unto you I speak not from myself ; but the Father abiding in me doeth His works." We find the same idea inculcated in John XII, 49, 50 ; and in John XIV, 24. We thus find that according to both Zoroastrianism and Christianity, God speaks to His creatures through His own Divine Spirit. Commenting on the above Gathic passage (XXVIII, 11), Mr. Dastoor rightly observes that because Zarathushtra wants to be "taught" through Ahura Mazda's own Spirit, "we are to understand by it Revelation itself, since it is not necessary to have recourse to Ahura Mazda for a knowledge regarding things which people here already know." We can ask that if the Christian religion is a revealed religion, because Jesus Christ speaks the words of the Almighty alone, and not His own words, can the Zoroastrian religion be considered in a different light, when Zarathushtra declares the divine mysteries to the people of the world after learning them from Ahura Mazda Himself ? In Yasna XXXI, 3, Zarathushtra again beseeches Mazda "to *declare by* His

Spirit and with the tongue of *His mouth* . . . . . in order that he may make all the living believers"—Mills. According to Yasna XXXI, 7, Ahura Mazda causes His creatures to prosper by His own Spirit.—Mills.

It is declared in Yasna XXXI, 9 :—"Thine, O Ahura! is the Spirit."—Mills. Yasna XXXIV, 2, talks of the gifts of the Good Spirit. Mills here specially asks us to observe the expression in the text, and says that the Spenta Mainyu, like the 'Holy Spirit of God', is sometimes identical with Him. Mills is thus aware that the Spenta Mainyu stands in somewhat the same category with the Divine Spirit or Word of Christian scriptures. In Yasna XLIII, 2, Zarathushtra beseeches Ahura Mazda to *reveal* His own (gifts) through His most Bountiful Spirit. Mills points out that Neriosang has translated the word in the text for 'revealing' by *prakāsaya*.

Yasna XLIII, 16, is very significant. It is the same verse from which the late Mr. Dastoor would draw the concept of the Logos. Mills has translated it thus: "Thus O Ahura Mazda! this Zarathushtra loves the Spirit Mainyu, and every man most bounteous prays (beside him): Be Righteousness (Asha) life-strong, and clothed with body. In that (holy) Realm (Khshathra) which shines (with splendour) as the sun, let piety (Armaiti) be present; and may she, that is, Armaiti, through the indwelling of Thy Good Mind (Vohumana) give us blessings in rewards for deeds."

Salvation by Divine Grace and Human Obedience.

We have already stated that according to the Apocryphal writings, salvation comes from Divine Grace and human obedience. The pouring of the Divine Spirit from above and man's response to it through his own perfect obedience from below are said to lead to eternal life, to immortality. And immortality is said to be a gift from God. In Yasna XLIII, 16, which is at present under our

The Special Chapter on Spenta Mainyu.

We now come to Yasna XLVII which, as I understand it, is specially meant for an exposition of the cult of Spenta Mainyu. It is strange that learned Christian scholars and translators of Avesta with their knowledge of Apocryphal writings, and with the concept of the Holy Spirit or of Logos constantly before their minds, could not see in the Gathic Spenta Mainyu anything more than the ordinary indefinite idea about spirit. In his general exposition on this Yasna, Mills has stated that "The Spenta Mainyu here is not identical with Ahura, but is, as so often, His Spirit." And he goes on to state that "this indwelling Spirit of Ahura has *probably* no direct connection with the Holy Spirit of the old and new testaments". I have italicised the word "probably". This shows that Mills while on the subject of Spenta Mainyu was at least reminded of the Holy Spirit but that evidently he could not find sufficient data to compare one with the other, as we try to do in this paper.

Eternal Life given as a Gift.

In the first strophe of Yasna XLVII, which I have called the special chapter on Spenta Mainyu, all the seven Ameshas besides Spenta Mainyu are spoken of together. Mills translates it thus :—"And to this man Ahura Mazda will give both the two, *viz.*, universal weal and immortality (Haurvatāt and Ameretāt), by means of His Bountiful Spirit (Spenta Mainyu), and with His Best Mind (Vohumanna), from Righteous moral order (Asha) in word and deed and by His Sovereign Power Khshathra, (established) in Piety (Armaiti)." I have just explained at some length while on Yasna XLIII, 16, that on account of the love (or of veneration or reverence as Kanga translates the word in the text) that we bear towards Spenta Mainyu, Armaiti gives us blessings ; so also here it is declared that Ahura Mazda will give the highest gifts of Haurvatāt and

Ameretāt through Spenta Mainyu on account of our own perfect obedience, Armaiti. The fact that besides Vohumana, Asha, Khshathra and Armaiti, Ahura Mazda specifically mentions His own Spenta Mainyu, through whom alone He gives Haurvatāt and Ameretāt to men, is very suggestive. And here one is tempted to ask how or why is it that Ahura Mazda does not give those two gifts without an intermediary like the Spenta Mainyu ? ; and secondly, one would also like to know the meaning of Ameretāt, immortality, being given along with Haurvatāt as a *gift* to man. Are not men, *i.e.*, their souls, immortal ? Then what is the meaning of Ameretāt, immortality, being given on this earth after birth to souls that are ordinarily supposed to be immortal from the very beginning ? We have already seen that in the Apocryphal writings of the pre-Christian era the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, was considered firstly, as first born among all creatures, secondly, as the mediator between God and man and thirdly, as the organ of sanctification and immortality, and that this doctrine of the Divine Spirit was developed according to Bunsen in general accordance with the principles of the Avesta. What do we find in the Gathas ? I have tried to show that Spenta Mainyu in His being is coeval with Ahura Mazda. But as we cannot imagine or talk of things appearing or becoming, except in time, and as Spenta is supposed to have come in the very beginning of creations or manifestations, He can very aptly be considered as "the first born among all creatures." And as in Yasna XLV, 6, it is clearly stated that Ahura Mazda will hear men's prayers through Spenta Mainyu alone, we may be justified in considering Spenta Mainyu as a kind of mediator between God and man. This is the second point. And lastly, as for His being considered as an organ of sanctification and immortality, we know from XLVII, 1, that Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are given by Ahura Mazda through Spenta Mainyu alone. As in Apocryphal writings so

also in Christianity we find the same idea of eternal life being given as a gift through the Divine Spirit or the Son of God. For instance in John 3, 36 : "He that believeth in the Son hath eternal life ; but he that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." Similarly in Paul's Epistles to the Romans 6, 23, we read : "The wages of sin is death ; but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord." In Christianity then we find firstly, that Christ is the only begotten Son, the first born, secondly, that He is the mediator between God and man, and thirdly, that He is the giver of eternal life, that is, He is the Saviour.

What can be the Meaning of this Gift of Haurvatāt and Amĕretāt ?

It would thus appear that the highest gift of Haurvatat and Ameretāt, that is, of perfect weal and immortality or eternal life, could only represent some blessed state of existence where sin is not, where imperfections are not, from which state when once attained there is no backsliding again—a state of existence which may be likened unto the Christian idea of communion with God and His saints in Heaven. To this state of perfect existence all men can reach, excepting those perverts who would constantly set aside the dictates of the indwelling Divine Spirit. For it is said in Yasna XLV, 5, that they who grant Me (Ahura) obedient attention, upon them cometh Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, *i.e.*, Weal and Immortality. So also Yasna XLV, 7, states that the soul of the righteous *desires* Ameretāt, but that woes come to the wicked. The paragraph 36 of the 3rd chapter of John's Gospel, to which we have immediately referred above, thus seems to be an exact copy of Yasna XLV, 7. There thus seems to be considerable truth in the Christian saying that all sins may be forgiven, but not the one against the Holy Ghost or the Divine Spirit of God. We shall soon see that exactly the

same idea is conveyed in the fourth strophe of Yasna XLVII, the special chapter on Spenta Mainyu. But the question now is, can we get this kind of Haurvatāt and Ameretāt while in this life on earth, here and now? It seems to me that there is nothing in the Gathas that would preclude this idea. Another point of interest in this first strophe is its opening words "*Spentā Mainyu Vahistāchā Manaṅghā*," and which are quoted in the Hadokht Nask to which we have already referred in the beginning of this paper and where it is said that the source of Fravashis is from Spenta Mainyu and the Best Mind.

The second strophe of Yasna XLVII emphasises the fact that any man through his Vohuman and Armaiti can get the best of the gifts of Spenta Mainyu, *viz.*, Haurvatāt and Ameretāt. Observe the connection between Vohumana and Armaiti with Spenta Mainyu.

The third strophe points out that Ahura Mazda Himself is the furtherer of this Spirit, *viz.*, of His own Spenta Mainyu, and that He has created this rotating earth and brought forth Armaiti in consultation with Vohuman, the good mind. Thus Armaiti is once again mentioned along with Spenta Mainyu and Vohuman, and we are told that this earth, identified with Spenta Armaiti elsewhere, is the sphere of action for the Spenta Mainyu.

The fourth strophe is thus translated by Mr. Punegar, our well-known Avesta scholar and translator of the Gathas: "By this bountifulness of the Spirit of Mazda, the wicked are constantly wounded, not so the pious. A man of even small (means) for the pious shall be in esteem; (but) even a powerful being of many (means) for the wicked (shall be) wicked." The meaning is clear. Worldly riches *by themselves* are not of much count. The bountifulness of Spenta Mainyu is all that is necessary for our salvation. The bountifulness of Spenta

agushtā vachāo, that is, " words not heard of " by men on earth before. These cannot be the words of even the highest of speculative philosophy arrived at by means of ratiocination. But we can liken these words as those received by the *asnide-kherad*, by the in-born inner reason, by Pure Reason, and as given evidently by the indwelling Divine Spirit—the Spenta Mainyu. We may take it that these, until then, unheard-of words, refer among others to the doctrine about the Divine Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, and His work in men and in the world. It seems to me that Zarathushtra's discourse on the two spirits—Spenta and Angra—mentioned together in Yasnas XXX and XLV are to be understood as mainly referring to abstract ideas about good and evil. But however philosophical, and therefore speculative, these ideas may be, they cannot be considered as *a-gushtā vachāo*, as words unheard-of till then. It is of special importance to note that the words *a-gushtā vachāo* do not appear in Yasnas XXX and XLV, where Zarathushtra is talking about his doctrine of good and evil, and which would thus seem to be its proper place, but that they appear in Yasna XXXI after he had finished with his exposition about good and evil in Yasna XXX. It must be remembered that philosophers are not prophets, but that a prophet is much more than a philosopher, and is in fact of a different type from a philosopher. Zarathushtra was a man, —most certainly. But he was a man who had imbibed the Divine influence through Spenta Mainyu to a far greater extent than any other man. He alone was found to be fit for the role of the prophet, and as stated in Yasna XXIX, 12, he had been *taught* by Ahura Mazda Himself through His own Spenta Mainyu. And we can well imagine that he had been taught by Ahura not the philosophies of the schoolmen and the logicians, which differ in their meanings and which are open to all, but those Divine Mysteries which are open only to a few in their entirety. For many are called, but few alone are chosen.

the Yasna after its 27th Ha. The chapters of the Ushtavaiti, Spenta Mainyu, and Vohukhshathra Gathas have been incorporated after the 42nd Ha. And the last Gatha, *i.e.*, the Vahishtāishti has been so incorporated after the 52nd Ha, and forms the 53rd Ha of the Yasna. Thereafter the Yasna is completed with the 72nd Ha. Even though all the chapters of the five Gathas have been thus incorporated in the Yasna, it is a remarkable fact that the special chapter on Spenta Mainyu, namely, the 47th, has been *wholly* incorporated in and forms the 18th Ha of the Yasna, with the addition of the seventh strophe of the Vohukhshathra Gatha as its first strophe. Why this special incorporation of this 47th chapter in the 18th Ha, when in the ordinary course it should and does form the 47th Ha of the Yasna? And another point of interest in this matter is that immediately after the 18th Ha, we find that the 19th is specially devoted to a detailed account of the Ahunavar, Ahuna-Vairya, doctrine to be followed by 20th and 21st Has, which are devoted to an explanation of the Ashem Vohu and Yanghe Hātām. These three are well-known Gathic prayers. The question again arises, is this arrangement merely accidental or is it done on set purpose? And in this connection I will here only state that some of the statements made in the 19th Ha regarding Ahuna-Vairya forcibly remind us of the doctrine of the Word in the Apocryphal as well as Christian writings.

The Gathic Spenta-Mainyu seems to open out for students a new view-point with which to approach the study of the Zoroastrian religion. And if this view-point is correct, the existing translations of the Gathas may have to be revised and interpreted in terms of this view-point. It would show definitely that the Zoroastrian religion is a revealed religion. Zarathushtra is confident that, even though revealed, it is a rational religion, for he does not ask man to take it on trust, but as stated in XXX, 2, he

boldly asks every individual man to think for himself and then come to a decision. Thus, the reason in man is allowed full play, and man is to be judged, not only according to his beliefs but according to his thoughts, words and actions. How grateful must we be, that Zarathushtra has not allowed any room for a pitfall in the matter of our accepting his doctrines.

THE NAME OF THE RIVER HILMEND

By Dr. Wilhelm Geiger

The Hilmend is a well known river in Afghanistan It rises from the Koh-i-baba mountains and flows in south westerly direction to the Hamun lake, crossing in its lower course the wide plains of Segestan. In the Awesta it is called Haetumant There can be no doubt that its banks were the seat of a very ancient civilisation as it is described in the holy books of the Parsees.

Hilmend is the modern Afghan form of the name, but the correct pronunciation would be *helmund* The word *hel* exactly corresponds to the Awestic *haētu* according to Pashto phonology.[1] It is however not used in Afghan language now except in the name of the river.

A very curious form of the name is preserved in the Shāh-nāme: هیرمند *hermund*[2] which seems to connect the older *haētumant* with the most modern *hēlmund*. It corresponds to the form Hermandus found in occidental sources, whilst Etymandros corresponds to *haētumant*, the final -andros being assimilation to names like Maiandros, Skamandros.

As to the Afghan name *hēlmund* = *haētumant*, I have to mention that the diphthong *ai* (= Aw. *ai*) regularly becomes *ē* in Pashto, as in غلی *ghēli* "flocks" = Aw. *gaēthā*; لیور *levar* "brother-in-law" = Skr. *devar*. Only when a nasal follows it becomes *ĩ*, as in وینی *vĩni* "he sees" = Aw. *vaēnaiti* The consonant *t* after a vowel generally becomes *l*. *Cf.* غلی *ghalai* "gone" = Aw. *gata*, سل *sal*

1 *Cf* Gg Morgenstierne, Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto, p 30

2 Vullers, Lexicon Persico Latinum, s v.

or *sil* "hundred" = Aw. *sata*.[1] In other Iranian languages derivatives of the old *haētu* are by no means frequent. Morgenstierne only refers to ossetic *khēd*, to paraihi *hī*, and to sarikorī *yeid*.

In my book "Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum" (Civilisation of Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times) I translated the name of the river by "rich in fords", but this is decidedly wrong. We must, on the contrary, keep to the meaning accepted in Bartholomae's "Altiranisches Worterbuch" "rich in dams or dikes". Sir Aurel Stein who recently, returning from his third expedition to Central Asia over the Pamirs and along the western frontier of Afghanistan to the British territory of Balochistan, has crossed Segestan and the Hēlmund river, wrote me in a letter that the meaning "rich in dams or dikes" exactly suits the actual condition of the river and the adjacent country.

The word *haētu* = Skr. *sētu* is derived from the root *si* "to bind, to fetter", and *sētu* itself in the Rigveda originally, with the exception of only one doubtful passage, has the meaning "fetter, bond". *Cf. anṛtasya sētū* (*sētau*) "bonds of sin" Rv. 7.65.3, 10.67.4 (like *druhah pāśān* Rv. 7.59.8.), and *pade-pade pāśinaḥ santi sētavah* Rv. 9.73.4 "at every step there are fetters of the bird-catcher".

Afterwards *sētu* gets the meaning of a dam or dike by which the single fields are separated from one another where the ground is artificially irrigated. For the dike "binds" or "fetters" and "obstructs" or "keeps back" the water of a river or a brook so that it does not flow off but can be used for irrigation purposes. The development of meaning is, therefore, the same as in Persian بند *band* "a band, tie,...chain...a mound, dam, dike, or any enclosure of water." (Steingass.)

1 See my Etymologie und Lautlehre des Afghānischen, p. 40 (266), § 5, and pp. 46-47 212-213), § 13-4 c.

The meaning "dam" or "dike" is very frequent in later Vedic language and in classical Sanskrit. It may be sufficient to mention the compound *kedārasētu*. By it a dike is meant of terraced rice-fields. If it is cut the water runs from the higher field into the next one. In the Arthaśāstra of Kautalya 3.8 (61) we meet with the term *sētubandhaḥ* for any irrigation-work, and the same word frequently occurs in Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Kathāsaritsāgara, etc.

The Awestic *haētu* occurs in one passage only, Vend. 19.30: *hā ashāunām urvāno tarasca harām berezaitīm āsnaoiti taro cinvatōperetūm ṿ dhārayeiti haētō mainyavanām yazatanām*. This passage is interesting, because we meet with another word here for "bridge": *peretu* = Pers. پل *pul*, derived from root *par* "to cross". Here the original meaning is "ford" (crossing-place), just as that of *sētu-haētu* is "dam". This meaning of the word *haētu* must also be admitted in the Awesta passage quoted above, as base of its explanation. But it has slightly shadowed to "embankment, bank", because a canal is lined by two dikes. The same change of meaning is also met with in Skr. *sētu*. Therefore we have to translate: "She (the beautiful virgin who is the likeness of the soul) comes over the Hara berezaiti, and she conducts the souls of the pious across the bridge of judgment to the bank (lit. dam) of the heavenly Yazatas."

Finally I have to add that even the modern derivations of *sētu*, as a rule, have preserved the original meaning. Thus for instance in Sinhalese language according to its phonological rules, *sētu* becomes *sē*, *hē*, *ē*, and *hē* (Sg. Nom. *heya*) still means a mound or dike or a causeway in a paddy field. And I may also refer to Sinh. *ēdaṇḍa* (*cf.* Skr. *daṇḍa*) "plank or beam laid across a river or brook to pass over as a bridge".[1] The beam or plank makes the crossing

1 B. Clough, Sinhalese-English Dictionary, s.v

of the water possible as otherwise a dam or dike.

To summarise the above discussions, *sētu-haētu* never denotes a ford, but always a dike, and this is also the base of the secondary meaning "bridge". The name of the river Hilmend or Haētumant can never be translated by "rich in fords", but only by "rich in dikes". This shows that its water even in very ancient time was largely used for the purpose of irrigating the fields.

May this short paper become a *sētu*, a spiritual bond, or a bridge over land and sea which, after a long time of separation, joins me once more with my old friends, the Parsees in India, and especially with the excellent scholar whose scientific merits are to be honoured by the present Commemorative Volume.

EPISODES KINDRED TO "RUSTAM AND SOHRAB" IN EPIC LITERATURE.

By Prof. Firoze Cowasji Davar, M.A., LL.B.

If Firdousi's "Shahnameh" is preeminent among epics for having bestowed an everlasting form to a nation's glorious traditions and history, the character of Rustam is as much preeminent among heroes for his conspicuous services to king and country and as serving as an ideal warrior of ancient times, who may best be calculated to inspire the spirit of nationalism in the forlorn band of fugitives that still bear the proud name of Parsis. The most remarkable and tragic incident in the life of the hero was his unconscious fight with, and slaughter of, his own son Sohrab—a misadventure immortalized by Firdousi who here rises to the tragic heights of Helicon, scarcely surpassed even by himself. The object of this brief paper is not to narrate what is already well-known to orientalists and even to readers of English literature through Matthew Arnold's Hellenised version of "Sohrab and Rustum," but to attempt a comparative study of similar tragic episodes in the epic literature of the world.

Owing to the extraordinary popularity of the "Shahnameh" and particularly of the Rustam-Sohrab episode, numerous other "Namehs" sprouted up to challenge its glories by weaving the most fantastic legends round the family of Rustam, supplying freely from the imagination what could not be sought in history or tradition. The idea of the father unconsciously killing the son is so poignantly tragic that it seems to have obsessed the epic genius of the world, and occurs more than once in the "Namehs", that followed the masterpiece of Firdousi. Thus, for instance, the author of the "Jehangir-nameh" depicts Rustam again courting misfortune by unknowingly grappling

with his son Jehangir, though on this occasion a favourable destiny interfered in time to dissipate the malevolence of the enemy by revealing the identity of the combatants. We need not now linger over the "Barzu-nameh" which deals with a similar incident.

"Ossian" is the great Scotch epic, in editing which poor Macpherson came to grief; nor is it definitely settled upto the present day how far it is the genuine product of the soil. In one of its books called "Carthon" we come across a youth of that name, son of Clessammor, who at the time of his son's birth was in full flight across the seas. In those wild days when vendetta was supposed to be an honourable accomplishment in a hero, Carthon, determined to take revenge on his enemies for some old grudge, suddenly encountered his own father by whom he was slain. The unfortunate old man mourned for the death of his son for three days and on the fourth joined him in the dim Hereafter.

The reason why these unnatural duels frequently took place in ancient times was that there were then exceedingly few, if any, means of communication, and knights were again in the habit of fighting their foes with visors on their faces. In the innumerable legends that have gathered round the fascinating name of Arthur, we read of his invincible knight Lancelot unknowingly fighting with his own son Galahad—the paragon of purity in the Arthurian romances, but the combat fortunately ceased before either party had cause to rue the day on which he unsheathed his sword. In the epic cycle of Ireland we come across the tragic tale of Cucullin and Conloch, which was first brought to light in connection with the Rustam-Sohrab episode by the distinguished scholar, who is the subject of this Commemorative Volume. The story goes that in the reign of King Conor Mac-Nessa of Ulster, there lived a famous hero named Cucullin, who, leaving his Scotch wife Aife enceinte, started in pursuit

of adventure, as did Rustam, resigning his wife Tehmineh, the Princess of Samangan, to the care of her father Cucullin at his departure handed over to his wife a golden chain to be bound round the neck of her child if it happened to be a son, and also gave her the curious direction to instruct her boy never to mention his name in the fight The son that was born was named Conloch, who, when he had scarcely arrived at the age of discretion, displayed the impetuosity of a hero to flesh his maiden sword in field of blood Dogged by an evil destiny, he went to Ulster, where he confronted his own father, the inevitable happened, the Sohrab of Ireland fell, more, it should seem, for a punctilio of chivalry than for anything else, and left his father mourning over the calamity that he had brought over himself.

Of all epics in the world the most bloodthirsty is that which sings of "the children of Nibelung'—the great epic of Germany, the "Nibelungenlied". But there is such a vast amount of epic materials to be found in the sagas that numerous smaller epics gradually saw the light of the day One of them is the "Hildebrandslied,' of which the hero Hildebrand, leaving behind him a wife and infant son, goes off to fight the Huns Returning after thirty years, he happens to fight with his own son, named Hadubrand, but here the veteran feels that his antagonist must in all likelihood be his own offspring, and his bowels yearned towards him But the youth, who had received false information of his father's death, would have none of this sentimentalism and compelled him to fight At last both were exhausted, Hadubrand gave out who he was, father and son embraced each other and returned to the arms of the matron, who would have either been widowed or bereaved of her only son if the combat had been fought to the finish

In 1859 M Rudnikoff after very trying experiences

sion of all Indian princes, through whose territories the steed happened to pass. In the course of his travels, Arjuna arrived at Manipur, governed by his son Babhruvâhana, born of the famous amazon Chitrângadâ, the subject of a well-known play by Tagore. By the directions of his mother, the youth made obeisance to Arjuna and revealed his identity, but Arjuna refused to acknowledge him as his son, and rudely spurning him away, challenged him to mortal combat. In the duel which ensued, the father's head soon rolled beneath the sword of his son, who, overpowered with the curses and entreaties of his mother, started in search of a life-giving stone. In Indian epics nothing seems to come amiss; the precious stone was found, and not only Arjuna but all his slaughtered followers were restored to life.

We have hitherto noticed fathers unwittingly warring with their children, we may now take several instances in which lovers, brothers and friends are, unconsciously pitted against their dear ones, and find when it is too late that they are responsible for the slaughter of a person for whom they would have been only too ready to lay down their lives. Tasso in his "Gerusalemme Liberata" describes the amazon Clorinda, who, abandoned by her mother in infancy, was suckled by a tigress, and afterwards rose to be a redoubtable warrior in the ranks of the Saracens. Tancred, the greatest of Christian soldiers except Rinaldo, was deep in love with her. Once at night a sortie was made by a section of the Saracen army, and after accomplishing their work the soldiers beat a hurried retreat; but as ill luck would have it, Clorinda alone was left outside and the gates were closed. In the darkness of the night she fought with her own lover, Tancred, and perished under his blows. When the fact was revealed, Tancred was disconsolate with grief, tearing the bandages from his own wounds; and in all the epic literature of Europe there is hardly a page so tragic in

its intensity as that which describes the agony of Tancred, which is too deep for tears. This incident appears all the more genuine as the author wrote it not in ink but in blood, for the unfortunate Tasso with his native melancholy was here probably unlocking his own heart, which was throbbing with hopeless affection for the Princess Leonora d'Este of Ferrara.

The "Chanson de Roland" is the national epic which stirs the blood of France, by singing the adventures of the indomitable Roland, the nephew of Charlemagne, Roland's friendship with Oliver is as proverbial as that of Achilles and Patroclos in the Greek, Nisus and Euryalus in the Roman, and Krishna and Arjuna in the Indian epics. In the terrible catastrophe that befell the French arms in the mountain pass of Roncesvalles, Oliver is blind with the blood flowing from his own head, and, mistaking Roland for a Moor, strikes a heavy blow at his own friend. The wound is not mortal, though Roland himself has not much to live; but the poet here finds the opportunity of describing the last meeting between two dear friends with a pathos rivalled only by Homer and Tasso at their very best In the Arthurian epic we are introduced to a hot-tempered knight, Balin, who once considered Queen Guinevere the very ideal of feminine purity, and bore her image on his shield. Coming to know the real character of the queen, he flew into a rage and trampled upon his shield while in a forest. His brother Balan mistook him for the Demon of the Wood; they fought and dealt each other mortal blows, the mutual explanation only coming in time for the brothers to be locked in the last and loving embrace of death. We may only refer *en passant* to the very well-known Norse tale regarding the god Balder, invulnerable to everything except the mistletoe-bough, done to death unknowingly by his blind brother Hódur, in whose hand the bough was placed by the evil spirit Loki.

Even history is not without such types of tragic episodes. The habit of fighting with visor on the face proved almost fatal to King William I of England, who was unwittingly knocked down in combat by his eldest son Robert, surnamed "Curt-hose" from his short legs. Recognising his father's voice, the young man immediately asked pardon on his knees. It is said, however, that from this time the king bore a grudge against Robert and finally dispossessed him of his rights, leaving the throne to his second son William Rufus. This brief paper only takes record of those incidents in which warriors *unknowingly* fought with their dear ones. Hence it is not necessary to deal with the American epic, wherein Hiawatha, the hero, espousing the cause of his wronged mother, consciously fights with his own father, the West Wind, nor with the Roman epic "Thebaid" of Statius, who not only describes the unconscious murder of King Laios of Thebes by his own son Œdipos, but dwells more particularly on the monstrous struggle between the two sons of Œdipos—Eteocles and Polynices,—their unnatural vows to destroy each other and their too literal fulfilment; nor with the numerous incidents of fratricidal war for the throne, that have disfigured the pages of universal history.

It is heart-rending to read of these incidents in epic poetry above described; and yet to the Persian reader nothing is more poignant in its pathos as the cry that rent the lion-heart of Rustam; nothing so touching in its overwhelming grief as the tears that flowed from the eyes of Tehmineh, who joined her valiant son within a year in that realm of peace "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest".

HISTORY OF THE LEADING NOBLES OF THE KINGDOM OF BIJAPUR, 1627-1686.

By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, kt., c.i.e., m.a.

The kingdom of Bijapur attained to its greatest extent and prosperity in the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-'56). But from the year 1646, when this king was attacked by a prolonged illness, its decline commenced, which ended in the annexation of Bijapur to the Mughal Empire in 1686. The popular history of the Muslim Sultans of Bijapur is the *Busatin-us-salatin* of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, written in 1824. It is a very useful and fairly accurate compilation. But as I possess manuscripts of original seventeenth century sources like Zahur bin Zahuri's *Muhammad-namah* and Nurullah's *Tarikh-i-Ali-Adil Shah Sani*, besides the printed histories of the Mughal Empire and the letters of Jai Singh (in Ms.), I have followed the *Busatin-us-salatin* only where earlier authorities are silent.

I

Wazirs of Bijapur.

1. Mustafa Khan, Khan Baba (name Mirza Muhammad Amin Lari), 12 Sep. 1627 — 9 Nov. 1648 (when died).

2. Khawas Khan (name Daulat-Yar), usurped power and virtually ruled the State till his murder in 1634, when No. 1 was reinstated.

3. Khan Muhammad, Muzaffar-ud-din Khan-i-Khanan, (name Siddi Raihan, first title Ikhlas Khan), 1648—1657; murdered 11 Nov. 1657.

4. Ibrahim Khan (son of Ibrahim Bakhtar Khan), 11 Nov. 1657 — 24 Dec. 1660 (when he left for Mecca with dowager queen Bari Sahiba).

5. Abdul Muhammad (son of No. 4), Jan. 1661—24 Nov. 1672, when he resigned.
6. Khawas Khan (second son of No. 3), 24 Nov. 1672—11 Nov. 1675 (when deposed), murdered on 20 Jan. 1676.
7. Bahlol Khan (name Abdul Karim), 11 Nov. 1675 — 23 Dec. 1677 (when died).
8. Siddi Masaud, 21 Feb. 1678 — 21 Nov. 1683 (when resigned).
9. Aqa Khusrau, 19 March—12 Oct. 1684 (when died).

Notes.—Ibrahim Adil Shah on his death-bed (1627) wished to place his third son Muhammad on the throne, setting aside his other sons. He found that Muhammad Amin Lari was the only noble capable of carrying out this *coup*; but the latter asked that he should be given as his assistant a slave named Daulat-Yar, a Maratha by race, who was remarkably skilful in the conduct of affairs. This Daulat had been previously thrown into prison, but released at the entreaty of Muhammad Amin and reinstated in the post of commander of Bijapur fort. Ibrahim Adil Shah agreed to the request, but warned Muhammad Amin that Daulat would prove faithless to him. When Muhammad Adil Shah was crowned, he gave Muhammad Amin Lari the title of Mustafa Khan Khan Baba, and Daulat that of Khawas Khan. Mustafa was an indolent ease-loving noble, and all real power was wielded by Khawas, whose right hand man was a Brahman named Murari Jagdev. (Shahji Bhonslé, the father of the famous Shivaji, was a great favourite of this Murari, and rose through his help.) [*M.* 63, 126 ; *B.S.* 281-283.]

Khawas fulfilled Ibrahim Adil Shah's prophecy by attacking and imprisoning his patron Mustafa Khan in the fort of Belgaon (1633). But Adil Shah sent an army under Rustam-i-Zaman against Khawas, who was later stabbed when on a visit to the Court and beheaded by order of the

king (1634). Mustafa Khan was then restored to the wazirate, though he was subsequently (1645) cast into prison for a short time by his master. Mustafa's daughter, Taj-i-Jahan, was married to Muhammad Adil Shah in 1632. [*M.*132-139, 201, 207, 145; *B.S.* 307-314; Abdul Hamid Lahori's *Padishahnamah* A. 340, 414.]

Siddi Raihan, an Abyssinian slave, was originally employed by Muhammad Adil Shah as *Ruqa-rasān* or officer charged with the presentation of petitions to the king in his private chamber. He was a very able and energetic general and greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Mysore and the Eastern Karnatak. The circumstances under which he was murdered (11 Nov. 1657) are narrated in my *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. I, Ch. XI. He should be distinguished from another Siddi Raihan (usually called *Malik* Raihan), who gave up Sholapur fort to Adil Shah, entered the Bijapuri service as a general, and frequently quarrelled with Mustafa Khan in the Eastern Karnatak expeditions of 1647-48. [*M.* 137, 174; *B.S.* 312, 340.] In *Muhammadnamah* Khan Muhammad is often styled Muzaffar-ud-din.

The father of Ibrahim Khan (No. 4) is called *Bichittar* Khan in *Alamgir-namah* 993, but the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* speaks of a Bijapuri envoy at Jahangir's court as *Baklitar* Khan. [p. 197.]

Khawas Khan (No. 6) distinguished himself in the wars with Shivaji (1664) and Jai Singh (1665-1666). He was the leader of the Deccani party and enemy of the Afghan faction at the capital. How he ousted Abdul Muhammad and seized the supreme power at the accession of Ali Adil Shah II (24 Nov. 1672), how he was himself overthrown by Bahlol Khan in 1675, and how the Afghan faction misgoverned Bijapur are described in my *Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, Ch. 42. Khawas was an indolent pleasure-seeker and grossly incompetent to administer a State. His wife

Habiba Sultan conducted all affairs for him with marked ability. [J. Sarkar's *Shivaji*, 3rd ed., 234-236; *B.S.* 436-447.]

How Siddi Masaud got possession of Bijapur fort and the office of regent is described in my *Shivaji*, 3rd ed., p. 317. He left his post in disgust on 21 Nov. 1683. [*Awangzib*, Vol. IV, Ch. 45.]

II

Family of Khan Muhammad.

Five of his sons are known in history, namely,

(*a*) Muhammad Ikhlas, commander of the *Khas-khel* [*H.A.* 86 *b*; Nurullah 165, *B.S.* 410; *F.R.*, Gyfford to Surat, 20 July 1663; Carwar to Surat, 29 Aug. 1665].

(*b*) Khawas Khan (No. 6), married a daughter of Rustam-i-Zamani. [Nurullah.]

(*c*) Sher Khan, died in 1665. [*F.R.* Carwar to Surat, 29 Aug. 1665; *Shivaji*, 3rd. ed., 239.]

(*d*) Nāsir Muhammad, who sold the fort of Jinji to Shivaji in 1677. [*Memoires* of Francois Martin, Paris Ms.; translated by me in the *Modern Review*.] Grant Duff (Ch. IX) is wrong in calling him the son of *Ambar* Khan.

(*e*) Abdur Rauf Khan. The name is misspelt as *Rup* by Chitnis (p. 131) who is followed by Duff, and as *Rupal* by Sabhasad (p. 89).

We meet with a high grandee of Bijapur named Nawab Abdur Rauf Khan, who served Sikandar Adil Shah to the end, and was taken into Mughal service as a 6-hazari with the title of Dilir Khan, on the fall of Bijapur. But *B.S.* 340 calls him *Miana*, *i.e.*, an Afghan. [*B.S.* 529, 532, 533, 536, 540; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 280.]

III

Bahlol Khan Miana.

Bahlol Khan Miana I had fled away from the Mughal dominions for being a comrade of the rebel Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, at the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign. He lived for some years as a captain of mercenaries in the Deccan, fought on behalf of Sri Ranga of Vellore against the Adilshahis in 1647, and after the defeat of Sri Ranga entered the service of Bijapur with his two sons, who were soon afterwards given independent commands under Adil Shah. [*M.* 325, 334, 417, 450.] His two sons, named Abdul Qadir and Abdur Rahim, succeeded one after another to the title of Bahlol Khan (II and III). Each of the brothers left seven sons. On the death of Abdur Rahim (i.e., Bahlol III) in July 1665, Adil Shah was influenced (by means of presents, according to Jai Singh) to confer the headship of the family and the title of Bahlol Khan (IV) on Abdul Karim, the son of Abdur Rahim. At this, Abdul Muhammad, the son of Abdul Qadir (II) left Bijapur in disgust and came over to the Mughals (Nov. 1665). He fought under Jai Singh and other imperial generals and was created Ikhlas Khan (in the Mughal peerage) about February 1669 [*M.A.* 81]. This family quarrel is described in detail in English Factory Records, Carwar to Surat, 29 Aug. 1665. [*H.A.* 82-83.]

On the death of Bahlol Khan the Fourth (wazir from 1675 to 1677), the affairs of the family fell into confusion, his soldiers oppressed his relatives, and next year his clansmen and army were bought over by the Mughals. [*B.S.* 457—460, 470.]

Miraj and Bankapur belonged to this chief.

Two clansmen of Bahlol were Husain Khan Miana and his brother Qasim Khan Miana, the barons of Kukanur and Kopal respectively, from whom Shivaji wrested the

Kopal district (or North Tungabhadra region) in 1677-79, under circumstances described in my *Shivaji*, 3rd ed., pp. 319—320. In March 1679 Husain Khan entered Shivaji's service, but he went over to the Mughals on 11 March 1683. [*M.A.* 225.] *M.* 307 mentions a Hasan Khan Miana in Bijapur service in 1647. Jai Singh says in one of his letters that more than one-half the army of Bijapur consisted of Afghans. [*H.A.* 82 *b*.]

IV

Sharza Khan.

Sayyid Iliyas, of the Mahdavi sect, was surnamed Sharza Khan I, and commanded the Bijapuri vanguard in the invasion of Sunda and Bednur in 1663. On 2 April 1666, during the war with Jai Singh, he suddenly fell down dead when returning from the field, after rescuing his young son Sayyid Habib, who had charged single-handed a body of Mughal troops and been hemmed round by them. *B.S.* (422) says that there was no apparent cause of his death, such as wound or shot. This suggests apoplexy or heart failure. The Mughal official history, *Alamgirnamah* (1013-'14), states that Sharza was killed by a musket-shot in his arm and a spear-thrust in his shoulder, and that his son was severely wounded.

Sharza Khan was the bravest of the brave among the warriors of the Deccan, as the English Factory Records, Jai Singh's despatches and the Bijapur historians all agree in declaring. His eldest son Sayyid Makhdum was created Sharza Khan II. He opposed the domination of the Afghan faction at Bijapur and fought their leader, the wazir Bahlol Khan, in March 1676. Then in 1678-79 he quarrelled with Siddi Masaud, the new wazir, and finally joined the Mughal army under Dilir Khan. [*B.S.* 450, 476—481.] Jai Singh in 1665 remarked "The Mahdavi sect are foremost in raising tumults." [*H.A.* 90 *b*.] There was another

Sharza Khan in Golkonda service at this time, but belonging to the Qutbshahi peerage.

V

Rustam-i-Zaman.

Randaula Khan (son of Farhad Khan) was given the title of Rustam-i-Zaman and sent by Adil Shah to invade Kanara in 1638. [*M.* 156, Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, I. A. 344.] He was a great friend and supporter of Shahji Bhonsló, and held south Konkan and Kanara (*i.e.*, Karwar district) as his fief. The Rustam-i-Zaman who made a secret pact with Shivaji and was defeated by the latter near Kolhapur on 28 Dec. 1659, shortly after the death of Afzal Khan, was probably the son of Rustam-i-Zaman I. Early in 1674 he was succeeded by his son Abu Khan, whom we may call Rustam-i-Zaman III. The history of this family is detailed in my *Shivaji*, ch. 10, and many facts about them can be gleaned from the English Factory Records, as they owned the famous port of Rajapur and much of the pepper-growing district of Kanara before their annexation by Shivaji.

VI

The Mulla Family of Kalian.

They were Arab settlers in Gujrat and were called *Navaiyats*. [*Bombay Gazetteer*, 1st ed., Vol. XV, Pt. i, pp. 400-410, Pt. ii, 266, Vol. IX, Pt. ii, 14.] William Finch speaks of them as "Naites, speaking another language and for the most part seamen." Many of them were merchants also, and settled at Surat in 1225 [Barbosa, 67]. Khafi Khan (ii. 113) writes "Mulla Ahmad's ancestors were *sharifs* newly come from Arabia, on flight from the tyranny of Hajjaj, the Umayyad. They settled in Konkan and were called Navaiyats." Jai Singh wrote in 1665, "In the parganas of Kalian and Bhivandi reside Mulla Ahmad and most of the Navaiyat

clan There are many poor men enjoying *Sayurghal* grants" [*H.A.* 80 *b.*]

When the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar was partitioned between the Mughal Emperor and the Sultan of Bijapur, Konkan fell to the share of the latter Mulla Ahmad was granted much of this province by Adil Shah as his jagir, being one of the highest nobles of the Bijapur Court During the protracted illness of Muhammad Adil Shah (1646—1656), Mulla Ahmad came to reside at Bijapur and brought away most of his troops there, thus leaving Konkan an easy prey to Shivaji. [*A N.* 575 576] His younger brother Mulla Yahia joined Aurangzib in Dec 1663, and was created a 2-hazari on 5 June 1664 [*A N.* 850, 860] Mulla Ahmad was secretly won over to the Mughal side by Jai Singh with great effort and large promises of advancement in the imperial service, but he died on his way to Delhi in Dec 1665. [*A.N.* 906, 919, 925] Ahmad's son was named Asadullah and his brother's son Mukhlis Khan (whose son Zainuddin Ali became *faujdar* of Konkan and Nasik in 1705)

The Chitnis *bakhar* mentions one Mulla Hayat as governor of Kalian at the time of Shivaji's invasion

VII

Siddis of Karnul and Adoni.

Siddi Jauhar was a slave of Malik Abdul Wahab (son of Malik Raihan I, an officer of Adil Shah) After the death of Wahab, Jauhar cast his master's son, Malik Raihan II, into prison and made himself master of Karnul. [*B S.* 524.] Ali Adil Shah II created him Salabat Khan and sent him against Shivaji, [see my *Shivaji*, ch. 4]. He died in 1662

Jauhar's son Abdul Aziz wished to imprison his sister's husband, Siddi Masaud, but the latter took

shelter in Adoni fort, which he soon afterwards seized. He opposed the Afghan rule at Bijapur under Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan, and became wazir in 1678. "Masaud was a masterly defender of forts, but cherished low people and suspected his friends and even his wives and sons. He knew not how to cherish the soldiers and the cultivators One of his six confidants was Venkatadri Murari, a Brahman." [*B.S.* 524-525.] Masaud's son was named Siddi Darvesh.

Abbreviations :

M—*Muhammadnamah* by Zahur (my Ms.)

Nurullah—*Tarikh-i- Ali Adil Shah Sani* (my Ms.)

H.A.—*Haft Anjuman* or letters of Jai Singh (my Ms.)

B.S.—*Busatin-i-Salatin*, lithographed at Haidarabad.

A.N.—*Alamgir-namah* (Bibliotheca Indica ed.)

F.R.—Factory Records preserved in the India Office, London.

SOME CORRESPONDING CONCEPTIONS IN OLD INDIA AND IRAN.*

By Prof. Herman Lommel, Ph.D.

It is a well-known fact that old India and Iran have in common many related traditions, mythical conceptions, tales and legends. We need mention only such names as Soma, Mitra, Vrtrahan, Yama, Apām naptr, Vāyu, Trita Āptya in order to recall to the memory of those versed in these things a much debated domain of associations.

Of all these Yama-Yima is the only one mentioned in the Gathas and indeed with definite repudiation and disapproval. Zarathushtra looked upon this popular legendary hero as an adherent of the crude old heathen cult in which cattle were slaughtered and eaten. And that was for him an abomination against which he declaimed with indefatigable zeal.

This legendary figure, in the very way in which it is mentioned in the Gathas, is clearly designated as an element foreign to original Zarathushtrianism. And the same is true of the other beings mentioned above, human as well as divine, that they had no part in Zarathushtrianism proper. They were inherited from a common Indo-Iranian period and were so very much alive in the Iranian popular belief before the Zarathushtrian regime, that they could not be entirely supplanted by the new religion. The heroic legends lived on, side by side with the religion, and celebrated their glorious restoration in Firdousi's great epic. But the pre-Zarathushtrian myths which were really religious in character were never fully amalgamated with the new religion.

The heathen gods have partly faded out to rather

* Translated from the German by Blanche Lommel.

subordinate figures as Apām napāt, or have been purified and moralized, as we can see in Mithra and the Haoma cult, without entirely losing a certain incongruousness in the Zoroastrian religion; or finally they have remained essentially unchanged, as the Vərəthraghna of the later Avesta, and stand like heathen monumental pillars defiant and strange in the Zoroastrian religion.

The chief difficulty in the precise investigation of these things lies in the fact that the course of the Iranian tradition in the oldest period was a subterranean and hidden stream. From the second period, that of the later Avestà, where heathendom and pure Zarathushtrianism, have been already mixed, one must make a wide leap to India and its documents in order to divine the common source and the route of the hidden stream until it comes to light in Iran.

The difficulties are quite different if we investigate the inherited and perhaps common Aryan elements in the genuine teaching of Zarathushtra, *i.e.* principally those in the Gathas. We can again suggest correlatives with a few catch-words :. ṛta- -aša ; aramati- -ārmaiti ; purandhi- pārəndi.

Here the problems are peculiar because the religion of Zarathushtra is a well defined and closely articulated system of ideas. His teaching is on the one hand a living religion founded on a near and personal relation to God and on the significant connection between human life and divine spiritual powers. On the other hand, however, the metaphysical explanation of existence comprises not only the nature of man and his position in the world but the entire universe as well. On this account his doctrine is a real philosophy. Religious conceptions like Aša and Ārmaiti have a very firmly established place in the whole system so that we cannot entirely comprehend their nature, without considering at the same time the other parts of the

whole religious and cosmic scheme. Not the historical development of the connection, say between aša and Vedic ṛta, is decisive for a true apprehension of Zarathushtrianism, but the systematic relationship between Aša and the other Amaša Spəntas, between it and its contrast in the world of Ahriman and its corresponding element in the good corporeal world.

There is no doubt that this profoundly significant system of ideas is the original creation of Zarathushtra's great mind. In the investigation of its prehistoric fundament we must acquaint ourselves first with the architectural plan of this intellectual edifice, and afterwards with the method by which Zarathushtra has hewn this or that building stone, which he has used to make it fit into his clearly articulated structure.

There is a systematic connection in the Zarathushtrian doctrine between Aša as a spiritual and heavenly power and Fire as its earthly corporeal counterpart. And this has its parallel in the Vedic religion in the relationship between Agni, the god of fire, and ṛta. Since the systematic connections in Zarathushtrianism have not been sufficiently considered in the historical investigations, the scholars in comparing Aša and ṛta have disregarded the connection between Agni and ṛta and have pushed the interrelation between ṛta and the Ādityas into the foreground. To the Veda-reader who is not really well acquainted with the Zarathushtrian system of ideas, this connection with the Ādityas is of course more conspicuous, but it lures us further on a false trail and tries to see in the Āditya-religion an Indian parallel to the Mazda-religion. The seven Ādityas with Varuna at the head are supposed to correspond in the historical development to the six Amaša Spəntas and Ahura Mazda. I have already[1]

1 Indogerman. Anzeiger, 43,29 ff in my review of B. Geiger, Die Amesa Spentas, Wien 1916

expressed my doubts with regard to this opinion and now I reject it entirely. I look upon Ahura Mazda as an independent divine revelation, which Zarathushtra received and which cannot be historically derived from another god—most certainly not from Varuna, so gloomily uncanny, in spite of all his sublimity.

But I will discuss this controversial point another time. The references to it here are intended only as an expression of my methodical point of view and give an idea of the difficulties to be taken into consideration, if we wish to grasp historically the conceptions which Zarathushtra has adopted.

The following deliberations refer to individual points which are also very important in the Zarathushtrian religion, but are not so much logical parts of the system of ideas and have not such a philosophical character as the Amə̄ša Spəntas themselves.

The chief point to be discussed here is the Činvat bridge. Without comparative references, without considering the Gathas and depending entirely upon the testimony of later writings I investigated this mythical conception in the introduction to my translation of Yašt 15.[1] The result was briefly as follows. Earth and heaven are separated by a space, empty except for the wind. In order to go from the earth to heaven one must pass through this intermediate space. Only the soul is capable of such an act, so that except for special cases like that of Ardā Virāf, it must take place after death. So far these ideas are not Iranian singularities, but are rather widely spread. The old Indian views are at any rate very similar.

The path by which one can cross over this empty space is the bridge. Since only gusts of air are there, where the bridge spans the void, this wind is either a help

1 Die Yast's des Awesta, uebersetzt und eingeleitet, Goettingen und Leipzig, 1927.

or a hindrance to the soul going that way—according to his deserts. Those souls which are neither good enough to succeed in crossing the bridge into heaven, nor so wicked that they plunge down from it into hell, simply remain in this region and are exposed to the warm and cold gusts of wind.

The Činvat bridge is a special and mature development of the belief current among many peoples, that the deceased on his way into the other world must cross a bridge. Among primitive peoples it has perhaps the form of a tree, or only of a rope, which leads across a chasm, a rapacious stream, into the realm of the dead and only the vigorous and skilful man, who would have been capable of much activity in life, succeeds in crossing safely. The sickly and weak pitch headlong and are hurried onward in the stream of death or find a real and final end in the abyss (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics II, s.v. "Bridge").[1] It is clear that the idea of the bridge need not necessarily be connected with ethical conceptions. The ethical significance of the Činvat bridge is specifically Zarathushtrian.

The old Teutons also imagined a bridge as the path into the other world. And by them it is explicitly the same as the rain-bow. From this standpoint earlier scholars have explained the Činvat bridge too as a mythical symbol of the rain-bow. This may have been a prehistoric mythical form, from which the bridge which spanned the wind-swept space between heaven and earth was derived. But the Iranian tradition gives us no proof for such an assumption.

If we ask specifically, whether the Indians also had the idea of a bridge crossing into the world beyond, the answer will be that this conception was little developed

1 It is mentioned here too, that Scherman, Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionsliteratur, discusses the conception of the bridge in India, but I was not able to get hold of his work,

and not often mentioned, but that it did exist. In the Ṛg-Veda the bridge occurs only once (RV 9, 41, 2) as a figure of speech and not at all as a path into the other life. We find this conception however in the Yajur-Veda. Kāṭhakam 28, 4: "By means of the midday pressing the gods entered into the world of heaven. Their steps and ladder were the dakṣinās. If one offers dakṣinā, one crosses a bridge and enters into the world of heaven. One has as many breaths in that world as one gives breath (? or, performs the prānadāna-rite ?) here. On that account much must be given here. Therefore they praise what is generously given here as a better bridge for him who crosses over" (read: *tirtvā* and *tirate* instead of *kīrtvā* and *kirate*). Compare Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā IV, 8, 3: "The midday pressing is the world of heaven if dakṣinās are given by the midday pressing; you must give much in order to ascend into the world of heaven: indeed you must make a bridge for yourself with your gifts in order to attain the world of heaven." And compare also Taittirīya-Saṃh. 6; 5, 3, 3: "Verily the sacrificer makes himself a ladder and bridge to attain the world of heaven"; similarly Taitt. S. 7; 5, 8, 5 and Śatapatha-Br. 13; 2, 10, 1.

Another reference is also worth noting: Śatapatha Br. 14; 7, 2, 27 (= Brh. Ar. Up. 4, 4, 24), "This one (the ātman) is the bridge, which holds the worlds apart, so that they cannot be confused." A similar passage is in Chānd. Up. 8, 4, 1, where in addition to a statement as above, it goes on to say: "Neither day nor night can cross the bridge, neither old age, nor death, nor suffering, neither good nor evil deeds. All evils turn back from there; for this Brahman world has banished all evil. Therefore if a blind man goes over the bridge, he receives his sight, if a wounded man, he is healed, if a diseased person, he is cured. Therefore if the night crosses the bridge, it is turned to day; for this Brahman world is ever luminous."

In Kāthaka Up we read 3, 2 "We care solicitously for the Naciketas fire, the bridge of the sacrificers to that eternal highest Brahman, the saving shore for those, who wish to cross" In Svetasvatara Up 6, 19, God himself is called "the highest bridge to immortality (comp Mund Up 2, 2, 5)

More often than to the crossing of a bridge occur references to steps or rungs of a ladder which one must climb In the first group of passages quoted, such steps are mentioned as well as a bridge The other quotations are more important for our discussion There the symbol of the bridge is more developed and used in a sense which corresponds to the philosophy of the Upanishads, one reaches the Brahman world through recognition of Ātman and faithfulness to him The Atman—or in the deistic Svetaśvara Upanishad, God—is therefore himself the bridge It is remarkable that although the image of the bridge is more symbolic, it is not ethical, for the bridge itself shows *no difference in its treatment of good and evil* men Evil cannot cross it under any consideration, *quite indifferent as to whether the evil is dependent on a* person or is an independent being, whether it is moral or *physiological Man, as one acquainted with the Brahman*, not as good in an ethical sense, enters into the Brahman world and any sin as well as any disease, which he may have, remains behind

It seems to me to be especially significant that the bridge is defined several times explicitly as that which holds the worlds, *i e* heaven and earth, apart The separation of heaven and earth is indeed in Veda an important mythological affair. If it is not an event brought about by a God, but a state of being, we think first that an intermediate space must be the separating element If the bridge is that which holds the two worlds apart, then we have exactly the same conception which we found in

participle *činvatō*, means " pile up, gather, collect" (com. New Pers. *č dan*) and with the preposition *vi* " separate, pick out, discriminate" (comp. Y. 46, 15 and 17, also New Pers. *guz dan*). Andreas therefore suggested in an oral discussion whether it might not mean " the bridge of the collector". In this case I cannot agree with my revered teacher. Who would "collect" anything there? It is indeed a common expression that death gathers mankind together. That is a reflected and perhaps a rather modern image. But this bridge is not the bridge of death. When the soul comes to it, death has already occurred. And the idea can scarcely be that Ahura Mazda and not death "collects" the dead.

I search for the meaning in another direction. In the language of the Avesta for instance *apąm pərətu-* means "the crossing of the water" (objective genetive), in the sense " the crossing, the ford or the bridge over the water". *Činvatō pərətu-* can therefore mean " the crossing over that which is *činvat*". We can then ask further, whether *činvat* can be understood to mean something similar to the paraphrase in Aogemadaeča 77: "the impassable (*i.e.* passable only in death) path of the pitiless wind".

We may find the word *činvatuštāna-* useful in this investigation. It means "making vitality". The expression *uštānahe činmāhi* also belongs here; namely we read in Y. 12, 3 : ".....I will not in the future consent to robbery (? overpowering ?) or plunder (? destruction ?) of Mazdayasnian villages, nor to the *činmani* of bones and vitality". Bartholomae translates this passage: " lust after body and life," suggested by a German phrase, and assumes here a root *čit* (*čin*) " think, desire". But a robber does not desire the bones and the vanishing vitality of his victim. Indeed we know that in death the body (bones), the vitality and the perceptive faculties are disunited (V. 19, 7 ; comp. 5, 9 where body and vitality are destroyed).

Here murder means the taking apart of body and life, and *činvat uštāna* means "setting apart the life-force, taking it away". We must also consider in this connection *uštānō-činahya* Yt. 19, 48 which I translated according to the general connection "mortal danger", but it could also be expressed as "he drew back his hands from the life-destroyer"[1].

Herewith I came to the meaning "disunite" which is not very far off from "discriminate", rejected above for the simple root *či* (without the preposition *vi*), but which gives an entirely different sense for *činvatō pərətu* and *činvat pərətu*, namely the bridge over the separating element (the intermediate space) or the intermundane bridge. The latter is very similar to the Old Indian *setur vidhṛtir* (or *vidharaṇa*) *esām lokānām asambhedāya*.

This is only an attempt at an explanation and I would be glad of a better one from others. I also leave the question unanswered as to the etymology and as to the relationship of the two *či*: "collect" and "disunite".

When the soul arrives in the world beyond, the other souls come to meet it. Zarathushtra himself says so only with reference to perdition (Y. 49, 11). But it is merely a supplement, not an innovation when the same thing is told later with reference to paradise (Had. N. Yašt fragm. 22, 16, Westergaard), and we are reminded of the benign words with which Ahura Mazda protects the new arrival from the over-zealous greetings of the others.

Strangely similar is the report in Kau'sitaki-Up. 1,3 of what Brahman says upon the arrival of a deceased person in that other world: "run to meet him for through my

1 I cannot include *aŝaeinah* in this attempt at an explanation.—Bdh. *einet, cīnētan* are translated by Justi with "split" which would fit in very well with the above. West translates "shook, shaking" (chap 8,1,14), because of a different reading I cannot decide between the two from the material I have at hand.

glory he has attained to the ageless stream, truly he shall not grow old"

According to Zarathushtra the souls go to meet the liar arriving in hell with bad food (Y 49, 11, comp Y 53, 6 and 31, 20) This again is supplemented by the Hadokht Nask with the report that in paradise heavenly food and drink are brought to the virtuous We can compare this with Kaus Up 1, 4: "Five hundred Apsaras go to meet him, one hundred with fruit in their hands, one hundred with ointment in their hands, one hundred with wreaths, one hundred with raiment, one hundred with fragrant powder in their hands It is not necessary after noting this clear parallel to the Zoroastrian descriptions of the other world, to prove by a collection of testimonies from older Veda texts that this is not a new invention of the Upanishad author but an inherited idea from the common Aryan period We need only mention, that according to Rgveda 10, 154, 1 *ghrta*, ghee, among other things is eaten in heaven which corresponds to the *raoghna zaramaya-*, the spring butter Had N 2, 18 In the same way we can compare with the sweet scent which blows from the southern quarters to the soul of the pious on the third morning after his death (Had N 2, 18)—*i e* shortly before his arrival in the world beyond—the agreeable and beneficent winds which according to Atharva-Veda 18, 2, 21 the fathers and Yama waft toward the deceased (not the wind which blows them thither, as Whitney translates)

In the use of common Aryan conceptions in Zoroastrianism we see however very clearly how these are transformed. first in the counterdescription of the fate of the evil doer, then in the changed role of the damsel According to the Old Indian belief the heavenly courtesans receive the deceased, while to the Zoroastrian his own Daēna appears and the pleasures are spiritualized The meeting with beautiful maidens is a play of sensuous fancy

with the Old Indians; in Zoroastrianism it is the necessary result of the metaphysical system, for from the relation of the soul (*urvan*) to the Daēnā (which would take too long to explain here) we come to the logical conclusion that both must be united in the other world. That the Daēnā appears as a glorious damsel is not mentioned indeed in the Gathas, but for the first time in V. 19, 30. Her outer appearance she has taken from the Apsaras.

I need only mention the well-known fact that the two dogs which accompany the Daēnā (V. 19, 33) and which guard the bridge (V. 13, 9) originate in Aryan mythology (*cf.* for instance W. Geiger, Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times, p. 261 of the German edition).

I might also observe that the locality of the Činvat bridge and the sojourn of the souls, which are neither good nor bad, "in wind" remind us somewhat of the numerous references in India to the belief that the "self" (*ātman* RV 10, 16, 3) or its vital breath or spirit goes to the wind when it dies. In India this is of course based upon the analogy between the parts of the human body and the cosmos, where the eye is brought into connection with the sun, the blood and semen with the waters, etc. The Iranian tradition recognizes also the parallelism between microcosm and macrocosm (*cf.* Goetze, Zeitschr. f. Indologie and Iranistik II, 60 ff.). But as far as I know this point of view is not decisive for the fate of the different parts of man after death. The question may at least be asked, what connection the idea that the perceptive faculty (sense of smell, *baodah-*) of the dog goes to the sources of the waters at death (V. 19, 30 ff.) has with all this.

As a postscript may be added that in primitive thought there is no dividing line between mythology, cosmology and natural science as we can see in the (to us) surprising idea of the origin of the plants. Every reader of the Veda is acquainted with the references to the rain as semen

which engenders life on earth. This is very clearly expressed, but also embellished with the idea of the metempsychosis, in the passage already mentioned Kau's. Up. 1, 2. The moon lets the soul, which cannot answer its questions satisfactorily, turn to rain and fall upon the earth, from which animals are born. It is probably an earlier idea, at any rate it coincides more nearly with the Iranian, that according to Chāndogya-Up. 5, 10, 6, rice and barley, herbs and trees, sesame and beans originate in this way.

Compare with this Bundahiš 9, 2 (according to West): "Amerodad the archangel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, and mixed them up with water which Tištar seized, and Tištar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up .. ..". Bdh. 27, 2: " ..... plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm, the many-seeded, which has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants ..... have arisen upon it, every year the bird strips that tree and mingles all the seeds in the water; Tištar seizes them with the rain-water and rains them on to all regions." Mainog i Khirad 62, 40 ff.: "And the bird Cinamros ..... collects those seeds which are bitten from the tree of many seeds, which is opposed to harm, and he scatters them there where Tištar seizes the water; so that, while Tištar shall seize the water, together with those seeds of all kinds, he shall rain them on the world with the rain."

I do not know whether the primitive natural-science theory common to the Old Indians and Iranians that the plants spring from the rain-water, can be found by other peoples or not.

The following Farmans also use the word Namak-sār, which I have translated as salt pits or pans, as sea water has to be enclosed in pans and then allowed to evaporate to manufacture salt.

On the back of some of the Farmans the names of the villages in the Sarkars of Surat and Broach, near which the family was to work, are given Most of them are undecipherable and their present sites or names cannot be made out. Talangpur and Delvada in the Surat and Hansot and Katpor in the Broach District are quite clear, not the others

The privileges of the monopolist and his duties are also set out in the Farmans and the officers of the Revenue and other Departments are ordered to recognise his rights A side light is thrown on the administration of the Salt Department, and its relations with the monopolist and the dealers and the carriers (Vanjaras)

The Farmans have been successively given by Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan.

One Farman is given by Khan Khanan. It reads thus :—

God is Great.

The Farman of Khan Khanan, Mirza Khan Bahadur, Sipah Salar, Disciple of Akbar Shah

May Naraindas,[1] the Kanungo of the salt pans, very much glorified and honored, know that his case has been considered (mentioned) Whatever the true state of facts in respect of the salt pans, he should represent the same to Mahmood Khan, the best of men, one full of intelligence and sincerity, fit for various Royal favours and clemency. The loyalty that he has in his heart should be manifested before him and he is sure to be honoured with a result in consonance with his loyalty and services.

1 The ancestor of Mr Ichharam S Desai

The date of the Farman is 14th of Meher, Elahi year 5, corresponding to 22nd of Jamadi the First, A.H. 1014.

Across the margin is a note with a direction that the contents of the Order should be complied with.

The other Farman is of the Emperor himself and is headed Farman of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi.

It reads thus:—

In these times the Order which should be obeyed by the world received the honour of issue, that Naraindas walad Tapidas having approached the Protector of the World was exalted with the honour of kissing the Royal Threshold. Therefore the Royal Order has found the honour of promulgation, that the office of the Kanungoi of the salt pans of the Paraganas mentioned hereafter in the Sarkar of Surat should be conferred on the abovementioned person, his brothers and children, therefore all the Banjaras (carriers) and Ryots (tenants) of that Mahal should recognise him as their Kanungo and they should not purchase or sell (salt) without his consent. It is incumbent on them to give out of one Bahloli[1] one half to the tenant and one half to the purchaser, on one khandi of salt,[2] (?) so that he might be confirmed in the office and may continue his service. The Karoris and Jagirdars, present and future, of the said Sarkar must recognise that the business of salt manufacture is entrusted to him and he should be referred to in that respect, and they should not recognise any one else as his sharer or partner. They should not obstruct him in the least and they should not demand a fresh order (from him)

1 A copper coin. At first it was called a Paisa, and also Bahloli; later it was called a Dām.

2 The passage is not clear; it reads thus: Ke az khandi namak mabalag do *sawamek mir* yak bahluli nisf ra'ya etc, I cannot make out the italicised words.

in this matter. This must be considered a mandate. They should not work contrary to it. Dated 19th of the month of Aban, Elahi year 26.

On the back as usual are recorded names of the Risalatdar, the Chowkidar and the Wakiah Nawis, whose turn it was to be in attendance on the Emperor, when the Order was made. The Risalatdar in this case was curiously enough a Hindu, Ramdas, whose seal shows that he was the son of Uda, the Chowkidar was Tatar Beg and the Wakiah Nawis, one Nizami. The date of the record is 10th of Aban, Elahi year 25. The seals of Khan Khanan and Asaf Khan are also impressed on the back to evidence correct official record.

The third Farman shows that these persons had to make fresh efforts to make their position secure against the exactions of the Royal Officers in spite of the above distinct mandates.

It says:—

In these times an exalted Farman which should be obeyed found the honour of issue, *viz.*, that Tapidas son of Kana (Kahandas) and his sons and Naraindas valad Tapidas Kala (? Kana), Bakkals (Banias) of Surat approached the Exalted Presence and an Order which should be obeyed by the whole world was issued that (taking of) Zakat (duty, excise) is contrary to..... (Rule).[1] One half for Zakat (duty), Dallali (brokerage), and road-watching for transit over sea and land should be demanded of them at places where they make sales. The other half is remitted. It is also ordered that no one should harass them in this respect. The above-mentioned persons have been adorned and decorated with our confidence. They should not act contrary to the Order.

Dated Wednesday Alham day, month of Amardad, Elahi year 46.

1 The corresponding Persian word cannot be made out.

On the back are the usual notes about the Risalatdar (Tatar Beg) and Wakiah Nawis.

There is one Farman given by Emperor Jehangir to this effect:—

As according to the Farman of His Majesty, whose Nest is Paradise[1] the (office) service of Kanungoi of the salt pans of the Paraganas mentioned in the schedule (herewith) in the Sarkars of Surat and Broach, has been settled on Naraindas valad Tapidas and as he has come to the Court of the Protector of the World at this time, the Order which should be obeyed by the whole world has been issued that the service (office) of Kanungoi of the above-mentioned Paraganas and Mahals has been confirmed and secured to him according to the former practice. It is incumbent on all the Banjaras (carriers) and tenants (ryots) of those Mahals to recognise him as their Kanungo, and they should not buy and sell without his consent. And for every Khandi of salt according to former (current) practice they should give him one Muradi Bahloli, one half Bahloli for every salt heap and one half from every buyer, so that he can get his maintenance (in this way) and becoming active in service, continue in his office. The present and future Karoris and Jagirdars of these Sarkars should refer for this business to him only and not recognise any sharer or partner. They should not in the least obstruct him. They should not demand a new Farman or Purwancha every year. Dated 25th of Azar, Elahi year 13 (A.H. 1027).

On the back of this Farman is a very long note giving the names of the Risalatdar, Chowkidar and the Wakiah Nawis—also the names of the different officers who were concerned—with the record of the Farman in the different

1 The title of Akbar. Jehangir's was Jannat Makāni.

Departments. It is interesting in so far as it shows the orders on the different officers and the order in which they put their hand on the Farman. The schedule gives the names of the different villages near which salt was manufactured.

Shah Jehan's Farman is short. Its contents are :—

When it was brought to the notice of the Exalted One that the office of Kanungoi of the salt pans of the Sarkars of Surat and Broach from old times had been placed within the responsibility and endeavours of Naraindas and that he had discharged the duties (of that office) in a praiseworthy manner, the Order of the Exalted One, fit to be obeyed and suitable to be invoked, found the honour of issue and promulgation that the above-mentioned office should according to the old practice be continued to the said Naraindas. He should be recognised as the Mutasaddi of that work and considered independent in the doing of everything appurtenant to that office. The said person should so behave with the traders and the Banjaras (carriers) that they would feel pleased with and grateful to him. This should be considered a mandate in this matter, and it should be regarded as a confirmation and they should act according to the Exalted Order.

Dated the 4th of Aban, Elahi year 16, corresponding to 12th of Zil Hajj, A.H. 1030.

On the back is the name of Afzal Khan as the Risalatdar and of Hidayat Ullah as the Wakiah Nawis.

This Farman in effect renders Naraindas absolutely independent in his own sphere of the interference of other Departments or Officers.

The original sanads are in the possession of Mr. Natwarlal Ichharam Desai, B.A., one of the late Mr. Ichharam's sons.

THE QUESTION OF ZOROASTRIAN INFLUENCE ON EARLY BUDDHISM.

By Dr. Edward J. Thomas, M.A., D Litt.

The problem of the contact of Zoroastrianism with Indian religions has been raised from time to time, and usually some particular tenet or legend of Buddhism has been held up as an example of borrowing.[1] There can be no doubt that Buddhism during the first thousand years of its development owes some of its transformations to the influence of surrounding faiths, but the investigation of the question of Zoroastrian influence has always been hampered by the lack of chronological data. This applies even to some quite recent theories; and if a further investigation can show that the data lead to a negative result, it will at least be an advantage to be able to make the negation more categorically.

There are two distinct periods in the millenium during which Buddhism arose and declined in India, say from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. In the latter part, from the time of Asoka, there is no doubt that there was contact and intercourse of Buddhist India with Persia, and it was in this period that the great development of Mahāyāna took place. But the investigation of this movement is a question by itself. By the time of Asoka, Buddhism had already developed into a system with a canon or canons. The first and most essential question is whether Buddhism in the pre-Asokan period owes any of its development to Persian influence. It was during this period that any doctrines which it borrowed might become absorbed as essential elements of the system and not appear as mere accretions, as was the case when the doctrines had been

1 *Eg.* Spiegel, *Avesta, Einl* p 29 ff, Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, i, 315

crystallised into a closed body of scripture.

The earliest evidence in India which we possess of contact with Persia is in the Sanskrit word *yavana*, the name by which the Greeks were known to the Persians[1] The notion that this name was introduced into India through Alexander's invasion is no doubt now quite exploded[2] It is at least impossible that the Indians could have got the word direct from Alexander's Greeks, for there were no Greeks of the fourth century B C who called themselves by that name In Alexander's army there may have been contingents from the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, but for at least a century earlier than this the inscriptions show that the *v* in the name had entirely disappeared from their speech, and the Ionians no longer called themselves *Iavones* or *Iaones* but *Iones* When the name was introduced into India is less easy to settle Darius makes mention of the Indians in his inscriptions more than a century before Alexander, and two of the twenty fiscal divisions of the empire mentioned by Herodotus (III, 90 95) were partly or wholly in India, the seventh including the Gandarioi, Dadikai and Aparytai in the extreme north west of India and part of Afghanistan, and the twentieth, that of the Indians, which appears to have included the western Panjab and the Indus valley This was the Indian province, which Darius added to his empire not long after 516 B C One fact that Herodotus tells us of this province has been made more credible by some of the most recent discoveries He says (III, 94) that its

tribute, larger than that of any of the others, amounted to 360 talents of gold dust, and this has been calculated to be equivalent to over a million pounds sterling.[1] This statement standing alone is astonishing, but its explanation will probably be found in connexion with the remains of an ancient civilisation recently discovered in the Indus valley, at Harappa in the Panjab and further south at Mohenjo Daro. It is clear that there was in this region a people and a civilisation important enough to explain the great amount of tribute mentioned by Herodotus. This civilisation was certainly earlier than the Persian occupation of Babylonia, and probably earlier also than the Aryan inroad into India.[2] We possibly have here an explanation why the incoming Aryans did not go down the Indus valley but turned to the east. Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum holds that its relations are with the pre-Semitic Sumerians, and thinks that the remains prove a close trade connexion between the Tigris and the North-Western Provinces of India from as early as 3000 B.C.[3]

It has to be borne in mind that it is in the region of this ancient civilisation where we find the Yavanas or Yonas localised. Although it is now generally admitted that the name *Yavana* came to the Indians through the Persians, it is still sometimes maintained that the name to the Indians first meant 'Greek'. This is in any case unlikely, but it is useless to assert anything without making clear what further assumptions are involved. The name was certainly used later for foreigners generally, but even in the earliest period how was an Indian, who knew nothing directly of the Greeks, to distinguish between Persians and Greeks in the military forces that invaded the country? Weber in his important article on the

1 *Cambridge Hist India*, I, 335.

2 It is a natural surmise, but as yet nothing more, that the people were Dravidian

3 *Early History of Assyria to 100 B C*, by Sidney Smith, London, 1928, pp 49 ff. with an important bibliographical note at p. 371.

Greeks in India,[1] taking it for granted that the name must have at first meant 'Greek' to the Indians, supposes that it must have been borrowed by the Indians either when they were auxiliaries in the Persian wars or later when Alexander on entering India presumably used Iranian interpreters in his intercourse with the Indian princes Both these suppositions are merely necessitated by the quite unnecessary assumption that the term must have first meant 'Greek' to the Indians It is more to the point to begin by asking how the Indians most probably first came into contact with the name They had been in contact with the Persians probably for a century or two, as it was Cyrus who was said to have added the Gandarioi to the empire, and it was certainly Cyrus who subdued the Ionian Greeks We know that there were Greek mercenaries among the Persians, and it is probable that the subjected Ionians, like the subjected Indians, had to supply military contingents for the Great King[2] During the Persian occupation of the Panjab and the region further south there was plenty of opportunity for the actual residents of India to become acquainted with the name through the Greeks in the Persian military service This appears to be a more credible alternative than to suppose that it was carried back to India by the Indian contingents in the Persian wars or that it was picked up (with the meaning 'Greek') from the supposed Iranian interpreters employed by Alexander.

In this case it is unlikely that the Indians could have

1 *Die Griechen in Indien* (Sitzungsberichte der k preussischen Akad 1890 2 Halbband, pp 901 ff) Similarly he assumes that the Alexander mentioned in Asoka's 13th Rock Edict is Alexander the Great

2 *Cf* Rapson *Ancient India* p 87 "We know that the battles of the Persian king were fought to a very great extent with the aid of Greek mercenaries, and that Greek officials of all kinds readily found employment both at the imperial court and at the courts of the satraps"

Herodotus (vi, 100 119) mentions two cases where large bodies of Greeks were deported to Persia and settled near Susa

distinguished the Yavanas from the Persians as specially Greek. It is more probable that they learnt the name from the Yavana forces with whom they came in contact, and that they applied the name to all those foreigners whose military power was represented by these Yavanas, that is, to the Persians generally. There would be nothing surprising that they should misapply or wrongly extend a term that they had learnt from the strangers who over-ran their country. In the same way the Romans gave the name *Germani* to a large number of northern tribes, who knew nothing themselves about the appellation German, and the name *Graeci* was used by the Romans to describe their eastern neighbours the Hellenes, possibly because it was the name of the first Greek tribe they met with, but the actual reason has never been ascertained. The name India itself is an example of such an extended application. From being the name of the Sindhu, the river *par excellence*, it became the name of a Persian province, with the natural Persian change of *s* to *h*, and was then adopted and further extended by the Ionian Greeks, who, as their inscriptions show, dropped their aspirates to a far greater extent than the present text of Herodotus would lead us to think.

It is in the inscriptions of Asoka where the name of the Yavanas (under the Prakrit form of their name, *Yona*) first appears applied to a definite people that may perhaps be identified. In the 5th Rock Edict (Girnar text)[1] Asoka mentions together the Yonas, Kambojas, and Gandhāras as being under the control of his officers called *dhamma-mahāmātā*, 'officers of the Dhamma', and as being among the people of the western border, [*a*]*parā*[*n*]*tā*. Evidently they were within the Maurya empire, as in the 13th Rock Edict (Kalsi text) he mentions the Yonas and Kambojas

1 *Inscriptions of Asoka*. New ed. by E Hultzsch, Oxford, 1925; *cf. Asoka Text and Glossary*, by A. C. Woolner, Oxford, London, Calcutta, 1924.

again as being in the king's territory (*lājaviśavashi*).[1] The Yonas here appear to be a people south of the Gandhāras, and it is likely enough that after the expeditions of Alexander and Seleucus Nicator, Greeks had settled there. But this was the district which, since the time of Darius I, had been for nearly two centuries a Persian province, and the foreign element in it was more likely to be predominantly Persian. In any case these Yonas cannot be the same as those ruled by the king of the Yonas mentioned by Asoka in the 2nd and 13th Rock Edict, *Aṃtiyako Yona-rājā*. This ruler has been identified with the Seleucid king, Antiochos II Theos, who ruled over the Syrian empire, 261-246 B.C.,[2] and this king, however Greek he was himself, was not ruling over Greeks. He was ruling over the largest portion of what remained of the Persian empire after its partition under the successors of Alexander. Asoka in the 13th Rock Edict mentions along with Antiochos four other kings, but although two of them, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia, and Alexander of Corinth (or possibly of Epirus) have more claim than the ruler of Syria to be considered Greek, Asoka does not call them Yonas. What conception of the Yonas, Asoka had in his mind, is naturally not easy to prove, but it is necessary to point out that it is an entirely gratuitous assumption to hold that Yona for Asoka meant Greek as distinct from Persian. He does not apply it to these persons who were peculiarly Greek, while he does apply it to people in his empire who were more probably of Persian descent than Greek, and he also applies it to the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire.

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1 Neither the order nor the combination *Yona-kamboja* is accidental. They are mentioned in the same way in the Pāli *Niddesa* and the *Aṭṭhakavagga-sutta*, and in the latter place are called border people. However, the supposed necessity of making the Yonas Greeks has led to the view that they were Bactrians.

2 Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 107, 118.

Whatever was the exact meaning which the Indians applied to the terms *Yavana* and *Yona*, it is clear that the Indians of the West had been in contact with Persian culture during the whole time of the rise and development of Buddhism into one of the chief religions of India, from about the middle of the 6th to the 4th century B.C. During most of that time, however, we have no reason to think that the Persians knew anything of Eastern India, the home of Buddhism. Herodotus tells us more than once that the country to the east of the Indians (*i.e.* the inhabitants of the Indian province) is desert on account of the sand. He may have got his information from Hecataeus, but he was able to get information from Persians direct and from Greeks settled in Persia. There is no doubt that the sand to which he refers was the great Thar desert of Rajputana.

the tradition preserved by the reciters of the Suttas within the first two centuries after the death of Buddha, and their value to us is in giving an indication of the geographical range known in the earliest tradition In it, places in the Magadha country (with Anga) and the Kosalas (with Kasi) predominate, and north of the Magadhas are the Vajjis Mallas, and several towns of the Sakyas The Kurus, west of the Kosalas, occur a few times, and with one exception the Kuru country is the most westerly district mentioned The one exception is a list of countries found in the *Anguttara nikaya* (i, 213), and this list has been held to be a statement of the political divisions of Buddha's time This Nikaya however has less claim than some of the others to convey contemporary information It actually contains a sutta referring to King Munda the fourth in descent from Buddha's contemporary Ajatasattu

The passage in question is not one which seeks to convey geographical information It is in a discourse on the merit of keeping uposatha day, and it is said in verse

> " The moon's brilliance and all the host of stars
> Are not worth a sixteenth part
> Of uposatha kept with the eight precepts "

This is developed in the prose, where it is said

> "Just as if one should rule with supreme lordship over these sixteen great countries, namely, Angas, Magadhas, Kasis, Kosalas, Vajjis, Mallas, Cetis, Vamsas, Kurus, Pancalas, Macchas, Surasenas, Assakas, Avantis, Gandharas, Kambojas, they would not come up to a sixteenth part of uposatha kept with the eight precepts"

The word for 'part' is *kalā*, used of a digit of the moon, and the phrase 'not worth a sixteenth part' was proverbial[1]

1 *e.g*, Dhammapada 70 Mhbh xii 174,48, *cf Prāna* Up vi 2

The compiler wanted a list of sixteen countries, and he has evidently made it up from an earlier list, for the ten names of the list from Kāsis to Sūrasenas occur in the Dīgha (ii, 200) in the same order. But that the compiler was Buddha or a contemporary of Buddha is very unlikely, when we find that these additional names Kambojas and Gandhāras (as well as the other western peoples Cetis, Vaṃsas, Macchas, and Sūrasenas) occur nowhere else in the four Nikāyas.[1] Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri[2] has pointed out a similar list of sixteen in the *Bhagavati-sūtra*, which he thinks is later than the Buddhist list. It has no mention of Kamboja or Gandhāra, but includes several south Indian countries. All that this proves is that the Jain author was a south Indian, and compiled his list from countries which he knew.

The reason why Takkasilā has been supposed to be so famous in the time of Buddha is its frequent mention in the Jātaka tales, but even there its university fame is ascribed not to Buddha's time, but to the earlier ages when Buddha was still a Bodhisatta. On any theory the compiler of the tales is attributing the geographical details of his own time to another epoch. But that his own time was the lifetime of Buddha can only be maintained if we suppose the tales to have been recorded with the same local details that Buddha himself might have used. This is what no scholar maintains. The prose of the tales is not canonical but an adaptation in Ceylon of a commentary originally compiled in India. As a whole this commentary is certainly as late or later than Asoka, and this is the period that best explains the local references, a period in which after Chandragupta's conquests communications of Magadha with the extreme west had been fully

1 They occur in the fifth Nikāya in the *Milinda*, but this precludes no inference by even those Asiatics as well as one of the Alexandrians founded by Alexander. The *Milinda* later *Mandala*, also even all in Ceylon.

2 *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 40.

established.[1] The silence of the Suttas supports the view that for at least a century and a half after Buddha the people of Magadha were as much cut off from the extreme West as the West (according to Herodotus) was from the East. The evidence to be drawn from the Vinaya is very scanty. The rules of the Vinaya may be largely "of the time of Buddha," but this is certainly not the case with the commentary which accompanies it. There are only two references in it to Takkasilā. One is an actual Jātaka (iv, 5), and the other the legend of the physical Jīvaka (i, 269).

This is the state of affairs that has to be considered when it is suggested that the Buddhists came into contact with the Zoroastrians, and that Buddha is mentioned in the Fravardin Yasht (xiii, 16) under the name Gaotema. This was Haug's view,[2] and it was restated with more caution by Dr. Moulton.[3] He admitted that the Gaotema could not be Gautama Buddha himself, but must be a name applied in mistake to one who preached his gospel. We have seen how slender the evidence is for supposing that Buddhism extended to the West before the growth of the Maurya empire, and this is borne out by the Ceylon Chronicles, which record that Asoka sent missions to Gandhāra and the Yonas.[4] But these were within his empire, and this does not prove that his missionaries ever came in contact with the Zoroastrians. On the other hand Prof. A. V. W. Jackson pointed out that Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana has proposed to identify this Gaotema with the Rishi Gautama whose son is Nodhās in the Veda.[5] In favour of this view is the fact that the Vedic culture of the West had been in possible or actual contact with the

1 How greatly the historical investigation of early Buddhism has been made to depend on the commentaries can be seen from the references in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*.

2 *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, 3rd ed p. 263.

3 *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 28. 4 *Mahāvaṃsa*, xii, 3-40.

5 *Zoroaster*, p. 177, where Prof. Jackson discusses the view of Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana.

YASNA HĀ XXVIII.

By Dr. Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law.

The Gāthās are admittedly the oldest texts of the Avesta and as such present special difficulties of language and thought. They embody the words of the Prophet Himself and as such they are the very kernel of our Zoroastrian faith. These two special points of the Gāthās demand special treatment.

As regards the language. The period of the Gāthās is almost the same as that of the older Vedic hymns. Linguistically the Gāthās and the Vedas stand very close together. So the rules that apply for Vedic interpretation should apply to the Gāthās also. Owing to the scanty remains of Avestan literature we often come across a word which has been used nowhere else and then it becomes extremely hard to interpret it. In almost all such cases the corresponding Vedic word exactly suits the context, and as Vedic literature is ever so much larger, the task of interpreting these words becomes considerably easier.

Of course we have got the Pahlavi interpretations and they are valuable no doubt, but within due limits. To the Pahlavi writers the language of the Gāthās was as foreign as it is to us, and even though these commentators were faithful and devoted Zoroastrians, still the religion as practised in Sasanian Irān was very different from the religion which Zarathushtra had taught. In the course of the ages that had intervened, and the rises and falls that Irān had had to experience during these centuries, it was not possible to preserve the religion in its pristine form, free from all foreign admixture. Then again the Pahlavi writers were certainly not versed in modern comparative methods of research. Hence though the support of the

Pahlavi is to be sought as far as possible, still the Pahlavi version by itself has to be accepted with caution.

There is another important point to bear in mind with regard to the Gāthās, as regards their style and composition. It is the *metre*. It is a most important point, which has as yet not received the attention it deserves The Gāthā metres are exact counterparts of the Vedic and they are, therefore, to be taken and construed exactly like the latter. It is a fixed rule of the Vedas that each *pāda*[1] of a verse is *a clause by itself*. In other words the verses do not "run on" as they do so often in English poetry. This little fundamental rule of Vedic (and Gāthic) prosody helps considerably in simplifying the task of construing. We can easily avoid all the elaborate complexities of construction (which abound with Mills) and get a really simple and straightforward translation.

As we are here dealing with the Ahunavaiti, we may consider its scheme of versification in some detail. The metre of this Gāthā is essentialy the अनुष्टुप् of Sanskrit. In it each *pāda* has 8 syllables.[2] The Ahunavaiti verses have six such *pādas* each. They are usually to be taken in three "lines", each of 16 syllables. There is one important difference, however, between the अनुष्टुप् and the Ahunavaiti metre. In the former the *cesura* (i.e. the division of the *pāda*) occurs without exception at the 8th syllable. In the Gāthā the *cesura* may be after the 7th, 8th or 9th syllable. In other words 8 syllables to the *pāda* is the *average* and the line may divide as 7-9, or 8-8, or 9-7. Taking each verse as a whole, it equals six *pādas* अनुष्टुप्. Now these

1 पाद् (lit. a fourth) is usually a quarter of the full verse. Vedic verses when arranged in *pādas* have usually four lines. In the Gāthas there are often more than four *pādas* in one verse.

2 The syllables in Avesta present special difficulties, partly owing to defective writing, and partly owing to various distortions of pronunciation which came about in the course of ages. Here, too, a simple rule would be to reduce the words to their *Sanskrit* forms and then count the syllables. Of course a good musical ear is a very reliable guide.

could be arranged in two ways (taking 8 syllables as average): (1) as 8-8, 8-8; 8-8, *i.e.*, as one अनुष्टुप् verse and a half; or (2) as 8-8-8; 8-8-8, *i.e.*, as two गायत्री verses. In this paper I have tried to arrange the verses in their proper forms, and the bearing of this on the interpretation is clearly evident.

Coming to the second point, *viz.*, that the Gāthās represent (as near as possible) the words of the Great Teacher Himself, I am afraid that herein lies the main cause of most of the Western translations being more or less unsatisfactory. We, Parsis, can look upon our Prophet as a *Spiritual Teacher* but the Western savant thinks of Him as a *historical personage*. Consequently the Western interpretation is largely coloured by the historical point of view. In other words, Western scholars think of Zoroaster as a great man, indeed, but a great man among a people living in a primitive state of civilisation. And as such He is not getting (according to my ideas) the reverence due to Him.[1] It is indeed unfortunate that some Parsis also hold this view. To me Zarathushtra represents *the highest type of spirituality* possible for a human being to reach in any age. He is far above the most intellectual of the moderns both in His learning and in His spiritual insight. And consequently His words are to be interpreted in the highest spiritual sense they are capable of bearing. His teaching is spiritual, not agricultural. If we talk of Christ as "the Good Shepherd" and of "His flock" and understand these words in a spiritual sense, why should we not understand Zoroaster's teaching of *Gāuś Urvan* similarly?

Just because the thought is so very high, the language of the Gāthās is direct and straight. There is no need for embellishments and "flowers of speech", no need of complex constructions and playing on words. In all great

1 A European savant once shocked me by declaring that an average professor at a modern University was greater every way than Zoroaster!

Scriptures where the thought is great the language is clear as crystal and the style direct. These works are meant to appeal straight to the heart of every one and so in interpreting them we must use the simplest and most unequivocal words. The most direct and the simplest construction is nearest the spirit of the Gāthās.[1]

Verse 1:

ahyā[1] yāsā[2] nəmaŋhā[3]
ustāna[4]-zastō[5] rafəδrahyā[6],
Manyəuš[7], Mazdā[8], pourvım[9] Spə*n*tahya[10]
Ašā[11] vıspē*ng*[12] šyaoθanā[13],
Vaŋhəuš[14] χratūm[15] Manaŋhō[16],
yā[17] χšnəvıšā[18] Gəuš[19] -cā[20] Urvānəm[21].

Now[1] do I pray[2] with-humble-adoration[3],
with-hands[5]-uplifted[4] at-(this-hour-of-) bliss[6],
O Mazdā[8], first of-all[9] for the Holy[10] Spirit's[7]
creation[17] entire[14], (created) with-(the-help-of-)
Aša[11];
(and I pray) for the inspiration[18] of Vohu[14]-Mano[16],
whereby[17] I-may-bring-solace[18] to the soul[21] of
Mother-Earth[19] as-well[20].

[As Mills has rightly remarked the first *Hā* of the Ahunavaiti *should be Hā xxix; and Hā xxviii ought to be* the second. In the former (xxix) we are told in a fine poetic strain how the Soul of Mother-Earth goes up into the presence of Ahura Mazdā and bewails all the terrible outrages she has had to suffer from the wicked. Thereupon after some discussion Ahura Mazdā commands Zarathushtra to undertake the task of "bringing solace to the Soul of Mother-Earth".

Zoroaster has now come down upon earth and has attained the full status of Prophet and after years of inner

1 Hence the rule about the *pāda* being a unit by itself. Of course in an English (or a Gujarati) translation the construction reads a bit strained. But that is unavoidable.

struggle[1] has obtained full realisation of the meaning of Life He has, in a word, attained salvation, and He bursts forth into a pæan of praise to the Lord and asks for help to Himself and to His followers from the Lord and the Holy Immortals The moment is surely "the hour of bliss",—of the supreme आनन्द of a released Soul]

ahyā .rafəδrahyā—The use of the gen to denote time is paralleled in Vedic Skt (Whit, *Skt Gram*, § 299b)

rafəδrahyā—I accept Kan's trans which is evidently based on Nair.'s प्रसादन Barth trans "help"

Manyūus—Gen. sing. Of course this refers to the "Holy Spirit" (the *Spənto-Mainyus*) as Barth remarks

Asā—Kan. takes this as acc plu neu and construes as an adj to *syaoθanā*. Barth takes it as a voc sing I think the sense is that of ins sing The creation of the Good Spirit has been created with the help of Asa, in other words, in accordance with the Law of Asa

χšnəvisā—1/1 aor subj paras √*χšnu* (क्षु), to please In *Hā* xxix the Gəus Urvan is not satisfied when the name of Z is mentioned (verse 9) For the sake of the metre this word has to be pronounced as if it were क्ष्वीशा

Gəus-cā Urvānəm—In accord with the idea that the Gathas are spiritual, not merely agricultural, I have translated this as "Soul of Mother Earth' When the Earth groans under oppression and tyranny she is poetically represented as taking on the form of a cow and going into the presence of the Supreme to seek for redress. In Hindu myths also we read exactly the same tale of पृथ्वी going up to Visnu (the Preserver) and seeking His help *Hā* xxix is a very exact parallel to some of the stories of the Hindu Aryans, describing the preparations for the "coming down" (अवतार) of a Saviour upon earth. The

1 Faultly described in Ved xix

worship[1] of cattle among the ancient Aryans (both in Irān and in India) would very naturally lead them to express their highest yearnings, their most precious desires, in terms of their most precious possession—cattle. Take for instance the epithets गोपाल (Cowherd) and पशुपति (Lord of Cattle) applied to the Supreme by the Hindus.[2]

[The Prophet having realised fully His task (which is to bring solace to the Soul of Mother-Earth) and having attained full knowledge, "now bowing in humble adoration and with uplifted hands", He asks that the entire good creation be on His side and that He may have the "inspiration of Vohu-Mano" (to pronounce His message), so that He may fulfil His great mission.]

Verse 2:

yə̄[1] vā̊[2] Mazdā̊[3] Ahurā̊[4]
pairi̊[5]-jasāi̊[6] Vohū[7] Manaŋhā̊[8],
maibyō[9] dāvōi[10] ahvā̊[11]—
astvatas[12]-cā[13] yas[14]-cā[15] Manaŋhō[16]—
āyaptā[17] ašāt[18] hacā[19],
yāiš[20] rapaṇtō[21] daidit[22] χāθrā̊[23].

So that[1], upto Ye[2], O Mazdā[3] Ahurā[4]
may-I-reach[5-6] with Good[7] Mind[8],
(that Ye may) grant[10] unto me[9] in-both-the-worlds[11]—
both[12] the corporeal[13] as-well-as[15] (that) which[14] (is) spiritual[16]—
(those) blessings[17] (obtained) through[19] Aša[18],
through which[20] unto the faithful[21] Perfect-Bliss[23] doth accrue[22].

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1 By "worship" here I mean more "setting a high value upon", and, consequently, a proper caring and tending of cattle Mere sentimental worship, as is mainly found in India today, is not what we find among the old Aryans It has been noted that nations who take care of their cattle are prosperous, witness America and England today

2 Exactly similar is the "Good Shepherd" of the Bible

[10. The orig. word is a dat. inf. which has had to be expanded to make the sense clear. 21. Orig. gen. sing.]

yə̄—So that.

vå̊—Acc. plu. It refers to Ahura and His Amesha-spentas.

pairī-jasāī—1/1 pres. imper. atm. √*jam* (*jas*), गम् (गच्छ्) with *pairi*, to approach, to reach.

ahvå̊—Loc. du. of *ahu*.

āyaptā—Acc. plu. neu. The word is used here in the sense of "blessing" or "spiritual gain". Barth. says *felicitates*.

rapantō—The word is rendered by Barth. as "faithful believers". This is a gen. sing. used almost in the sense of dat. The gen. is due to *daidīt*.

*χ*ᵛ*āθrə̄*—Barth. and Geld. read °*θrē* and take it as loc. I take it as nom. sing. neu. The word is always used in the sense of "perfect bliss", the final state of salvation.

[The Prophet also expresses His desire that He might attain the presence of Ahura Mazdā by purifying His Mind. He thus might obtain in both the worlds the blessings that flow through following the Law of Asha. And through faithfully following along the Path of Asha one could attain the highest state of Bliss, the goal of all human effort.]

Verse 3:

yə̄[1] vå̊[2], Ašā[3], ufyānī[4],
Manas[5]-cā[6] Vohū[7], apaourvīm[8],
Mazdąm[9]-cā[10] Ahurəm[11],

yaēibyō[12] Xšaθrəm[13] -cā[14] aγžaonvamnəm[15]
varədaitī[16] Ārmaitīš[17] ā[18]-mōi[19];
rafəδrāi[20] zavə̄ng[21] jasatā[22].

Then[1] will-I-weave[4] (my hymn of praise) unto
Ye[2], O Aša[3],
and[6] (unto Thee), O Vohu[7]-Mano[5] as-never-
before[8],
(and) unto Mazdā[9] Ahura[11] as-well[10];
so-that-through-Ye[14] the never-waning[15] Strength[13]
(of-the-Lord) also[14]
(and) Devotion[17] may increase[16] within[18] me[19];
come Ye[22] unto (my) call[21] for (granting me)
bliss-supreme[20].

[12. Lit. "through whom", *i.e.* Asha, Vohu-Mano and Mazdā-Ahura.]

ufyānī—Imper. pers. paras. √*vaf*, to weave. The sense here is weaving a hymn of praise. Exactly the same idiom is found in Ṛg-Veda (ii.28.5) मा तन्तुश्छेदि वयतो धियं मे.

apaourvīm—The word *apaourvi* (अपूर्व्य) used as an adj. for hymns.[1] Mills notes that here and in the Veda also is "a much stronger expression than नव्य, whether applied to a person or a song".

Xšaθrem—I take this as nom. sing. neu. The names of the three Holy Immortals representing the "Father-aspect" of God are *neuter* grammatically—*Ašəm, Vohu-Mano*, and *Xšaθrəm*. The remaining three—*Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt* and *Amərətāt*—are fem. and represent the "Mother-aspect" of the Supreme.

aγžaonvamnəm—Nom. sing. neu. pres. pt. atm. √*γžnav*, to perish, with neg. prefix *a-*.

yaēibyō—Barth.'s trans. runs over from one *pāda* to another in construing this word.

zavōng—Barth. takes this as loc. sing. of *zavan* (हवम्), call.

[In this verse the Prophet expresses the hope that He may pour out ever fresh hymns to the great Trinity—

1 Here understood, and implied in the verb *ufyani*

Asha, Vohu Mano and Mazda Thus He hopes Khshathra and Ārmaiti would also be gained The meaning is that if one is entirely given over to the service of Mazda and lives according to the Law of Righteousness with a Holy Mind, he would feel Spiritual Strength and Devotion to the Lord increasing in him.]

Verse 4

yə[1] urvanəm[2] mōn[3] gaire[4]
Vohu[5] dade[6] haθra[7] Manaŋha[8]
aśīm[9] ca[10] syaoθananąm[11] vidus[12]
Mazdā[13] Ahurahya[14]
yavat[15] hai[16] tava[17] ca[18]
avat[19] hai[20] aesē[21] asahya[22]

Then[1] my[3] soul[2] in high Heaven[4]
may I betake through union[7] with Good[5] Mind[8],
and[10] knowing[12] the blessings[9] upon (good) deeds[11]
(done in the name) of Mazdā[13] Ahura[14],
as long as[15] I am able[16] and[18] have-strength[17],
so-long[19] will I teach[20] (humanity) to desire[21]
Asa[22]

[9 Orig sing 21 Dat inf]

mōn—I accept Kan 's trans of this word as gen sing of the 1st pers pron and take the word as separate from the following Mills is evidently confused over this word Barth "runs over' the *pāda* and take *mōn dade* together and trans " I have set my heart on

gaire—Obviously Kan is perfectly right in taking this as the short form of *gaire nmāna* The word is connected with Skt गिरि Divine abodes were "on high' in all mythologies *Cf* the description of the dwelling of Haoma in Yas ix 26

haθra—Together with Skt सत्र

aśīm-ca syaoθananąm—This of course refers to the *Ahuna Vairya* verse *Vaŋheus dazdā Mananhō syaoθana*

ŋąm aŋhēuš Mazdāi (the gifts of Good Mind are for deeds (done) for[1] the Lord of Life). The *Ahuna-Vairya* verse it is that gives its name to Gāthā Ahunavaiti. Hence it must have stood once at the head of this *Hā*. There are further allusions to this verse later on.

aēšē—A verbal noun from √*aēš* (इष्, इच्छ्), to desire. The Rg Veda shows the word एष in exactly this sense, "governing" the gen.; *e.g.* गवामेषे (x. 48. 9), एषेरथानाम् (v. 66. 3).[2]

[The Prophet wishes to live on the higher planes of the Heaven-world in company with Good-Mind. He wishes for the blessings of Vohu Mano, which follow works done in the name of the Almighty. These blessings consist of a clarifying of the intellect and the consequent better understanding of God's plan, the Law of Asha. The Prophet then dedicates all His powers to the task of teaching humanity this Great Law, and awakening in them the desire for Asha.]

Verse 5:

Ašā[1], kat[2] θwā[3] darəsānī[4],
Manas[5]-cā[6] Vohū[7] vaēdəmnō[8] ?

gātūm[9]-cā[10] Ahurāi[11] səvištāi[12],
səraošəm[13] Mazdāi[14] ?

anā[15] mąθrā[16] mazištəm[17]
vāurōimaidi[18] χrafstrā[19] hizvā[20].

O Ašā[1], when[3] shall I see[4] Thee[5],
and[6] Vohu[7]-Manō[5] having-attained-wisdom[8] ?

And[10] (when shall I behold) the throne[9] of almighty[12] Ahura,[11]
(and) the Ministers[13] of Mazdā[14] ?

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1 *I.e.* "in the name of".

2 The meaning of this is "going after the chariots" (with a desire to capture).

With these[15] holy-chants[16] into the highest[17] (Path of Asha)
may we convert[18] with our tongues[19] the wicked sinners[20]

[20 Orig sing]

vaedəmnō—Nom sing pres pt atm √*vaēd* (विद् वद्), to know

gātūm—Throne The word is the same as Pers گاه

Ahurāi saoštāi Mazdāi—All these are dat sing But the dat here is in the sense of gen This is a fairly common construction in the Vedic language, *e g* स्त्रीयै पय (the milk of a woman)

sraošəm—Kan thinks this is the angel Sraosha Barth says that the meaning here is concrete and collective in the sense of "*the following of Mazdā*". Obviously the Angel Hierarchy is meant here

vaurōimaidi—1/3 inten pres sub atm √*var* (वृ), to believe (as a religion) Or the root might be *var* (वृ), to turn In either case the meaning is "may we turn" The intensive sense implies determination on the part of the Prophet

hizvā—जिह्वा. Ins sing. A good example of metathesis Cf also *vafra*, Pers برف *suxra*, Pers سرخ

[The Prophet desires to meet face to face in the Heaven world the two highest of Ahura's Ameshaspentas, and also the Angel Host And He expresses His determination to convert the wicked into paths of holiness The Prophet's task is not merely to protect the righteous but also to redeem the wicked In fact that is His higher and nobler task As has been said, "there is joy in Heaven over one sinner who repenteth" And the Prophet hopes to accomplish this with the power of His tongue and His "sweetness of speech'. This (*hudəmem vaxəδrahyā*) was

one of the gifts He had received from God when He was named as the Saviour in Heaven.[1]}

Verse 6:

Vohū[1] gaidī[2] Manaŋhā[3]
dāidī[4] Aŝā[5]-dū[6] darəgāyū[7];
ərəŝvāiŝ[8] tū[9] uχδāiŝ[10], Mazdā[11],
Zaraθuštrāi[12] aojoŋhvat[13] rafenō[14];
ahmaibyā[15]-cā[16], Ahurā[17],
yā[18] daibiŝvatō[19] dvaēŝō[20] taurvayāmā[21].

Come[2], (O Ahura,) with Good[1]-Mind[3],
(and) bestow[4] (upon me) the gift[6]-of-Aŝa[5],—
Life-everlasting[7];
verily[9] through (Thy) uplifting[8] Words[10], O Mazdā,[11]
(bestow) upon Zaraθuštra[12] the joy[14] of-spiritual-strength[13];
(and) upon us[15], Ahura[17], as-well[16],
so-that[18] we may overcome[21] the hatred[20] of (our) foe[19].

[6. Orig. plu.]

gaidī—2/1 imper. pars. *√gam* (गम्), come. Vedic गहि (गधि).

Aŝā-dā̊—Barth. takes the words separately. Kan. compounds them and I agree with him there, but not with his trans. It is acc. sing.

darəgāyū—Also acc. sing., in apposition to *Aŝa-dā̊*. The gift of Asha to the faithful devotee is Life-eternal. The word दीर्घायु occurs several times in RV.

ərəŝvāiŝ—Skt. ऋष्व is cognate. In RV. the word is used in a spiritual sense to mean "uplifting" and has been used for Indra (iii. 35.8 etc.) and for Agni (iv. 2.2).[2]

1 *Hā* XIX, 6. This is another proof that originally *Hā* XIX was the introductory *Hā* of the Ahunavaiti.

2 Grassmann, *Wörterbuch z. Rigveda.*

uχδāiš—Refers to the *mąθrā* of the preceding verse.

ahmaibyā—By this is meant the whole body of the followers and helpers of the Prophet. Western scholars (Mills and Moulton) have been puzzled by the occurrence of the name *Zaraθuštra* in this verse. There is nothing strange in the composer of a poem or hymn referring to himself by name. *Cf.* RV. vii. 86.5, where the composer uses (in the same verse) both the pron. म : and his own name वसिष्ठ.

[The Prophet desires the precious "gift of Asha"—*viz.* Life-eternal—from the great Lord of All. And He desires the joy of possessing the Strength-of-the-Lord, which is to be got by understanding the "uplifting words of Mazdā". He wants these gifts for all who follow and help Him. Thus secure in their eternal bliss they could overcome the hatred of the followers of the Druj and convert them to righteousness.]

Verse 7 :

dāidī[1], Ašā[2], tąm[3] ašim[4]
Vaŋhə̄uš[5] āyaptā[6] Manaŋhō[7];
dāidi[8]-tū[9], Ārmaitē[10],
Vīštāspāi[11] išəm[12] maibyā[13]-ca[14];
dā̊s[15]-tū[16], Mazdā[17], Xšayā[18]-ca[19],
yā[20] və̄[21] mąθrā[22] srəvimā[23] rādā̊[24].

Grant[1], O Ašā[2], that[3] blessing[4],
the gifts[6] (namely) of Good[5]-Mind[7];
grant[8], verily[9], O Ārmaiti[10],
unto Vīštāspa[11] (his) wish[12], (as) also[14] unto me[13];
grant[15], indeed[16], O Mazda[17], King[18] (supreme)[19],
that[20] (we, Your) devotees[24], may-listen-to[23] Your[21] Words[22].

[19. The *-cā* is omitted.]

āyaptā—The gifts of Good-Mind are the *vaŋhə̄uš dazdā Manaŋhō* promised in the Ahuna Vairya. I

construe this word as in apposition to *aŝīm* of *pāda* I and as defining it.

iŝəm—Wish. Cognate with *aēŝē* in verse 4 above.

dāŝ-tū—The *tū* is an enclitic particle of asserveration.

vō—The plu. is used not, as Kan. thinks, out of respect, but because it implies Mazdā and His Holy Immortals, as Moulton has pointed out.

maθrā—I take it like Kan. as acc. plu. neu. Barth. takes this as nom. sing. and trans. "Prophet".

srəvīmā rādā̊—I have ventured to adopt Kan.'s reading. Geld. reads *'srəvīm ārādā̊*; Barth. has *srəvīm ā-radā̊*. Geld. also notes various other v. l. Kan. takes *srəvīmā* as 1/3 aor. opt. of √*sru* (भ्), to hear, and *rādā̊* as an adj. to *maθrā* and trans. it as "precious". Mills prefers the reading *srəvaēmā* (or *srāvayaēmā*) and he trans. *rādā̊* as "benignant". Barth. takes *srəvi.m* as a sort of acc. inf. (*auditum*) and takes *ā-rādā̊* as an adj. to *maθra* and he translates it as "one who is ready to do something". He trans. the whole *pāda* as "so-that your Prophet might make Himself heard". I propose to take *srəvīmā* as 1/3 aor. of *sru* (भ्) and *rādā̊* as nom. plu. and as subject of this verb. I derive *rādā̊* (stem *rāda* mas.) from √*rād* (राध्), to win over, to love. The usual word आराधना is from this root. The word *rāda* is also found in Yas. ix. 23 in the sense of "husband" or "beloved". In the fem. form राधा it is the name of "the beloved (of Krishna)". So I translate the word here as "devotees".

[After asking for the blessings of Asha (Life-eternal), Zarathushtra now asks for "the gifts of Vohu-Mano". He invokes Asha to grant Him these. Then for Himself and for His pupil Vištāspa He invokes the aid of Devotion (Ārmaiti) for the achievement of their dearest wish—the salvation of humanity. And then Ahura Mazdā "the Lord Supreme" is requested to see that their devotion to His

Eternal Word may never get less]

Verse 8 :

vahištəm[1] ϑwā[2], Vahištā[3],
yəm[4] Asa[5] Vahišta[6] hazaošəm[7],
Ahurəm[8] yasā[9] vaunuš[10],
narōi[11] Fərašaoštrai[12] maiby a[13] ca[14],
yaēibyas[15]-ca[16] it[17] raoŋhaŋhoi[18],
vispai[19] yavē[20] Vaŋhəuš[21] Manaŋho[22]

For the best[1] (gift), to Thee[2], O (Lord) Supreme[3],—
to Thee[4], of-one-will[7] with the highest[6] Aša[5],
to (Thee,) Ahura[8], do I yearning[10] pray[9],
(This gift I crave) for the hero[11] Frasaoštra[12], (as) for myself[13] as well[14],
and[16], indeed[17], for (all others on) whom[15] Thou wouldst-bestow[18] (it),
(the gift, namely,) of Good[21]-Mind[22], through all[19] eternity[20]

[4. Lit. "whom".]

Vahištā—Voc. sing. Of course Ahura Mazdā is meant here.

hazaošəm—Kan. trans "friend" but mentions in a footnote the literal sense, which is, indeed, forceful and appropriate. The word सजोष is used in RV. exactly similarly for Indra and Varuna with reference to the Maruts (III. 62.2), of the Aśvins (I 118 11), of the Ādityas (VII 60.4) and elsewhere.

vāunuš—Nom. sing. perf. pt. √*van* (वन), to desire Kan. connects it with Frasaoštra (understood in this *pāda*)

yaēibyas-cā etc.—The idea (as I translate this *pāda*) is similar to that found in Yas. xliv. 6[1].—

at hōi Vohū Səraošō jantū Manaŋhā,
Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vašī kahmāi-cit.

1 *Kəm nā Ma da* also

The idea is that all these blessings are to be granted to whomsoever God pleases.

it—An emphatic (hence accented) particle of asseveration. In Veda, too, the particle इत् is accented.

rāŋhaŋhōi—2/1 s- aor. atm. √*rā* (रा), to bestow, रासे.

vīspāi yavē—Mills wonders here why Z should ask for gifts "for all time". He thinks it a "far advanced" idea,—probably it is so for his typically Western preconceptions of Eastern religions.

[For His other disciple Frashaoshtra, "the hero", the Prophet also desires "the best gift", *viz.* "that of Good-Mind", as promised to all by the Almighty in the *Ahuna-Vairya*. He desires it for Himself and for His disciples and also for any others, whom Ahura in His Wisdom would regard as fit and proper. Moreover Zarathushtra prays that once bestowed, they may never cease to be worthy of these great blessings.]

Verse 9:

anāiš[1] vā[2] noit[3], Ahurā[4] Mazdā[5],
Ašəm[6]-cā[7] yānāiš[8] zaranəmā[9],
Manaš[10]-cā[11] hyat[12] Vahištəm[13]

yat[14] vā[15] yōiδəma[16] daŋhəme[17] stūtąm[18],
yūzəm[19] zəyištayāŋho[20],
Išo[21]-Xšaθrəm[22]-cā[23] sravaŋhām[24].

With these[1] may we, O Ahura[4] Mazdā, never[7] Ye[4],
nor Aša[6], with (these) gifts[8], provoke-to-wrath,
nor-yet[11] the Mind[10], that[12] (is) the Best[13]:

we (-all)[14] are eager[16] to offer[17] (our) hymns-of-praise[18] to Ye[4],
(for) Ye[19] (are) the most-worthy-to-be invoked[20]
in prayers[24], together-with[23] Strength[22]-Supreme[21].

[7 and 11. Lit. "and". 14 Lit "who", *i.e.* Z, Viš., Fraš, and other disciples.]

yānaiš—These are the gifts desired in the last three verses.

zaranaēmā—1/3 pres. opt. paras. √*zar-* (हृष्), to provoke, to make angry. This root is found also in RV.

yōi—Refers to Z. and his co-workers.

yōiθəmā—1/3 perf. paras. √*yat* (यत्), to strive. It connotes eager striving.

dasəmē—I accept Barth.'s rendering, "offering".

zəvištayå̈ŋhō—Kan. derives it from √*zuš* (जुष्), to love, and trans. "gracious". Barth. takes it as nom. plu. (ending in -*å̈ŋhō*) of the super. adj. *zavišta* (जविष्ठ) "swiftest", and he connects it with *išō* in the next verse and trans. "mightiest to advance desires". Mills is utterly incomprehensible to me. I propose to take it as nom. plu. super. adj. but derive it from √*zav-* (हु, हु), to invoke. The positive degree हव्य is found very often in RV.

Īšō-Xšaθrəm-cā—Geld., Barth. and Kan. all read the words separately. Barth. takes both the words as acc. and connects them with *zəvištayå̈ŋhō*. Kan. construes *išō* as nom. plu. and understands the word as in apposition to *yūzəm* and trans. it as "friends"; but in his trans. of this verse he omits both *yūzəm* and *χšaθrəm-cā*.[1] I am taking *Īšo-Xšaθrəm* as a compound and a proper noun. There are the compounds *vasō-χšaθrō*, found in Yas. ix. 17 and elsewhere, and *išā-χšaθrīm*, found in Yas. xxix. 9, which offer close parallels both in their make-up and their meaning. My main reason for taking the two words together is that taking the sentence as Barth. does we have to break up the metre badly. I take this as a proper noun and not as an adj. because there is the discrepancy between *this* compound word, which is sing. and *yūzəm* which is plu. I think since Aša and Vohu-Manō have been mentioned already *Xšaθra-Vairya* (*Īšō-Xšaθra*) should also be mentioned with them.

1 ગાથા ઓ આવેસ્તી (૧૮૯૫), પા. ૧૦.

aeibyō[13] pərənā[14] apanaiš[15] kaməm[16],
at[17] vō[18] xšmaibya[19] asuna[20] vaŋda[21]
γᵛaraiδyā[22] vaŋtya[23] siaŋdā[24].

And[1] (those) whom[2] Thou knowest on account of (their-) Righteousness[3],
and[7] on-account of-(their-) Good[6]-Mind[9] (as being) full of-Wisdom[8],
(and as) upright[10], O Mazdā[11] Ahura[12],
for them[13] fulfil[14] (their) desire[16] through attainment[15],
for[17] I know[21], in-very-truth[19], (that) successful[20] with Ye[18]
(are) prayers[21] for salvation[22], for (our highest) yearnings[23].

[4 -cā omitted.]

vōistā—2/1 *s* aor. √*vaed* (विदे, वद), to know.

Vaŋhōuš ....*Manaŋhō*—This is the ancient abl. sing. form, showing the ancient Aryan abl. suffix *as* (अस्)

dāδeng—Kan. evidently confuses this with *daman* (creation) and Mills with *dāta* (law) Barth derives it from √*dāy*, to know, and trans. "full of wisdom". The word occurs thrice again in the Gathīs (xxxii 10, and xlvi 15 and 16) The epithet *dō* (wise) used for Jāmaspa in the Gathas (xlvi 17 and li 18) is very probably from the same root. Pers دانش is also a derivative

ərəδwōng—There is a probable connection with *ərəta* (ऋत) and so I propose to trans this as "upright", ऋतावन् Kan. trans. "true", Barth. "worthy".

With the idea of the first half of this verse, *cf* the *yeŋhe hātąm* verse.

aēibyo etc.—This *pāda* has to be pronounced as if it were in Skt एभ्य पूणापानैः कामम्

apānāiš—Found only here Barth trans "fulfilment" or "reaching the goal", Kan says "perfection". In RV

आपान (perf. pt. atm. √आप्, to obtain) is found in the sense of "reaching the goal" or "attainment" (ii. 34.7 and ix. 10.5).

vō—Barth. takes this as equivalent to the Skt. particle of emphasis वा, वै.

asūnā—Found only here. Barth. trans. "successful". Barth. connects it with Vedic सून which means "good fortune" or "success". But if this is correct the *a-* prefix is rather puzzling. Kan. seems more probable when he compares it to Skt. अशून्य. The ultimate sense is the same "successful".

χ^{v}araiθyā—Lit. "possessing glory", adj. of *sravå* (prayers). It means (prayers) for salvation.

vaintyā—Embodying our desires. From √*van* (वन), to wish.

sravå—See above verse 9, *sravaŋhąm*.

[And now Zoroaster prays that all, who through their Righteousness and through their Good Mind have satisfied Ahura, should attain the goal of their desires. They are full of Wisdom and are upright. And prayers from the heart, uttered by the righteous, desiring salvation and expressing the deepest human yearnings are never unsuccessful. For these prayers have a force in them which draws down response from heaven. The Prophet is Himself a Master of Wisdom and of Righteousness and so He feels quite sure that in His work of redeeming the Soul of Mother-Earth His prayers shall not go unheard and unanswered.]

Verse 11:

yō[1] āiš[2] Aŝəm[3] nipå̊ŋhē[4]
Manas[5]-cā[6] Vohū[7] yavaētāitē[8];
tvəm[9], Mazdā[10] Ahurā[11],
frō[12]-mā[13] sīŝa[14] θwahmāt[15] vaocaŋhē[16],
Manyəuš[17] θwā[18] ūəå̊ŋhā[19],
yāiš[20] ā[21] aŋhuš[22] pouruyō[23] bavat[24].

Thus[1] through these[2] (prayers) may-I-hold-for myself[4] Aša[3],
and[6] Good[7]-Mind[8] for-all-eternity[5],
do Thou[9], Mazdā[10] Ahura[11],
instruct[12, 14] me[13] Thyself[15] to proclaim[16],
through Thine own[18] mouth[19], about the Spirits (twain)[17],
from whom[20] Life[21] did first[23] come[24]-forth[22].

[15. Orig. abl sing. *i.e.* through Thy inspiration. 17. Gen du. 18. Orig. ins. plu]

āiš—That is through the sort of prayers mentioned in the last verse.

niṗąñhę—2/1 s aor. subj. atm. √*pā* (पा), with *ni* (नि), to hold. Note the force of *ātmanepada* here.

frō . sišā—2/1 pres imper. paras. √*sis* (शिष्), with *fra* (प्र), to instruct.

θwahmāt—Abl. sing. Lit. "through Thyself," *i e* through Thy inspiration.

manyōuš—I regard this as gen. du. irregularly formed, by reduction of original diphthongs Aryan *manyu+os* gives Skt. मन्यो , in Av it would be *manyvos* < *manyos* < *manyōuš*.

vaŋhā—The Skt. form corresponding is आसा, ins. sing. of आस्, mouth. This word emphasises *θwahmāt*

ā .....bavat—In Veda, too, आ–भू means "to come forth".

[Zoroaster's final wish is that He be for ever associated with Asha and Vohu Mano And now He is ready to deliver His message, the first part of which is the meaning of evil upon Earth This He goes on to unfold in *Hā* xxx (originally immediately following this *Hā*). And in order that He may be enabled to expound this clearly He asks for inspiration from God, for hearing it from God's own mouth.]

A NOTE ON THE SHABARA-BHĀṢYA

By Dr Ganganatha Jha.

There has been some confusion of thought in regard to the exact position of the two sections which have been called by the editors from ancient times, 'Nirālambanavāda' and 'Shūnyavāda', which has led to the idea (*a*) that the portion of the Bhāṣya preceding the words 'Shūnyastu' deals with the doctrine of Idealism, that there is no real object in the external world, hence all cognition is baseless, and (*b*) that with the words 'Shūnyastu' the Bhāṣya introduces the doctrine of Nihilism, that nothing, not even Idea, exists. But this interpretation of the Bhāṣya is entirely wrong. From the last verse of the so-called 'Shūnyavāda' section of the Shlokavārtika, it is clear that the whole of that section is meant to establish the reality of the external object, in confutation of the doctrine of Idealism, and the only argument in refutation of the doctrine of Nihilism is that "When the reality of the external object cannot be denied, it is all the more unreasonable to deny the reality of the Idea or Cognition";—so that the Mādhyamika doctrine of 'Shūnyavāda' is not what is meant to be directly introduced or attacked in the Bhāṣya beginning with the words 'Shūnyastu', which, in reality, is only a continuation of the refutation of the doctrine that "there is no real external object". This is made clear by the section of the Bhāṣya concluding with the words *'Ato na nirālambanaḥ pratyayaḥ'*, 'for this reason, Cognition is not devoid of a real substratum'. The Bṛhatī clearly says—"It should not be thought that the section of the Bhāṣya preceding the words 'Shūnyastu' has refuted the denial of the real external substratum of Cognition, and the section beginning with 'Shūnyastu' proceeds to deal with the Mādhyamika doctrine of Nihilism; because the

Shūnyatā, 'voidness', spoken of in the Bhāṣya is meant to be the voidness of the cognition itself, *i.e.*, the cognition is devoid of a real object, and it is not that the Idea or Cognition itself is denied. According to Kumārila (Shlokavārtika, Shūnya; Verse 3), the question discussed in the Bhāṣya beginning with 'Shūnyastu' is, "Is it a fact that cognition is able to function only when such objects as the pillar and the like have an existence in the external world? or is it that cognition rests in itself as the object cognised, and not in any object extraneous to itself?" So, according to this also, the Bhāṣya does not introduce here a discussion of the Mādhyamika doctrine of Nihilism.

Then take oil and honey and yeast and milk of all cattle, which are on the land and part of every kind of tree which grows on the land, except hard trees, and part of every known herb (B), except burdock only; and then put holy water thereon, and then let it drop thrice on the bottom of the sods, and say then these words: "Crescite grow, et multiplicamini and multiply, et replete and replenish, terram the earth. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis benedicti." And Paternoster as often as the other.

And afterwards carry the sods to church, and let the mass-priest sing four masses over the sods, and let the green be turned to the altar, and later let the sods be brought ere sunset to where they were before. And let him have made four crosses of aspen wood and write on each end Matthew and Mark, Luke and John. Lay the cross on the bottom of the pit; then say "Crux Matthaeus, Crux Marcus, Cux Lucas, Crux Sanctus Johannes." Then take the sods and place them thereupon, and then say these words nine times "Crescite..." and as often a Paternoster, and then face east and bow humbly nine times, and then say these words:

"Eastward I stand (C), I pray for mercies;
I pray the great Lord, pray the mighty God,
I pray the holy Guardian of heaven,
I pray earth and sky
And the righteous holy Mary
And the might of heaven and the lofty temple,
That this charm by the grace of God
I may utter; by strong resolve
Raise crops for worldly use,
Fill these fields by firm faith,
Make beautiful these meadows; as the prophet said
That he found favour here on earth who gave
Alms wisely, according to the will of God."

Then take meal of every kind and let a loaf (K) be baked as broad as the inside of the hands and knead it with milk and holy water, and lay it under the first furrow. Then say:

"Field full of food for mankind,
Brightly blooming, be thou blessed
In the holy name of Him who created this heaven
And the earth we live on
May God who wrought these lands grant us growing gifts,
So that every kind of grain may prove of use."

Then say thrice, "Crescite, in nomine Patris, sitis benedicti." Amen and Paternoster thrice.

Parallels.

A. Four Sods.

(*a*) For the building of the fire-altar (S.B.E. XLI, p. 345) the priest takes four clods from outside the limits of the altar with a wooden sword (the vital sap of God is in the clods). He takes one from the east (front) side, one from the south, one from behind (west) and one from the north. He places them on the corresponding sides of the altar site and builds up the altar of sanctified sand (S.B VII, 3. 1. 13-47). He sprinkles the clod-bricks with ghee by means of kusa grass (S.B. VII, 3. 2. 2).

He lays two wooden spoons, one on the right (south) side of the altar and one on the left (S.B. VII, 4. 1. 37-38). He also lays down the plant dúrvá (a grass), symbolical of all plants (S.B. VII, 4. 2. 12).

(*b*) In the course of the soma-sacrifice the priest digs four sounding-holes (S.B.E. XXVI, p. 135). Now an adverse charm dug up is useless. The pits are dug in the order in which they are marked and various charms are thrown up therefrom. The holes are arm-deep, are joined underground and sprinkled with holy water (S.B. III, 5. 4. 1-21).

(*c*) In Avestan rites nine holes are dug on the place for cleansing the unclean, (Vendidad, Farg. IX), one hole when dead matter such as hair has to be buried (Farg. XVII). In each case

three furrows are drawn round each hole. When burying hair the worshipper must recite the verse "For him, as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up," this being the charm for the cleansing of trees (Farg. XI, 6).

The general Avestan idea is in contrast with the Indian and Saxon; in the former the evil spirit is to be buried, entrapped; in the latter it has to be dug up, exposed.

B. EVERY KNOWN HERB.

(*a*) Reference has already been made to the dúrvá grass.

(*b*) In the Sautrámani sacrifice, among the many articles offered (*e.g.* hairs of tiger, "courage, the sway of wild beasts he thereby secures") are grains of rice, millet, wheat, kuvala, Indra-grain, badera, barley; "both cultivated and wild-grain food he thereby secures" (S.B.E. XLIV, p. 219 ; S.B. XII, 7. 2. 9).

(*c*) The mixed liquids (oil, honey, yeast, milk) are suggestive of the panj-grihas, the five 'ghees'.

(*d*) In the Avestan rites the baresma, formerly twigs of particular trees, varying in number from five to thirty three, was an indispensable instrument in the invocation of the Deity (S.B.E. V, note at p. 284).

The Anglo-Saxon charm is silent as to the precise part played by the twigs, but in the Vendidád (Farg. XIX, 19; S.B E. IV, p. 215) we read concerning the baresma "The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall keep his eyes on it without ceasing, while he is offering up to Ahura Mazda....."

C. EASTWARD I STAND.

References would be too numerous and therefore are unnecessary to emphasise this point. We have already seen that the east is the front side and the south the right hand.

D. TURN THRICE WITH THE COURSE OF THE SUN.

Turning with the course of the sun is of course the well-known pradakshina, so commonly performed around the tulsi plant. In S.B.E. Vol. XII, at page 37, there is a happy note comparing the Gaelic deasil with the Hindu rite. The deasil consists " in the person, who makes the deasil, walking three times round the person who is the object of the ceremony, taking care to move according to the sun". Reference is also made to the etymology

of dakshina and deasil and to the rite (dextratio) of Roman marriage ceremonies

I can find no reference to pradakshina in the Avesta, perhaps because the threefold furrows, already referred to, represent this aspect of the ritual

D Holi Salt

In the Satapatha Brahmana we read of the ceremonial use of saline soil, 'for saline soil means cattle (S B VII, 3 1 8)

E. The Plough

The second half of the charm is devoted to a ceremonial worship of the plough and an appeal to Mother Earth In the Satapatha Brahmana (S B E Vol XLI, p 326) we have a worship of the plough with a ceremonial ploughing, "for ploughing means food," which concludes with an expression of certainty of the sacrificer's having harnessed the forces of nature, "we have come to the end of this gloom we have attained the light" The Anglo Saxon ceremony concludes with,

"Field full of food for mankind
Brightly blooming

words not less full of certainty

The boring of the plough is at first difficult to understand but the clue may be found in Vendidad, Farg II Ahura Mazda presented Yima with a golden seal and a poniard inlaid with gold When the earth was fully peopled, "Yima stepped forward in light, southwards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus —

'O Spenta Armaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men"

Thrice was the ceremony performed and the earth, growing by a third each time, became twice as large as it was. The poniard was a symbol of sovereignty, but where agriculture was a religion (Vendidad, Farg III), the plough must have become its every day counterpart "Never shall the thieving nomad share the good creed" (S B E XXXI, p 45)

G Erce, Erce, Erce,

is given by the translator as perhaps a meaningless formula

We may more probably find in this an address to the Earth-Goddess, Herth, who, drawn in a chariot by cows, was worshipped by Langobards, Angles and other tribes in common rites (Tacitus, Germania c. XL). Reference to this authority gives us another cross reference to the Brahmana. In S.B. VII, 3. 2. 10-16, we read of the symbolic use of white horses as a charm; Tacitus says the Germans used them in divination.

H. Witchcrafts sown.

Whether we look to the Soma rites or to the Avestan (v.s. note A), we may see here the common measure of Saxon and other Aryan beliefs. The soil ploughed and cultivated was holy, the sub-soil a lurking place for the unholy.

J. Hail to Thee, Earth, Mother of Men!

The ceremonial Brahmanical ploughing was followed by a sowing (S.B.E. XLI, p. 335) on both ploughed and unploughed ground, after both had been well-watered from a jar. This concluded with an address to the earth, "Yours, O Mother, are a hundred powers and yours a thousand growths... Ye of a hundred virtues, render Ye free from sickness this one of mine." (S.B. VII, 2-4-27).

Not only is there the parallel, but the illustration from the Brahmana is the more striking since the earth-goddess so rarely figures in this work.

In the Homa Yasht (Yasna X, S.B E. XXXI, p. 240) we find the earth worshipped as the mother of the plant h(a)oma. Yet at other times the earth is male and the rivers his wives (Yasna XXXVIII, 1) and is so invoked in the charm for purifying the earth (Vendidád, Farg. XI, 5) In India generally the rivers are feminine (*e.g.* Ganga) but the Indus, the genius of the Indus, Uderolal, is male. Among the Romans there was the same male attribution of all rivers as contrasted with the Greek female water-spirits. Perhaps the confusion, if confusion there is, is best explained with reference to the cult of Anahita, the Earth-mother being the truly Aryan conception.

K. A Loaf as broad as the Hand.

No detailed references are necessary to the Brahmanical 'pinda', the cake, as no ceremony is complete without them.

What is uncommon in the Anglo-Saxon charm is that it should be of meal of every kind. This mixing of meal may be found among the non-Aryan Brahui (seven kinds of grain in the seventh month of pregnancy) and in the cult of the virgin goddess of vegetation (now the Mahomedan *saint* Pir Jhareon) of the Indus delta (*cf.* "Religion in Sind," *Indian Antiquary*, 1917-1918).

The Avestan sacred cake, dron, is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, made of wheaten flour, about the size of the palm of the hand (S B.E V, p. 284). It figures in many rites. Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified twigs ..and recites the Avesta does so to no purpose (*ibid*, p. 370).

Among untraced customs I would note

(*a*) the appointment of burdock as an unlucky plant and fennel as lucky: probably this was purely local;

(*b*) unknown seed to be used ;

(*c*) the seed to be obtained from beggars and repaid by a double quantity: probably due to later Christian influence;

(*d*) the excepting of twigs from *hard trees*: the translator says "hard wood did not need sanctification"; but this is beside the point, if the twigs were to form a bundle or a *brush for oblations.*

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Abbreviations: S B E Sacred Books of the East.
S B Satapatha Brahmana

TWO VERSIONS OF THE HISTORY OF MAZDAK.

By Arthur Christensen.

In my book "Le roi Ḳawādh I et le communisme Mazdakite" (Memoirs of the Danish Academy, 1925) I have tried to explain how the bulk of Arab and Persian sources of the history of Mazdakism are divisible into the following four classes, representing four lines of tradition:

I (Y'aqūbī and some part of the narrative of Ṭabarī): Kawādh is an energetic king. He is dethroned in consequence of the execution of the grandee Sōkhrā and delivered from prison by a stratagem of his sister. The Mazdakites are mentioned only in connection with the reign of his son Khusrau.

II (Eutychius, Ibn Qutaiba, some parts of Ṭabarī, Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir el-Maqdisī, Mas'ūdī, Ḥamza Isfahāni): Kawādh, dethroned and incarcerated by the Mazdakites, is liberated and restored to his throne by Zarmihr, whose father Sōkhrā he has formerly caused to be killed. The Mazdakites are extirpated, after his death, by Khusrau.

III (Dīnawarī, the Nihāyatu'l-irab and a passage in Ṭabarī): Kawādh is dethroned by the grandees owing to his alliance with the Mazdakites and liberated by his sister and Zarmihr. After his restoration he abandons his alliance with the Mazdakites and rules with wisdom and energy. The extirpation of the Mazdakites takes place after his death, by order of Khusrau.

IV (The Kitābu'l-aghānī, a passage in Ḥamza, Ja'ālibī, Firdausī, the Mujmilu't-tawārikh, Bīrūnī, Ibnu'l-Aṯīr and Abū-l-Fidā): Kawādh is dethroned owing to the putting to death of Sōkhrā. After the restoration, which is carried

through with the assistance of Zarmihr, Mazdak appears, and Kawadh accepts his doctrine Mazdak is defeated in a religious disputation and killed together with his adherents by order of Khusrau Some of the sources explain the final catastrophe in another way Khusrau causes Mazdak to be put to death in order to revenge himself for a humiliation formerly inflicted on him by Mazdak

To these four lines of tradition, all of which derive from the Khwadhnamagh, are to be added some special traditions, *inter alia* one proceeding from the Arabs of Hira I have pointed out further that the line IV has made use of some traits derived from a legendary narrative, given in a more detailed form in the Siyasat namah of Nizamu l mulk the source of which can be established with a fair amount of certainty to be the last Pahlavi romance named Mazdak namagh, mentioned in the Fihrist and the Nihayat as well as by Hamza

Amongst the Parsi sources of the history or legend of Mazdakism I mentioned a Persian rivayat, known to me only from a brief notice given by West in the "Grundriss der Iran Philologie, II, p 128 Later on, I acquired a copy of the second volume of Darab Hormazyar's Rivayat by Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala (with an Introduction by Shams ul ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi), published in 1922 at Bombay in which the rivayat in question is to be found on pp 214 230 The substance of the poem, which was composed in the year 985 of the Yazdgard era (=1025 A H, 1616 A D) by the dastur Anosirvan of Kerman, is as follows

During the reign of Kawadh the son of Peroz, an Indian, Mazdak by name, presents himself to the king He asserts that it has been revealed to him that he is to introduce a new religion in the world As the king demands that he shall prove the truth of his claim by a

miracle, he plans a trick. He makes an underground passage which leads to a spot just below the holy fire of the fire-temple. Having given the necessary instructions to one of his servants, he invites the king to visit the fire-temple. Kawādh proceeds to the temple, accompanied by the mōbadhs and the grandees. Mazdak, who attends the king, declares that the fire itself shall affirm the truth of his prophecy. Then he asks the fire whether he has been sent by God or not, and the servant concealed underneath the fire replies that really Mazdak is in possession of a divine revelation, and that his prophecy must be accepted. The king, believing that the holy fire has spoken, grants to Mazdak a seat of honour at his side and accepts the communist doctrine which he explains in detail to him. Then Kawādh introduces the communism of property and makes Mazdak his vezir. The men of distinction are discontented, but the mob rejoices. Kawādh orders that all guests who may present themselves in a house, shall be entertained with food and wine, and if the host has a daughter, the guests, one after another, shall be admitted to have commerce with her. The grandees and mōbadhs go to the prince Anōsharwān, then 17 years old, and make complaints. Anōsharwān takes the mōbadhs with him to the king, and these warn Kawādh not to listen to the words of Mazdak, and remind him of the miracles produced by Zardusht in the time of Vishtasp and by Ādhurbadh in the time of Ardashir. The king appeals to Mazdak to perform a miracle, but Mazdak replies that the fire bears witness to the truth of his revelation. The mōbadhs return unsuccessful.

Then Kawādh orders his servants to put in irons Anōsharwān, who demands a respite of 40 days in order to consult the Zand and the Avesta on the subject. The delay is granted, and now Anōsharwān writes to the dasturs and sends a message to a great and learned mōbadh of Shīrāz, summoning him to his side. On the

fortieth day, Mazdak orders to put the prince in irons, but Anosharwan objects that the fortieth day is not gone, and returns to his house Just at that moment the mobadh of Shiraz appears before him Anosharwan reproaches him for being so late, and the mobadh, having excused himself, inspires him with courage and asks him to take care to keep his presence secret from Mazdak Then Anosharwan goes to the king and requests an audience for the mobadh The request is granted, and the mobadh, informs the king that Mazdak has misinterpreted the language of the stars, the stars do not say, as Mazdak pretends, that a new prophet shall come forth at that time on the contrary, the Zoroastrian faith shall last until the day of doom The next day a discussion takes place between Mazdak and the mobadh The latter puts several questions to Mazdak, who, having replied to them, demands that the mobadh shall be put to death But the king says he cannot put to death a man whom he does not consider guilty of any crime

Now Mazdak gives directions to two of his servants on the following day the king will go to the fire temple in order to hear the voice of the fire, then they must be present with their swords concealed under their garments and when the fire commands the death of the king, they are to slay him But the mobadh warns Anosharwan to be on his guard and to have armed men ready The next day Kawadh visits the temple together with Mazdak Interrogated by Mazdak, the fire answers that for three days it has not got any food, therefore a portion of the entrails of the king must be given to it Kawadh himself is willing to be killed by the holy fire, so that he may attain eternal happiness, but Anosharwan prevents the murder by the help of his armed men After that event, Anosharwan, on the suggestion of the mobadh, seizes two of the servants of Mazdak, and forces them to disclose the trick of the

speaking fire. They repeat their confession before the king. Then a plot is formed against Mazdak. Kawādh informs him that Anōsharwan is ready to embrace his religion, and invites him to make a list of all his adherents, so that one may know their number. Mazdak writes out a list including 12,000 names and presents it to the king, who hands it over to Anōsharwān. On the demand of Anosharwān, Kawadh invites Mazdak to convoke all the persons enumerated on the list: robes of honour will be distributed to them all. Three months afterwards, a great feast is prepared, and Mazdak and all his adherents are summoned. On the appointed day a great banquet is given. Mazdak is placed at the table by the side of the king. With the permission of Kawādh, Anōsharwān invites the Mazdakites to come out with him into the garden in order there to receive the robes of honour. In the garden Anōsharwan, having previously caused 12,000 holes to be dug, has posted his armed men. The Mazdakites are admitted to the garden in groups of 30-40 persons and instantly seized by the soldiers, undressed and planted, head downwards, in the holes. When all the 12 000 Mazdakites have been killed in that way, Anōsharwān takes Mazdak out with him into the garden to see the men in their fine robes of honour. Mazdak is terrified at the sight of the strange "fruits of the garden" triumphantly shown to him by the prince. Then Anōsharwān gives orders to his men to seize Mazdak and immure him, so that only half of his body be free. In this position he receives a severe lecture from the prince and is finally totally mured up. At last, Anōsharwān incarcerates his father Kawadh and accedes to the throne. Several traits showing the justice of Anosharwan are added to the narrative.

It is easy enough to assign to this poem its place among our sources. In all the main features, and even in most details, it closely agrees with the Siyāsat-namah.

Now, it is highly improbable that the Parsi poet, the dastur Anoshirvan of Kermān, who is the author of a series of rivayats treating of subjects from the Zoroastrian legendary history,[1] should have followed as his source the Islamic Siyāsat-namah, a work that was never very widely known, as may be seen from the scarcity of manuscripts. Furthermore, the two narratives differ in some details, which fact seems to confirm the supposition that the later of the two does not depend directly on the earlier. Thus the rivayat describes Mazdak as an Indian, whereas in the Siyasat namah he is a Persian.[2] The place of domicile of the mobadh appealed to by Anosharwan is in the Siyasat namah given as Kuval in Pārs, in the rivayat as Shīrāz. According to the Siyasat namah, Mazdak is precipitated headlong into a hole made in an elevated platform, the rivayat has him immured in the way described above. The most striking difference between the two sources is the following: in the rivayat the mobadh denounces to the king the claim of Mazdak as false, because it is written in the stars that the Zoroastrian faith shall last until the day of doom, the author of the Siyasat namah, or his immediate Islamic source, has not resisted the temptation to alter the original text for the glory of Islam: here the mobadh admits that it is indeed written in the stars that a new prophet shall abolish the Zoroastrian religion, but that prophet, who is not Mazdak, is yet unborn and shall not be a Persian.

Our conclusion is this: the rivayat is based on a Parsi source representing a literary tradition which goes back to the old Pahlavi romance, being independent of the version given in the Siyasat namah. Looking upon this last version alone, we might be in doubt whether its narrative contains the whole of the Pahlavi book, or whether it gives only the last part of the original, but by

1 F. Rosenberg, Notices de littérature parsie, St. Petersb. 1919, p. 11 sq.

2 Vide ed. Schefer, p. 1*2 line 20.

comparing it with the rivāyat we are in a position to state with a considerable degree of probability, that only a few introductory remarks have been omitted in the former version.

Thus, a comparative study of these two versions enables us to reconstruct the whole substance of the lost Mazdak-nāmagh.

* * *

There exists still another account of the Mazdak incident, which I had overlooked. It is to be found in the anonymous Persian Fārs-nāmah, composed in the 12th century A.D. and edited in 1921 by G. le Strange and R. A. Nicholson for the Gibb Memorial Series. The unknown author, being a native of Balkh, has been denominated by G. le Strange Ibnu'l-Balkhi. Here I give a summary of the narrative to be found on pp. 84–91 of the edition :

During the reign of Kawādh, Mazdak makes his appearance and preaches his communist doctrine. The king accepts the new religion and makes a number of communist laws. Hence he is deposed, and Mazdak flies to Azerbaijan. Kawādh is delivered from prison by his sister and makes his way into Turkestan, where he marries the daughter of a spāhbadh. On leaving that country in order to recapture his kingdom, he commands that, if his wife gives birth to a son, she shall call him Anōsharwān. Later on Kawādh reconquers his kingdom. During his absence, Shamir, king of Yemen, has invaded Iran and extended his military expedition as far as Transoxania and China. The Byzantine Empire, too, has waged war with Iran. Kawādh makes peace with the Arabs and invades Byzantine territory. In the meantime his father-in-law arrives with his daughter and his little grandson Anōsharwān. In order to ascertain whether the boy is really his son or not, Kawādh sits down on a carpet, spread

in the garden, amidst a group of men, all like himself in appearance and dress; a flower of sweet basil is given to the child by the courtiers, who order him to present it to the king. The boy, having looked upon the group, goes straight up to Kawādh and presents to him the flower with the usual marks of respect. Accordingly Kawādh recognizes Anōsharwān as his son. The boy is instructed by the best teachers and distinguishes himself in all sciences and in good manners. When he has grown up, he wishes to check the fatal influence of Mazdak over his father, but he is not yet strong enough to make the attempt. Once, when father and son sit together, Kawādh asks his son how he was able to know him among the other men, not having seen him before. Anōsharwān says that he observed the splendour of majesty in the eyes of Kawādh, and love awoke in his heart at the same moment. He seizes the opportunity to ask his father why he made that trial. On the answer of Kawādh, that he had never seen his son and wished to be sure that the boy they brought to him was really his offspring, Anōsharwān begs to remark that by admitting the importance of relationship and pride of race, Kawādh has himself denied the Mazdakite doctrine about community of wives. As the argument makes a certain impression on Kawādh, the prince continues his remonstrances, pointing out that as money and goods are, according to the Mazdakite faith, the common property of all, Mazdak may plunder the whole treasure of the king, if he wishes to do so, nay, if he were desirous of dishonouring the harem of the king, Kawādh, as an adherent to this doctrine, could not prevent him from doing so. Kawādh admits the truth of the observations and repents of his conduct, declaring that never had anybody put things in that light to him, and if anyone else had done it, he would have thought he spoke in hatred. Anōsharwān advises his father to trust in God and first and foremost to fight the foreign enemies.

Kawādh adopts his advice and defeats the Byzantines. On his return from the expedition he abdicates in favour of his son, and entreating him to act more wisely than he has done himself, he retires from the world.

Anōsharwān rules with justice and wisdom. Having consulted his advisers, he watches the propitious moment for overcoming Mazdak. He pretends to be an admirer of Mazdak and gives him to understand that he is weary of his advisers and courtiers and wishes to supply their place with adherents of Mazdak, and he invites Mazdak to make two lists, one containing the distinguished members of his community and the other the soldiers and other men of the common people who follow his doctrine. Mazdak composes the two lists comprising a total of more than 150,000 names. Then Anōsharwān asks Mazdak to invite all the distinguished Mazdakites to a banquet on the occasion of the Mihrgān festival in order that the king may distribute the high dignities among them. Two thousand Mazdakites are placed at a long table on the shore of the Tigris, Mazdak himself being seated by the side of the king. A hundred warriors are standing all around with their weapons concealed under their garments. Suddenly Anōsharwān kills Mazdak with a blow of his battle-axe. At this signal the warriors assault the Mazdakites and kill them all. In all the provinces of the empire the Mazdakites are seized; some of them are killed, others repent and are pardoned.

This narrative evidently does not represent a single line of tradition; it is based on a combination of sources belonging to different lines. The character of Kawādh is a curious mixture of energy (*vide* line I and III) and stupidity (line IV). The succession of the events is chiefly that of line III, but all matters concerning Sōkhrā and Zarmihr are omitted The Shamir incident is taken from the Hira tradition, but adapted to the main narrative. The

accession of Khusrau Anosharwan during the lifetime of his father is a trait borrowed from line IV, but while according to Ṯaʿālibī and the Mazdaknāmagh, Kawadh is forcibly dethroned, the abdication, in the Farsnamah, is voluntary One legendary motif in our narrative does not occur, as far as I know, in any other old source the experiment by means of which Kawadh ascertains that Anosharwan is really his son, and the ingenious manner in which Anosharwan avails himself of his father s pride of race as an argument against the teachings of Mazdak

AUTHORSHIP OF THE PṚTHVĪRĀJAVIJAYAM

By Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., PH.D., I.E.S.

The Sanskrit Mahākāvya or historical romance dealing with the "Victory of the famous Prithurāj Chauhān," "the last Hindu Emperor of India, who, unlike many 'last' Emperors of ancient and modern times, shed such undying glory over the Rajput name by his chivalry and heroism,"[1] is unhappily preserved to us in a solitary and mutilated birch-bark MS. (No. 150 of 1875-76) now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona. The present writer has prepared an edition of the Poem, fragmentary as it was, for the Bibliotheca Indica Series of Calcutta; but as it is not yet completely published, much valuable historical and literary information that had been culled from the Poem for being utilised in the introduction of that edition has remained necessarily unpublished. On the basis of a transcript of the original MS. supplied by me, Rai Har Bilas Sarda published (JRAS 1913, pp. 259-281) a short summary of the contents of the preserved portions of the Poem and compared the geneology given by the Mahākāvya with the data made available from inscriptions and other more or less reliable historical sources.[2] On a closer inspection of the Poem it does not appear that Mr. Sarda's learned Note on the Kāvya needs much correction except in a few smaller details. But Sarda's interest was avowedly historical: the important literary features of the Poem he seems to have altogether ignored. It is accordingly proposed here to indicate a few of these that are mainly helpful in determining the authorship of the Poem.

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1 Vaidya: History of Mediæval India, pt 2, p. 90.

2 A similar attempt was made as early as 1893 by James Morrison in the Wiener Zeitschrift, VII, pp. 188-192.

2 Jonaraja, the author of the second Rajatarangini, who has written a learned commentary on the Prthviraja vijaya given by the present MS, cannot of course have been the author of the original Poem He cites and decides between different readings in the Poem, and in more than one place (*e g* p 252, lines 17f), he expresses his admiration for an idea, contained in the work with a remark like—हेमकुम्भप्रादुर्भावोक्तिर्बालरमणोचित्यादत्यर्थं सगच्छते। The Kavya must have accordingly obtained sufficient vogue in the world of scholars to induce a person of the status of Jonaraja to write a commentary upon it And from the way in which Jonaraja alludes[1] to his commentorial labours on the Poem—

श्रीश्रीकण्ठचरित्रकाव्यविवृतौ विश्वस्य निश्वस्य च
छायाभाजि किरातकाव्यविवृतौ विश्रम्य रम्यश्रिये।
पृथ्वीराजजयाख्यकाव्यविवृतौ सवशमिच्छाम्यह
शास्त्रक्षोदजखदमेदुरमतिर्ज्योत्स्नाम्बरो लावणि ॥

where he compares himself to a salt merchant reaching the haven of his rest in producing the present learned commentary, it would seem that Jonaraja undertook to comment upon the Poem at a somewhat mature age and as he elsewhere tells us, at the express request of some of his learned friends (ajnam avapya vidusam) The accepted date of Jonaraja is A D 1417 1467, and all doubt on the score of his not being the author of the present Mahakavya is set at rest by the circumstance that the Poem is referred to expressly by name in the Alamkara vimarśini of Jayaratha (Kavyamala edn, p 64) where, Canto V, stanza 50, of the Prthvirajavijaya (ed, p 143) is cited Jayaratha flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century, that is to say, within a generation of the composition of the Prthvirajavijaya, and it would seem that the Poem had already so very early attracted the attention of the scholars, partly by the peculiarly roman

1 At the end of Canto 7, Canto 10, etc

years earlier than Prthvīrāja and who in that Poem (I. 21) calls saffron and poetic genius as "the twin products of his native country." This love for the "Home of Learning" which Pṛthvīrāja evinced even as a suckling infant, we need not be at all surprised to find actually illustrated later in the Poem itself, namely, towards the end of Canto XII, where the extant fragment of the Poem breaks off.

4. As is clear even from a cursory reading of the Poem, the central theme on which it is based is the reincarnation of Rāma, for specific reasons detailed towards the end of Canto VI (ed. pp. 203-242), as Pṛthvīrāja; which naturally implies the corresponding reincarnations of Lakṣmaṇa (= Prthvīrāja's younger brother Harirāja), of Kausalyā (= Karpūradevi, their mother), of Daśaratha (= Someśvara, their father), and others. But as, according to their current belief, Sītā, the consort of Rāma, was supposed to have sought the rest eternal in the bosom of her Mother, the Earth-goddess, the author of the Poem was conservative enough not to make Sītā seek another reincarnation to become the wife of Pṛthvīrāja. But as the hero of the Poem must have a befitting heroine, the poet has made use of another very clever ruse to get out of the difficulty. It would seem that one morning Pṛthvīrāja was inspecting his Royal Picture-gallery or Ālekhya-gṛha (Canto XII, 32), upon the walls of which were depicted the scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, very much like those familiar to us from Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita. There the young Pṛthvīrāja seems to have taken violent fancy to a picture of Tilottamā, the heavenly nymph, who, instructed by the master dramatist Bharata, was playing the part of Sītā in one of the dramas named "Anaranya-manyu-śamana" or Pacification of Anaranya's[1]

1 Anaraṇya was an ancestor of Das'aratha who was killed by Rāvaṇa and who dies predicting Ravaṇa's death at the hands of one of his successors. See Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, Canto 10.

who ruled circ 1110 1120 A D , and although one of his successors, Paramardin (circ 1165 1203), was defeated by Prthviraja, the exact significance of a reference to that line of princes in this particular context does not seem very clear Samyogita, the famous consort of Prthviraja (and presumably the "incarnation' of the nymph Tilottama) belonged, as is well known, to Kanauj, and not to Kalanjar

5 The reverse side of the same fragmentary folio gives another important piece of information of great literary value There is a definite reference here to Bilhana and to the rewards he received from Vikramanka to Bilhana's patron Karna whom Bilhana never ceased praising to Bilhana's residence in Prayaga and to his anxiety to spend the large rewards that he obtained for the benefit of his own native country of Kashmir (काश्मीरकस्य विद्वणस्यधन काश्मीराणामेवास्त्विति निचाय), where he seems to have endowed large Mathas, which served as seats of *learning and helped to spread the fame of* Kashmirian learning all over India[1] It would seem that Jayanaka the young Kashmirian, belonged to one such Matha And since the author of the Poem has given such abundant biographical details of Jayanaka, in all probability the author of the Prthvirajavijaya has to be identified with this Jayanaka of Kashmir The young Kashmirian seems to have found a sympathetic friend in Prthivibhata, the chief bard of Prthviraja's court whom he pays a very handsome compliment (XII, 64) by describing him as "the sun that shows to advantage the good qualities of others, and at the same time the great darkness that refuses to show their weak points But the author must have nevertheless excited the jealousy of others If Jonaraja's interpretation of one of the

1 These references to Bilhana are borne out by his own statements in Canto 18 of the Vikramankadevacarita

AVERAGE WORD-LENGTH IN SANSKRIT.

By Prof. A. C. Woolner

Several years ago it occurred to me that the obvious tendency of later Sanskrit to use longer words, including longer compounds, might be measured so as to afford, if not a criterion, at least an indication of date. There was the possibility that the tendency to prefer words of a certain length or the tendency to use say dissyllables and trisyllables in certain average proportions would be unconscious and would prevail against the general tendency to imitate older works and against conscious variations of style.

At the moment I was interested in a comparison of the *prakṣipta* verses of the Meghaduta with those accepted as authentic. On making an analysis of word length, I was surprised to find such a large proportion of monosyllables and dissyllables, *viz*, monosyllables 10.9 per cent in the Meghaduta and 7.8 per cent in the *prakṣipta* verses, dissyllables 31.7 per cent in the Meghaduta and 29.7 in the *prakṣipta* verses.

The second point that struck me was that whereas, in general, dissyllables were commonest and longer words proportionately less common, there was an excess of words of 4, 6 and 10 syllables. This is obviously due to the influence of the Mandakranta metre. It is interesting to note that the excess of 4 and 6 syllables is rather more pronounced in the *prakṣipta* verses, indicating to that extent inferior mastery of the metre.

The average length of a word in the whole poem worked out at 3.49.

A similar analysis of the verses in the Vikramorva'siya showed monosyllables 11.7 p.c., dissyllables 35.5 p.c. and average length 3.20 syllables.

A selection from the Kumārasambhavam yielded monosyllables 8.1 p.c., dissyllables 27.7 p.c. and average length 3.49. But in the Ṛtusaṃhāra the average length is 4.39.

It seemed therefore that the variations in sections of the same author were too considerable for the percentage of dissyllables to be of any value as an indication of age.

There remained the possibility that the average word-length itself might furnish such an indication.

A number of Vedic hymns showed an average word-length of 2.3 syllables, the Kāthaka Upanishad 2.47.

A selection of the Rāmāyaṇa yielded 3.5.

The verses in the first book of the Kāvya-Prakā sa gave 3.8. The verses in the Mālati-Madhavam 3.63.

On the whole however it appeared that the word-length varied with the simplicity or complexity of the *style* which was already obvious, and gave no further indication of date.

It may be mentioned that the verses ascribed to Bhāsa in the anthologies[1] show a word-length of 2.5, the verses in the Svapavāsavadattam 2.84, and in the Madhyāvyāyoga 3.1.

But it seems this is only another way of saying that the style of these verses is comparatively simple, which we knew before.

So the attempted method of dating by counting syllables appears to be barren.

In view of this negative result it is not necessary to give the details of the editions used or to check again the accuracy of the counting, but the table appended may be of some interest as indicating the normal proportion of words of different lengths.

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1 *Vide* Dr. L. Sarup's edition of Svapnavāsavadattam.

Words of	Meghadūta	Prakṣipta	Verses in Vikramo	Malati	Kumara I
1 Syllable	10 9	7 8	11 7	13 7	8 1
2 Syllables	31 7	29 7	35 5	30 2	27 7
3 „	19 8	19 5	19 2	26 6	22 1
4 „	18 6	23 7	15 3	13 0	17 5
5 „	3 1	1 1	7 2	6 6	9 7
6 „	7 2	8 8	4 0	3 4	6 7
7 „	3 6	3 5	1 9	2 4	3 1
8 „	9	—	2 3	1 4	2 2
9 „	1 1	1 1	6	6	6
10 „	2 19	2 4	6	9	5
11 „	18	—	2	9	1 7
12 „	1	—	4	1	—
13 ,	9	1 1	2	4	13
14 „	19	3	1	1	—
15 „	18	—	—	2	—
16 „	—	—	—	1	—
17 „	18	3	—	05	—
Average length	3 49	—	3 20	3 63	3 49

EARLY PERSIAN POETRY AND ITS RELATION TO ARABIC POETRY.

By Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A. (Bomb), Ph.D. (Cantab), M.R.A.S.

For the first two centuries of Islam, the history of Persian poetry is almost a blank. During this long period Arabic reigned supreme. It was the language of diplomacy, religion and belles lettres, and the poets and literary men used it in preference to their own native tongue. The Persian-Arabic writers of the 'Abbāsid times, who otherwise evinced a keen interest in historical and philological pursuits, bestowed little care on collecting the poetical relics of their own country. Even those of them who wrote about the history and culture of ancient Irān chose to do so in Arabic, either because Persian had not attained the perfection of a literary form, or because it was a fashion to write in Arabic in those days. This apathy and indifference on the part of Persian scholars must have caused many ancient Persian Diwāns to fall into oblivion. Many an indigenous poet must have sung and died in a sequestered corner of his country without making his voice heard, and many a lyre been left unstrung without transmitting its notes to posterity. Thus it is that we possess neither the poetical record of the two centuries immediately following the advent of Islam, nor those of the preceding Sāsānian period. Whether these records perished during the onslaught of the Arabs, or disappeared through the neglect of Persian savants themselves, there could be no doubt regarding the existence of poetry in Persia before and after the Arab invasion.[1] The names

1 Abū Hilāl Al-'Askarī (ob. 395 A.H.) says that the ancient Persians did possess poetry, which owing to its vastness could not be collected in books. The same author again says that the Persians possessed poetry which treated of their history and warfare, and that it was preserved in the

of some of the minstrels of olden times, such as Barbad Bamshad and several others, are significant in this respect, for music and poetry must go hand in hand

What the nature of ancient Persian poetry really was cannot be exactly known Probably it was of two types— the ballad and the epic[1] On the other hand, Fakhru'd din Sa'd Gurgani, who versified the romance of Vis o Ramin (440 A H) from a Pahlavi version of the same, assures us that the ancient Persians did not cultivate the art of poetry[2] This is by no means the truth The fact is that Muslim writers did not regard ancient Persian poetry as poetry, because it did not conform to the rules of prosody as formulated by *Khalil* b Ahmad (100 170 A H) Thus 'Awfi and Shams i Qays both agree that the Khusrawani airs sung by Barbad were without metre and rhyme and without any literary grace, although they were full of encomiums on his sovereign[3] As against this is the view that the ancient Persians, like the Greeks, used no rhyme in their poetical compositions, and that a certain writer named Hasuni or Hasubi (?) had collected this kind of blank verse in a book, which he called "Yubah Namah' (The Book of Desire)[4] This brings us to the opinion held by Dr Paul Horn, who suggests that although the ancient Persians did not use rhyme in their poetry, they

royal archives Gradually with the disappearance of their language their poetry also disappeared, and there remained only Arabic poetry on their tongues (Tafdil p 217 of At Tuhfatu l Bahiyyah)

1 Jackson Early Persian Poetry p 2

2 Vis o Ramin, ed Capt Lees Calcutta 1865 pp 11 12 His view is also held by the great Al Jahiz (160 255 A H) who says Every nation in some way or other tries to preserve its past relics and historical traditions the Arabs did so by means of poetry which is their peculiar gift and the Persians by erecting magnificent edifices such as Istakhr and Madain and forts bridges sepulchral vaults etc Then the Arabs wanted to emulate them in this respect and they built Ghumdan Qasr Ma'arib Ablaq and others so that they might remain unrivalled in the field of poetry (Kitab u l Hayawan, i 36)

3 Lubab u l Albab i 20 and Al Mu'jam p 110

4 Mi'yaru l Ash'ar Leiden Mss Codex 683 (2) Warn p 6 and Br Mus Add, 1670 p 4 b This book is attributed to Nasiru d din Tusi by

must at least have had metre. The folk-songs, in which the rhythm depends upon the number of syllables used in each verse, afford abundant proof in support of this theory.[1] We, however, would maintain that the ancient Persian ballads did contain a kind of metre and rhyme, and that they were, in some degree, like the rajaz of the pre-Islamic Arabs, as may be seen from the passages quoted below. The author of Tārikh-i-Sistān says that the following hymn used to be sung by the Zoroastrian priests of the Karkūyah fire-temple,[2] which was built by Kay Khusraw in Sistān to the memory of the Divine Light (Hush-i-Garshāsp, the Intelligence of Garshāsp) which appeared to him while he was busy quelling the demons of those districts.[3] Only one of the several strophes is given :—

Furukht bādā rūsh, Khunidan Garshap hūsh,
Hamī parast az jush, Nūsh kun may-i- nūsh,
Durust bidā gūsh, Bi-afarīn nihādah gūsh,
Hamīsha nīkī kūsh, Day gudhasht-o- dūsh,
Shāhā khudāy-gānā !
Bi-afarīn-i- Shāhī.

Muftī Md: Sa'du'llāh of Rāmpur, who wrote a commentary on it with the title Mīzānu'l-Afkār (Lucknow, 1262 A H) A similar view is held by Al-'Askarī who says that there are tunes in Persian, which have no rhyme. (Kitābu's Sinā'atayn, p 103).

1 Geschichte der Persische Literatur, p. 44.

2 Vide Le Strange "The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate," pp. 341-42

3 This information is derived from the article of Mirzā 'Abbās Ashtiyānī of Tehrān, published in the Kāvah, No 3 and vol. II of the New Series. The name of the author of the History of Sistān is not known; but it is certain that he lived in the troublous times of the Mongol irruptions and enjoyed the patronage of Malik Naṣiru'd-dīn Wa'l Haqq and his two sons Malik-i-Mu'azzam Rukna'ddīn Mahmūd, and Shāh-i Mu'azzam Naṣratu'd-dīn, who were rulers of Sistān It appears from his own writings that the book was composed between the years 675 and 680 A.H The history contains valuable information about the Saffarid dynasty, besides many pieces of early Persian poetry. Rudakī's ode beginning with "Mādar i-may... ..." was also identified by Mirzā Qazwīnī from this book, for which see pp 215-217 of J.R.A.S April 1926.

We may infer from this that the native poetry of Persia in the Sasanian times as well as in the first two centuries of the Muslim era, was of this simple kind Further evidence as to the rajaz nature of the early verses is afforded by the following lines of Yazīd b Mufarrigh al Himyarī,[1] in which he makes an arch reference to Sumayyah, the grandmother of 'Ubaydu llah b Ziyad when the latter ordered the poet to be paraded through the streets of Basrah

Ābast o nabidh ast, 'Usarat i Zabīb ast,
Sumayyah ruy safīd-ast

The following verses, which the people of Bal*h* are said to have recited in derision of Asad b 'Abdi llah at his temporary defeat by the *Kh*aqan in 119 A H,[2] further corroborate our surmise

Az *Kh*uttalan amadi, Bi ru tabah amadi,
Ābara baz amadī, *Kh*ushk o nizar amadī

From *Kh*uttal didst thou come,
With a worn out face didst thou come,
Homeless and desolate didst thou come,
Dry and lean didst thou come

The above instances are of the rajaz character, and would strike any one with the conviction that the early Persian poetry did possess metre, rhythm and rhyme, the three essentials of poetry Gradually, as Persian poets became accustomed to the Arabic metrical system, they began to compose in all sorts of intricate metres

Bahram i Gur, who is generally supposed to have

1 Yazid b Mufarrigh al H myari lived in the reign of Mu awiyah I (661 680 A D) and d ed in 688 A D *i e* only 66 years after the Hijrah In consequence of this lampoon Ubaydu llah exiled him to Sij stan where he was put in prison For f irther details *v de* Ibn Qutaybah Ash Shi ru wa'sh Shu'ara, ed De Goeje pp 209 213

2 Ṭabarī, II pp 1602 1603

composed the first verse in Persian,[1] and whose Diwan (!) was seen and read by 'Awfi in Bu*lh*ārā,[2] is reported by Al Mas'udi to have composed a number of poems in Arabic and Persian, which, however, he refrains from quoting in order to have space[3] These indeed, would have been an important aid in determining the precise form of poetry at the time But neither Mas'udi nor other historians deserve much credence in this respect At any rate, with the exception of certain poetical passages in the Avesta, which are really the impassioned utterances of a prophet rather than a poet, scarcely any pre-Islamic Persian poetry has come down to us But what is more regrettable is that we possess very scanty information about the poetry produced in the first two centuries of the Hijrah This may have been partly due to want of patronage and change of circumstances, but some other reasons must be sought for the complete disappearance of early Persian poetry. One of these reasons may be the absence of Rawis or rhapsodists who

1 *Th*a'alibi *Gh*urar ed Zotenberg p 557 The authority cited by him is Ibn Khuda*dh*bih But the verses quoted in his Masalik wa l Mamalik (Leiden p 118), *viz*

Manam Shīr i Shalanbah, Manam babr i talah,

are of the rajaz kind and might have been the result of an outburst of feeling on the part of that merry monarch The story given by Dawlatshah of the occasion which evoked this aberration of Bahram is not mentioned by Awfi Shams i Qays or Nizāmi 'Aruḍi altl ough it is recorded by Ibnu l Faqih (*cf* Kitabu l Buldan ed De Goeje Leiden 1887 pp 256 257) Th ālibi on the other hand, records (*v de Gh*urar p 542) qu te a different story of Bahrām s skill in hunting the deer In this his favourite harper Azadwar, loses her life owing to her inordinate demands That Bahram might have composed occasional verses cannot be doubted, but the verse as generally ascribed to him is far from genuine The version given by Ibn Khurda*dh*bih seems to be nearer to the truth

2 Lubābu'l Albab, i 9

3 Muruj, ii 193 The exact Arabic is Wa lahū ash ārun kathīrātun bi l 'Arabiyyah wa l Fārsiyyah a radna 'an *dh*ikriha fī ha*dh*a'l mawdi' talban li l ikht ṣāri wa l ijaz

might have treasured up the early ballads in their memories and handed on to their descendants

Our object here is not to discuss the debatable question as to who composed the first verse in Persian, but to point out that, along with the poets who are thus honoured, there lived several others whose names have not been preserved, and that Hanzalah (d before 248 A H) was by no means the only poet who flourished during the Tahirid rule (205 259 A H).[1] Our anthologists show gross ignorance even as regards those poets who acclaimed Ya'qub b al-Lay*th* (254 265 A.H) when he firmly established himself in Sistan. Of these, Muhammad b Wasif as Sijzi, the secretary of Ya'qub, deserves mention[2]

The author of the History of Sistan says that after the Amir Ya'qub had crushed his enemies and wrested the city of Harat from the hands of the Tahirid governor in the year 253 A H, compelling the Tahirid prince Muhammad (249 259 A H), to recognise him as ruler of Sistan, Kabul, Kirmān and Fars, he made a triumphal entry into his capital town Sistan The people made great rejoicings at his arrival, and their great divine, Abu Ahmad

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1 One such is Muhammad b al Ba'ith (d 235 A H) whose poems were recited to Tabari by some old men of Marag*h*ah (*s.e* Tab iii 1388) Other early verses which no longer exist are ascribed to one Abu l Ash*th* of Qumm and to which an allusion is to be found in an Arabic poem by Abu Muslim Muhammad b Bahr of Isfahan (Yaqut Mu jamu l Udaba, Leiden p 421)

Abu Hafs Hakim b Ahwas of Sug*h*d (lived in the 3rd century A H) to whom the following verse is attributed, and who was the inventor of a musical instrument, Shahrudh, was by no means the first poet (Al Mujmal, Shams i Qays, p 170 171 Mafatihu l Ulum of Khwarizmi ed Van Vloten p 23)

آهوي كوهي در دشت چگونه دودا او ندارد نر چگونه دودا

How could the antelope bound over the plain?
She has no mate, how could she leap without a mate?

2 The information that follows is derived from the History of Sistan for which I am deeply indebted to the article of Mirza Abbas Iqbal Ashtiyani in Kavah (New Series 1921) No ii

'*Uth*mān b. 'Affān (d. 255 A.H.) inserted his name in the Friday sermon. The poets addressed Arabic verses to him in celebration of his victory, but as Ya'qūb was innocent of Arabic, he exclaimed: "Why should people say what I cannot understand?" On hearing this, Muhammad b. Waṣif, who happened to be present at the time, and who was regarded to be a distinguished scholar of the day, at once recited the following verses in Persian[1]:

١. اي امیریکه امیران جهان خاص و عام
بنده و چاکر و مولای و سگ بند و غلام

٢. ازلی حطی در اوح که ملکی بدهید
می ابي یوسف یعقوب س اللیث همام

٣. بسّام آمد و رتبیل لتی خورد بلنگ
لزه شد لشکر رتبیل و هباگشت کنام

٤. لمن الملك بخواندی تو امیرا بیقین
با قلیل الفئة کت داد دران لشکر کام

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1 The irregularity of metre and unevenness of construction clearly show that the fragment in question is old, and that it is the first attempt of Waṣif at Persian poetry. The author of the History of Sistān remarks that Ibn Waṣif was the first to compose verses in Persian, and that no one before him had done so(!), because, says he, so long as the Persians (Sāsānians) ruled, the people sought their favour by composing verses according to the Khusrawānī airs. After the coming of the Arabs, the people of Persia wrote in Arabic and were well versed in Arabic poetry. Before Ya'qūb, however, there arose no such great man whom the people might glorify in poetry except Hamzah b 'Abdi'llāh al-Khāriji, who himself was a learned man and knew Arabic. His soldiers too were mostly Arabs and spoke Arabic, and his panegyrists addressed verses to him in Arabic. The author of the History of Sistān says that the above Qaṣidah is long, but that he has recorded only 6 verses.

Muḥammad b. Waṣif as-Sijzī seems to have lived to a goodly old age and seen the Ṣaffārids at the height of their own power and at their fall, which he bewails with considerable pathos. His other extant verses pertaining to the captivity of 'Amr b. al Layth in 287 A.H. by the Sāmānid prince Ismā'il and the downfall of the Ṣaffārid kingdom due to the vicious way of the last ruler Ṭāhir need not be mentioned here.

٥. عمر عمّار ترا خواست و زوگشت بری
تیغ تو کرد میانجی بمیان دد و دام

٦. عمر او نزد تو آمد که تو چون نوح بزی
در آکار تن او سر او باب طعام

1. O Prince, before whom the princes of the world, high and low, are servants, attendants, clients, dog binders and slaves.

2. From eternity it was inscribed on the Preserved Tablet: Grant kingdom to Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. al-Lay*th*, the hero.

3. Bassām submitted,[1] while the Ratbil[2] received a blow on his leg, his army cut to pieces, and their homes turned to dust.

4. You recited: "To whom belongs the sovereignty to-day?"[3] with certitude, O Prince! God gave you victory over that vast army in spite of your small numbers.[4]

5. 'Ammār sought your life, but from him instead was it cut off; your sword became an arbiter among the wild beasts.

6. His life came to you, saying, "Long may you live like Noah!" His body was hung up from the gate of Ākār, while his head was on the gate of Ṭa'ām.[5]

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1 Bassām was one of those Khārijites who went to Ya'qūb to sue for peace. He was a learned man, and when he saw the method of Ibn Waṣīf, he too began composing Persian poetry. His verses and those of another learned contemporary named Muḥammad b. Mukhallad as-Sijzī are cited by the author of the History of Sīstān. There must have arisen several other Persian poets who, encouraged by the attitude of Ya'qūb, must have sung in Persian, but whose verses have not been preserved by the anthologists.

2 Ratbīl was the common title of the ruler of Kābul and Sīstān in early days. *Vide* Balā*dh*uri, pp. 397-402. 3 Qur'ān, xl. 16. 4 *Ibid.* ii. 250.

5 Ākār and Ṭa'ām were the names of the gates of Sīstān.

From the fragments left by early Persian poets, we can infer that they composed poetry on some special occasions, describing only what the events required; that most of them being already masters of Arabic verse found it easy, under the stimulus of peculiar circumstances, to direct their attention to Persian, and that Persian poetry began as essentially panegyrical.

Long before the rise of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, however, Persian music had travelled into Arabia, and given impetus to Arabic music. Thus Ibn Mirjah of Mecca, who was the first to adapt Persian music to Arabic, learnt the art of singing from the Persian artisans who were employed by 'Abdu'llāh b. Zubayr to repair the Ka'bah[1]; and Sā'ib Khā*th*ir of Medina first learnt to play on the lute from the Persian singing-girls, whom 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz had brought to Medina, and subsequently from a Persian named Nashṭ.[2] It is obvious that these Persian singers must have originally sung in their native tongue.[3] We also read that the Caliph Hārūnu'r-Rashīd called one famous lute-player Sunayd from Fārs in order to decide whether Ibrāhīm or Zalzal was a better player.[4] Later on, the poet Abū Tammām (190-231 A.H.) was fascinated by the singing of a female musician at a banquet in Abrashahr[5] without, however, comprehending the meaning of what she sang. He expresses his regret in the following lines[6]:

ولم افهم معانيها ولكن ورت كبدى فلم اجهل شجاها

فبتّ كأننى اعمى مُعنّىً يحبّ الغانيات و ما يراها

1 Aghānī, iii. 85. Nuwayrī: Nihāyatu'l-arab, iv. 233.

2 Aghānī, vii. 188. Nuwayrī, *Ibid*, iv. 237.

3 Von Kremer: Culturgeschichte, i. 27.

4 Jāḥiẓ: Kitābu't Tāj, pp. 40 41.

5 An early Muslim name for Nishāpūr (Le Strange: The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 383)

6 Diwān, Beyrouth edition, p. 476.

I did not understand her meaning, but she kindled my heart and so I could not ignore her plaintive notes;

I remained like a blind man who is smitten with the love of fair damsels, but cannot see them.

Ibn u'r-Rūmī (221-280 A.H.), too was not insensible to the rich melody of Persian music. He says[1]:—

فامزج غناء المحصنات لكاسها بغناء عجم في الجنان فصاح

Mix the voice of chaste women singing for their drink with the music of eloquent Persians in a garden.

This music, as time went on, grew more in volume until it burst forth in real poetry in the person of Rūdakī. The two silent centuries at last found their voice in him. With the skill of a harper, a prototype of the ancient bards, he combined the consummate art of a versatile poet, to whom we can trace all the verse forms of Persian poetry, that have been in vogue ever since his days. There have been poets before him and after him and would have left us a rich legacy of their poetical output, but Time has laid its cruel hands on their works. The accidental burning of the Sāmānid Library (about 998 A.D.), and the destruction of the Buwayhid Library by the iconoclast Mahmūd (420 A.H.), in which these poetical treasures may have been stored, and afterwards the vandalism of the savage Tartars, sealed their doom. Else as late as the time of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (b. 394 A.H., d. 481?) or even much later than that, the Dīwāns of early Persian poets seem to have been not only preserved but sedulously studied. In his Safar-nāmah, he tells us that while at Tabrīz (Ṣafar 20, A.H. 438) he made the acquaintance of the Persian poet Qaṭrān, who read with him the Dīwāns of

1 Dīwān, ed Kāmil Guāūī, Cairo, 1921.

THE PAHLAVAS AND PĀRASĪKAS IN ANCIENT SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

By Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M.

In the following an attempt has been made to bring together a few of the references to the ancient Persians that occur in Sanskrit literature.

The word 'Pahlava' in Sanskrit seems to have been adopted from the same word in Persian, which was the Persian transformation of the older *Parthava*. Parthia roughly corresponded with modern Khorasan. The word 'Pārasika' is the Sanskrit way of representing what the Greeks called *Persis* (that is Fars). Whatever be the origin of the names, both of them have been used in Sanskrit literature from ancient times and they are often coupled with the words Śaka, Yavana, Kamboja and Bālhika.

Though the word Mleccha occurs in the Vedic literature (*e.g.* in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, S.B.E., Vol. 26, p. 32), the above two words or their constant companions (Śaka, Yavana, Kamboja) have not been traced in it. The earliest certain reference to the non-Indian peoples on the north-west of India is probably the one in the Nirukta (II. 2) to the Kambojas "the verb *śavati* meaning 'motion', is used in the speech of the Kambojas alone, while its derivative '*śavaḥ*' is employed in the speech of the Āryas". It has to be noticed that Yāska here draws a distinction between the Āryas and the Kambojas. Pāṇini (IV. I. 175) teaches that the word 'Kamboja' denotes a king of the Kamboja people, while Kātyāyana adds that this is the case not only with the king of the Kambojas, but also of the Colas, Keralas, Śakas and Yavanas. Pāṇini (IV. I. 49) teaches the formation of

'Yavanānī' from *Yavana*, while Kātyāyana adds that the word 'Yavanānī' is applied to the Yavana script. Pāṇini (IV. 3. 117) further regards the 'parśvādigaṇa' as containing words denoting tribes subsisting by the profession of arms and so 'parśavaḥ' means 'the Parśu tribe subsisting by the profession of arms'. 'Parśavaḥ' bears a close resemblance to Fars or Persis (of the Greeks) and it is not unlikely that it is the older representative of the word 'Pārasika'. Two of the other words in the *parśvādigaṇa* are 'asura' and 'bālhīka'. The word 'Śāka-pārthiva' in Pāṇini (II. I. 60) has been variously explained from the times of Patañjali (140 B.C) and Mr. Jayasval plausibly argues that it denotes 'Scythic Parthian king' (Indian Antiquary for 1919, p. 12). Aśoka in his 2nd Edict names 'Antiyoko', the Yonarāja, in the 5th Edict he brings together the countries of Yona, Kamboja and Gandhāra, and in the 13th Edict he mentions 'Antiyoko' Yonarāja and four kings beyond him and the countries of Yona and Kambhoja. But the edicts of Aśoka do not expressly mention Pārasika or Pahlava. The inscription of Rudradāman about the lake Sudarśana (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, pp. 42-45) associates a Yavanarāja Tusāspha (or-spa) with the great Aśoka. The name has a Persian ring, but he is styled Yavanarāja. The minister Suviśākha who carried out the work of restoring the dam of the lake under Rudradāman Mahākṣatrapa was a Pahlava and son of Kulaipa and governor of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra. In the Nasik Inscription of the 19th year of Siri Pulimāyi Vāsiṭhiputa, Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamiputa is said to have been the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, pp. 60-61). From these references it is clear that the Pahlavas were well-known in India about the beginning of the Christian era and had come to occupy such responsible posts as the governorship of Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar).

It is remarkable that the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (II.30, p. 133 of Shama Sastri's ed.) mentions the best breeds of horses as those of Kambhoja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa and Vānāyu and the middling ones of Bālhīka, Pāpeya, Sauvīra and Taitala and that it omits all reference to Pārasīka horses. The Amarakośa on the other hand (which belongs to the 5th or 6th century A.D.) chooses for special mention Vānāyu, Pārasīka, Kāmboja and Vālhīka horses.

The Manusmṛti (X. 43-44) is prepared (in spite of its orthodox spirit) to go so far as to say that the Pauṇḍrakas, the Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaśas were originally Kṣatriyas but gradually came to be reduced to the status of Śūdras on account of their giving up the proper rites and ceremonies for the twice-born and on account of their non-association with Brāhmaṇas.

The Mahābhārata contains many references to the Pahlavas and Pārasīkas. Ādiparva (175.36-38) says that the cow of Vasiṣṭha, when angered by Vśivāmitra produced hordes of Pahlavas, Draviḍas, Śakas, Yavanas, Śabaras and Mlecchas of various sorts for the utter annihilation of the army of Viśvāmitra. The Sabhāparva (32.16-17) while describing the conquest of western countries by Nakula says that he subdued the Mlecchas 'who were on the bosom of the ocean', the Pahlavas, the Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas, Śakas and brought from them jewels (as tribute). In the Udyogaparva, (4.15), Drupada tells Yudhiṣṭhira that he must seek the alliance of the kings of the Śakas, Pahlavas and Daradas. Bhīṣmaparva (9.65-70) enumerates numerous tribes of the north-west, among which are Yavanas, Cīnas, Kāmbojas, Hūṇas together with Pārasīkas, Pahlavas. In the Śāntiparva, Māndhātā asks Indra how he was to make the Yavanas,

Kiratas, Gandhāras, Cinas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Śakas, Tusaras, Pahlavas, Kambojas abide by their proper *Dharma* under him

The Ramayana also (I 54 18 22) like the Ādiparva describes how the cow of Vasistha produced Pahlavas, Śakas and Yavanas, who were men of great prowess, had sharp swords and were clad in garbs of golden colour

The Visnupurana (IV 3 18 21) says that when Sagara was about to strike down the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas and Pahlavas, they beseeched Sagara's preceptor Vasistha to intercede on their behalf, when Sagara deprived them of their proper actions (dharma) and the society of Brahmanas and made the Yavanas shave their whole head, the Śakas to shave the upper part of their head, the Paradas to allow their hair to grow long, the Pahlavas to grow a beard

The Harivamśa (14 15 19) gives the same story in almost the same words as the Visnupurana (which is however in prose)

Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa (IV 60 65) while describing the world conquest of Raghu says that after reducing Aparanta (Konkan and the west coast of India) Raghu started by the land route for the conquest of the Parasikas, that he had a fierce fight with the cavalry of the westerners, that the bearded heads of the fair Parasika warriors that fell on the ground appeared like bees' wax covered with (dark) bees It is important to note that Kalidāsa speaks of Parasika women as Yavanis and that after the conquest of the Parasikas, Raghu is said to have gone towards the north and met the Hunas and Kambojas

The Brhatsamhita of Varahamihira (6th century A D) contains several references to the Pahlavas and Parasikas According to 16 38 39, mountain forts, Pahlavas, white

Hūnas, Colas, Avaganas (Afgans), Maru and Cinas are under the special influence of Ketu In Chap 14, verse 17, the Brhatsanhita says that Pahlava, Kamboja, Sindhu and Sauvira are among the countries to the south west Chap 18 (verse 6) says that when the Moon goes round to the south of Saturn, Śakas, Balhikas, Sindhu, Pahlavas together with Yavanas rejoice

In the Kadambari of Bana (first half of 7th century A D) it is said that the horse Indrayudha was presented to Tarapida by the king of the Parasikas (p 78, edited by Peterson)

Though the Manusmiti was prepared to hold as shown above that the Pahlavas and other tribes were originally Ksatriyas and were reduced to the level of Sudras, other *Smrti* writers went much further For example Vrddha Yajnavalkya as quoted by Aparārka (12th century) in his commentary on Yajnavalkya (III 29 30) laid down that on touching Candalas, Mlecchas, Bhillas, Parasikas and others and those that were guilty of the mortal sins, one should bathe together with the clothes worn

The Yaśastilaka of Somadeva (written in 960 A D) contains strange information about the Parasikas (Nirnaya sagara ed , part II, pp 95 96) "Whatever actions, good or evil, kings indulge in, either through lust or irascibility or ignorance, the people also indulge in the same For instance it is said that, through the fault of the king, in the country of Vangi even Brahmanas drink wine, among the Parasikas, there is union with one's own mother and among the Ceylonese there is Visvamitra's creation (*i e*, intermixture of castes)". The Tattvasangraha (Gaikwad's Oriental Series No XXXI, p 666) contains in *Kārikas* (2416 2447) a similar reference to the Parasikas "there is no wonder that those whose vision is dulled by contemplation over the Vedas due to their false regard for them do not discover the causes of their falsity, for, clever

people such as the Pārasīkas do not notice any blame in marrying one's own mother, since they are addicted to that usage".

The Abhilasitārthacintāmaṇi ascribed to Cālukya Someśvara III (composed in 1129-30 A.D.) contains several references to the pearls found in the Pārasīka country. In one place (p. 84 Mysore ed. Vol. I) it is said that the pearls found in Ceylon, Āravāṭaka (Arabia?), Parasika and Barbara are auspicious. It is again said ' the pearls found in Ceylon are glossy, of charming colour, those found in Āravāṭa are yellow in colour and very clean, those found in Parasika are white, clear and auspicious and those of Barbara are rough and of slight brilliance'.

THE RENAISSANCE OF PERSIAN POETRY

By D. J Irani, B A , LL B , Solicitor

The spirit of the Persian nation is ever alive Its chequered history is the very proof of it No nation in the world has experienced such catastrophies and cataclysms as the Persian nation Yet its glorious soul has never died There is some divine element in the spirit of that nation, which time after time makes it revive itself after centuries of oblivion, which outsiders might have considered as its final extinction As with the law of ebb and tide, in the days of its dominance, the Persian nation shows its glory and eminence, then when the luxury of inherited greatness degenerates it, it *succumbs to catastrophes, but its spirit* is never extinguished. Centuries may pass thus, but again the glorious spirit of Iran comes out of the crucible of woe, purified and radiant, sometimes assimilating the good elements of the crucible through which it has passed, but the spirit ever remains the same Its glory knows no death

After the conquest of Alexander, Persia was superficially hellenised, but centuries after, the Greeks became more Persians than the Persians, Greeks, and there arises Parthia, bringing forth the soul of Persia from oblivion, when all of a sudden Ardeshir the Sassanian, 600 years after the conquest of Alexander, raises the spirit of Persia again to the pitch of its ancient eminence.

Then fell the blow of the Arab conquest On *pain of death only could the Persian* use his own tongue. Yet with the Saffaris, the spirit of Persia again came into being, and the voices of the Persian bards were heard in their own language till Firdausi boldly sang of its ancient greatness in his immortal poem.

A few centuries later, came the worst blow of the Mongol invaders, Halagu, Changiz and Taimur, and every city which fell to the conquerors, had its towers of severed heads, when even women and children were massacred to satisfy the thirst of blood of these savage huns. Hardly any other nation in the world had suffered a cataclysm like this, and yet the Persian spirit survived. The Persians civilised the Mongols, who settled amongst them, and eventually the spirit of Persia again rose with Abbas the Great.

Recently Persia was crushed under the tyranny of the Turkoman dynasty of Kajjars for a hundred and fifty years, when the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War woke up Persia again from its lethargy, and the period of rejuvenation has now culminated in the reign of Reza Shah Pehlavi.

A little over 20 years ago, the resuscitation of the national spirit revived its poetry as well, the first intimation of which was given to the occidentals by the late Prof. Edward Browne, than whom a more true and loyal friend of Iran in Europe could hardly be found. As stated by an English scholar, whilst reviewing the Pouran-dokht-Nameh of the modern Persian scholar and poet Aga Poure-Davoud, Browne's beautiful little book the "Poetry of Modern Persia" whetted the appetite of its readers for more poems of the type, to interpret to the West the aspirations and the ideals of Young Iran, as the Iran of to-day is called.

I am engaged at present on a work which I may venture to hope may be considered a supplement to Browne's "Modern Persian Poetry". In the meanwhile, it would not be out of place to give in the commemorative volume of a scholar of pure Persian origin, who has devoted his entire life to Iranian studies, specimens of the latest Persian poetry reflecting, as I have said, the spirit and the aspirations of the Persia of to-day.

[Aref wrote this poem after his visit to the rock inscriptions of Darius. It was printed in the newspaper Golgoon of Hamadan.]

گلگون

سرخ آنکس که رخ از بادهٔ گلگون نکند فصل گل روی همان به سوی هامون نکند
پای در درهٔ کیخسرو و دارا ننهد سیر این منظره با خاطر محزون نکند
همه از دامن الوند پر از دامن گل نیست کس را ز خود این دامنه ممنون نکند
دست نقاش طبیعت پی رنك آمیزی بیکی چشم زدن کیست که مفتون نکند
تا که شد ریخته خون آن همه از دختر رز لاله در طرف چمن ترك شبیخون نکند
کار یك گلبن نوخواسته صد سرو کهن تا برارنده کی قامت موزون نکند
باز عمامه بسر بسته برون شد خشخاش پس دگر بهر چه خون این همه افیون نکند
شیخ شد سر زده در میکدهٔ پیر مغان وای این ننك گر ار میکده بیرون نکند
عبرهٔ بلبل از این روست که دیگر قد راست خار در مجلس گل پشت ترسون نکند
گو حقوق خود و بد بختی مارا زین بیش مجلس این مرتبه مستدعیم افزون نکند
کار مشروطه در ایران چه بدینسان گردید کس چسان شکوه زبد گردی گردون نکند
کشت آزادی سیراب ز خون باید لیك این تمنا کسی از ملت بیخون نکند

عارف از دیدن الوند و دماوند چرا
یاد ار سطوت سیروس و فریدون نکند

عارف ــ همدان

۱۹۲۸

TRANSLATION.

He who does not redden his face with rose-coloured wine,
Should not roam in fields and forests during the season of Spring.

He should not tread the valleys of Kaikhosrav and Dara;
He ought not to see these sights with a sorrow-laden heart.

The skirt of the mountain Alvand is all full of roses,
There is not a person whom this mountain-skirt does not lay under its obligation.

The hand of the painter, Nature, so works at the mixing of colours, That there is no one whose heart is not carried away in the twinkling of an eye.

Until all the blood of the daughter of the vine is shed,
The tulip will not leave off making surprise attacks in the garden.

The work of a single young rose-bush cannot be performed,
By a hundred old cypress trees with their stately and symmetrical statures.

Once again they come out popped up with the priestly-looking headgear; Then why should opium not complete its general slaughter?

The Sheikh has sprung up in the tavern of the Old Magian; Alas for this disgrace if he is not turned out therefrom!

The wail of the nightingale is for this reason that the thorn May not raise its figure behind the rostrum in the Assembly of roses.

I pray that this time the Parliament may not add to The existing remuneration of its members and the present misfortunes of the people.

When the affairs of the constitutional assembly have come to such a pass in Persia, How can not anybody help complaining about the crooked revolutions of the sky?

The field of freedom is required to be watered by blood for cultivation; How can one hope for this from an anaemic nation?

Aref after visiting the Alvand and the Demavand,—
Why should he not remember the glory of Cyrus and Faridun?

HAMADAN, 1928. *AREF.*

[The poet and scholar Aga Poure Daroud read the following poem at a New Year's gathering at Berlin on 21st March 1929]

گیتی خرّم شد و بهار است نسیان ز شکوفه کامگار است
بیداست که دی ماه رخت بست هنگام شمار و کشت و کار است
دهقان ز سرا بروں خرامد از ابرو ز خور امیدوار است
چون در دلش بهره ای فرداست امروز نکارش استوار است
هان ای نیران پاك ایران کوشید که عمر در گذار است
از خرمن علم خوشه گیرید تا شاهد وقت در کنار است
آرید ز دانش ارمغانی بك مام وطن در انتظار است
زیبنده سپاس هم امروز در سجده به برد کردگار است
نوشین محصلین ایران از ساحت قدس خواستار است

پورداود

TRANSLATION

The world is in joy, it is the season of spring The garden is happy with blossoming flowers

It is evident that the winter month Dai has folded up its carpet, Now is the time to till the earth and work on the fields

The peasant has come out of his cottage, He builds his hope on the clouds and the sun

As in his heart he is thinking of the harvest of the morrow To day he resolutely works and sows the seeds

Up O you fine sons of Iran! Exert yourselves for life is fleeting

Glean the corn from the harvest of knowledge While the fair damsel of Time is in your embrace

Bring this learning of yours as a traveller's present Behold, your mother country is waiting expectant for it

Spitama Zoroaster, too, to-day, Is praying before the Almighty Creator.

He prays in the presence of the Divine Father, To bless with good fortune all the students of Iran.

BERLIN, 1922. *POURE-DAVOUD.*

[Dr. Afshar, the Editor of the fine Teheran journal Ayandeh, gave me this poem personally when he had been in Bombay in May 1929 for the sake of his health.]

مهتابشب در جبل البرز

شبی از نور مه چون روز روشن — فروزنده مهی گسترده خرمن
تو گفتی آسمان طاق بلند است — چراغ مه بران طاق است آون
و یا مانند "اقیانوس آرام" — مه تابان بسان "پرتو افکن"
همه ستارگان بر کرد آن ماه — درخشنده ولی چون لوک سوزن
بزند و لاغر و بژمان و بیرنگ — چراغی را مثل کش لیست روغن
توانت چون هزاران شمع کم نور — که عمدا بر فروزی روز روشن
ندارم وصف آن شب کرد زین بیش — فصاحت را بود حدی معین
چنان فرخنده شب را گر ببینی — همانا میشوی دیوانه چون من
بباید دیدن آن شب را که گویند — "شنیدن کی بود مانند دیدن"

*

مرا بیرون زدی در پای البرز — کنار چشمه ساری بود مسکن
گزیدم بر سنیغ کوهساری — چو کبکی بر سر سنگی نشیمن
ندانم کوه را امشب چه حالست — که اشک از دیدگان ریزد بدامن
خروشان است و خندان است وگریان — گهی شادی نماید گاه شیون
برقص آمد درانجا کلک نی جان — مرا زاینده شد طبع سخنون
درآن مهتاب بربد ابرتن — شدم بر صفحهٔ ناهید اعرن
نگاهی کردم و بالا بپائین — وطن را دیدم اندر چه چو بیژن

شدم نومید ز در نومیدی خویش مرا آمد بدل یاد تهمتن
گذشته درس امیدی بمن داد بدیدم در کران آینده روشن
شدم گوئی بخواب اندر که دیدم کشیده سر بسر خطهای آهن
ز دریای خزر تا بحر عمان ز مرز هند تا سرحدّ ارمن
ز یکسو بسته دیدم سدّ کارون ز دیگر سوی بس کاویده معدن
چو از اندیشه لختی باز گشتم نگاهی دیگر افکندم بمیهن
بطهران اندرون کردم نگاهی بدیدم کاخی بر جای گلشن

دکتر افشار

TRANSLATION.

A MOONLIT NIGHT IN THE MOUNTAIN RANGE OF ALBORZ.

The night was lit up like a day by the light of the moon,
The resplendent luminary had spread its harvest of radiance.

Thou mightst say the sky was a sublime porch, From which the lamp of the moon was hanging like a pendant;

Or that it was like an ocean at rest, In which the moon was flashing its searchlight.

The planets round about the moon, Were shining, but only like the point of a needle—

Weak and infirm, lustreless and bedimmed, They looked like lamps fading for want of oil.

The fixed stars looked like thousands of trivial candles,
Lit up deliberately on a brilliant day.

No more can I describe the beauty of that night, For even eloquence has its allotted limit.

If thou happen to view such a beautiful night, Thou wilt surely go mad like myself.

The splendour of such a night ought to be seen, for they say: How can what is heard, be like what is seen?

... ...

On the outskirts of Rai, at the foot of the Alborz, By the side of a running rivulet, I had my abode.

I had selected the summit of a hillock Like a partridge perching on the top of a rock.

I do not know what is the matter with the mountain to-night, For I see tears (rivulets) running down its eyes, along its skirt.

It seems to me at times laughing, at times weeping ; It is in joy at times and in lamentation at others.

My lifeless pen danced into life there, And my well-nigh barren Nature was seized with the pains of child-birth.

In that moonlit night, in the memory of Iran, I began scribbling things on paper.

From the top, I cast a glance below, And I saw my country fallen in a pit like Bizhan.

I was in despair, but in my despair, Came to my heart, the thought of Tahamtan Rustam.

The past gave me a lesson of hope, And I saw a brilliant future over the horizon.

Thou mightest say I went into a dream for I saw Railroads laid out all over the country,

From the Caspian to the gulf of Amman—From the frontiers of India to the boundaries of Armenia.

On the one hand I saw a big barrage built over the river Karun; On the other I saw all mines opened up and utilised.

When for a moment I withdrew myself from these thoughts, I cast a glance once again on my native soil.

I looked at Teheran and I saw That instead of a rose-garden, it was yet a dustbin.

TEHERAN. *DR. AFSHAR.*

[The following poem by Hakim Ma'ani of Shiraz was published in the Door Namaye Iran in Bombay in May 1929]

جان من بادا فدای زردهشت — بنده ام در حالک پای زردهشت
آنکه عالم را منور کرده است — هست حرز ور صفای زردهشت
پیش ازموسی بد ندای زردهشت — قبل موسی بد ندای زردهشت
چون وجود پاك او شد منجلی — علم دارند از لقای زردشت
تا جهان باقیست در وی پایدار — هست و خواهد بد لوای زردهشت
بود قبل از حضرش دنیا مریض — شد مداوا از دوای زردهشت
شد معانی محرما زردهشت پاك — میکنم مدح و ثنای زردهشت

TRANSLATION

May my life be dedicated to Zoroaster! I am a slave sitting in the dust at the foot of Zoroaster

That which has given light to the whole world Is the pure light and teachings of Zoroaster

Through him, mankind has progressed to civilisation Before Moses, there was the clarion call of Zoroaster

Since his pure existence came into conspicuity, Knowledge has been pouring itself from the presence of Zoroaster

Until the world endures, there will remain in it, For ever and ever, the fame of Zoroaster

The world was ailing before his advent, It cured itself by the remedy of Zoroaster

O Ma'ani, Zoroaster the pure is our pride, Hence I am singing the praise of Zoroaster

SHIRAZ, 1929 — *HAKIM MA'ANI*

[The following is a selection from a long poem appearing in the newspaper Akhgar of Isfahan in 1929]

بهاریه

دی رفت و بهار آمد با موکب فیروز — رد کسه بر او رنگ جمل خسرو اورور

مرغان چمن غلغله افکنده شب و روز بلبل بنوا خوانی با نالهٔ جانسوز
شد قهقههٔ کبک عیان از سر کهسار

گل ار بم شبنم شده پر لؤلؤ لالا وز باد پراگنده شکوفه چو ثریا
بس ریخته و بیخته بیجاده بصحرا نرگس بنگر چشمك و تسخر زده برما
کاندرمه اردی زچه بی برگی و بی بار

ای کشور جم مهد زرا تشتی و هوشنگ سر چشمهٔ فرزانگی و دانش و فرهنگ
تا دان ما تا خاقان گشته ترا ننك ایدون که شده خسرو تو روز براورنك
گیریم ره علم و هنر خویتر از پار

ای اهل وطن همتی از شرکت و تاسیس تا کار شما را بکنند جامعه تقدیس
تا چند سخن گفتن ار لندن و پاریس باید عملی کرد همه دانش و تدریس
گفتار گذارید و شتابید بکردار

اینجامعه ار فقر و فلاکت رود ازدست اینملت مفلوك ز جهل آمده سرمست
باید سدّی از علم بیاجوج فتن بست با همت مردانه از این دام بلا جست
آن شوکت دیرینه بجوئید دگربار

اسدالله ایردکشسب (مدیر عنقا)

TRANSLATION.

SPRING TIME

The Dai (Winter month) has gone, and Spring has come with its auspicious cavalcade,

The Monarch of Nowruz is enthroned in the constellation of Aries.

The birds in the garden are singing night and day,

The nightingales are trilling their soul-stirring song,

And the loud laugh of the partridge can be heard from the mountain sides.

The rose bedewed at night, looks as if covered with brilliant pearls,

The blossoms scattered by the wind look like the cluster of Pleiades

Inasmuch as these amber blossoms lie scattered and diffused on the grounds of the plains

Behold the narcissus winking at us in raillery, saying

Why during the month of Ardibehesht are we so without leaves and fruitage?

O realm of Jamshid, O cradle of Zoroaster and Hooshang,

O fountain source of all prudence, learning and wisdom

The ignorance of us, thy unworthy sons, is thy disgrace

Now that the Monarch of Nowruz has ascended the throne,

We shall follow better than in the preceding year the path of knowledge and science

O fellow countrymen! cheer up, and in co-operation, work from the foundation,

So that this work of yours may be blessed and praised by people

How long will you talk of London and Paris?

Bring all knowledge and learning into actual practice,

Leave off talk and hasten to work

Through poverty and adversity, the nation is driven to frenzy,

This unfortunate nation is dead drunk with ignorance,

Through knowledge and learning a barrier should be built against the demon Gog of mischief

With the courage of men, we should come out of this snare of woe,

Then let us seek for the glory of the past once again

ISFAHAN, 1929 *ASADULLAH IZAD GUSHASP*

[The following is a selection from another long poem appearing in the newspaper Akhgar of Isfahan in 1929.]

خواب غفلت

ای هموطنان ز وضع عالم وقت است که خویش با خبر کرد
این پنبه غفلت و جهالت بایست ز گوش خود بدر کرد
باید که ز کاهلی و سستی ما نیز چو دیگران حذر کرد
بنیاد و اساس جهل از علم ویرانه و سرنگون ز سر کرد
آن توده که طالب ترقی است تحصیل و داش و هنر کرد
بین صیت ترقی بشر را گوش فلکی چگونه کر کرد
خورشید کمال و علم طالع روشن ز شعاع بحر و بر کرد
نگذاشت، بما حجاب غفلت تا تابش نور او اثر کرد
این جهل و خرافتست کز شام روز همه را سیاه تر کرد
با ملت رفته خواب غفلت گو باش قرین رنج و محنت

س. جلال تقوی

TRANSLATION.

THE SLEEP OF NEGLECT.

O fellow countrymen, of the affairs of the world It is high time that you apprise yourselves.

This plug of neglect and ignorance It is high time that you remove from your ears.

From the attributes of laziness and lassitude We should keep aloof like others.

With knowledge, the root and foundation of ignorance We should lay waste and overturn.

That section of people which yearns for advancement, Should attain it by knowledge and learning.

Behold, how the report of the progress of people Has deafened (by its reverberations) the ears of the sky!

When the sun of accomplishment and learning rises, It illumines by its rays all the lands and the seas.

The veil of negligence has prevented us From having the enlightening effect of its effulgence.

It is this ignorance and nonsense which have made All our days darker than nights to us

To the nation overpowered with the sleep of negligence, say : " Be always linked with misery and woe."

ISFAHAN, 1929. *SAYYED JALAL TAQVA.*

[*These two poems are from a collection of seventy poems known as the " Haftad Mauj " written by the poet at Manchester and printed in 1929 by the Iran Schehr Press at Berlin.*]

بر رخ کوه بیستون شده نقش آیتی از نقوش ایرانی
گر بخوانی تو را شود معلوم حشمت داریوش ایرانی
ز اندکی فکر آفرین گوئی بر دلیری و هوش ایرانی
کردی از بسط مملکت آگاه و ز نظم جیوش ایرانی
بهره ور بینی از عدالت وی تا طیور و وحوش ایرانی
همه را جای امن می نگری زیر بال سروش ایرانی
ای دریغا کجا شد آنهمه حس چه شد آن جنب و جوش ایرانی
پردهٔ فخر پاره شد یارب نرسان پرده پوش ایرانی
محو بادا صفحهٔ گیتی نام کشور فروش ایرانی

روح یزدان پرست بادا شاد
که ز خود یادگار نیک نهاد

کشور داریوش کالبدی است حسم نبی روح را روان باید
معزهای جوان اراده جوان حس ملیتی جوان باید
سر بکف در مقابل دشمن همچو کانل دوان دوان باید
توده حاضر برای کوچیدن پیش آهنگ کاروان باید

The realm of Darius is now like a corpse, A lifeless body requires a soul to be breathed into it

Young brains and youthful ideals, And fresh and youthful national sentiments are required

To confront our enemy, with our heads in our palms, We should lie and hasten like our colonel *

With a group ready to march, The vanguard leader of the caravan is required

Of thorns and rubbish, we have seen a lot, In their place the flowers jessamine and *argavan* are required

In place of weakness, helplessness and cowardice, Power and strength and might are required

Like the Emperor Reza Shah Pahlavi, To day Pahlavi heroes are required

A fierce lion, like the valiant Ardeshir, To fight Ardavan is required

Ardavan is ignorance, and Ardeshir is knowledge, A right royal triumph for knowledge is required

In order that our realm may become the place of pilgrimage amongst other nations, The first requirement is knowledge, and then its practical application

MANCHESTER, 1929 QOLZOM

[*The following poem is by the poet Nawbakht, a member of the present Persian Parliament, and was printed in the Doori-Nema e Iran in May 1929 The poem is written after a visit to the ruins of Takht e Jamshid and Nakh e Rustam*]

این کشور قادر سوا یکباره چه شد که ما وا شد

این سامگه تمام دنیا هر چه بدوں سایبان شد

* Refers to Col Mahomed Qulikhan a great national leader & martyr whose death is sung so feelingly by the poet Aref

وین کاخ که بود تخت دارا اسکندرش از چه حکمران شد
و ز آتش او بسوخت یکبار
آن تخت که ساخت فکر دارا در سوخت بشهوت سکندر
تاراج شد آنچه بود دارا بر باد شد آنچه داشت زیور
اینگونه که سوختی سرا پا کس می نکند بعقل باور
مانده اثری از آن نمودار
دیروز بکاه ناز و نعمت امروز به بند آه و زاری
دیروز قرین عیش و عشرت امروز دچار غم گساری
دیروز فرا به اوج عزت امروز فرو بقعر خواری
فریاد که نیستش مددکار
ای پرس پلیس و مسند جم جمشید کجا شد و جمت کو؟
ای مسکن داریوش اعظم دارا ملک معظمت کو؟
وی کاخ رفیع نقش رستم آخر بر گو که رستمت کو؟
رفتند و بجاست نقش دیوار
این چشمه که گشته سیل مانند چشمی است که گشته برتو گریان
سنبل چون زنان مرده فرزند در داغ تو کرده مو پریشان
لاله بفراق چون تو دلبند روئیده بدشت و کوهساران
خونفام بسان چشم خونبار
نوبخت

TRANSLATION.

This once mighty and powerful empire,—
What happened all at once to it that it has become so powerless?
This land which once was the asylum of the entire world,—
Why is it to-day without a canopy?
And this palace which held the throne of Dara,

How did it happen that Alexander conquered it,
And consigned it to flames once for all ?

The royal city which the fancy of Darius reared,
Was consumed by the lust of Alexander.
Whatever it possessed, was pillaged ;
All its adornments and decorations were given up to the winds.
So wholesale was the destruction by fire
That none in his senses could believe it.
Its ruins only now remain to remind us of it.

But yesterday it was the place of affluence and plenty,
To-day it is in the fetters of woe and lamentation.
But yesterday it was in luxury and merriment,
To-day it is confronted by grief and sorrow.
But yesterday it was at the pinnacle of glory and fame,
To-day it is lying low in the ditch of misery.
Alas, alas, there is no one to help it!

O Persepolis and O throne of Jamshid,
Where is Jamshid, and where is thy Jam ?
O abode of Darius the Great,
Where is Darius, thy mighty monarch ?
And O lofty palace—Naksh-e-Rustam,
Speak out after all, where is thy Rustam ?
They are all gone, only the engravings on the walls remain.

This stream, which appears like a flood,
Is, so to say, an eye which weeps for thee.
The hyacinths, like mothers bereft of their children,
Have dishevelled their tendrils in the grief of thee.
The tulip, in separation of a beloved like thee,
Grows in the fields by the mountain sides,
In bloody hue, like blood-pouring eyes.

TEHERAN, 1929. *NAU-BAKHT.*

پس از ساسانیان

By A. Spenta.

چو فرخنده اختر بما شوم گشت — ز ساسانیان خسروی در گذشت
دگر تیره شد روز ایرانیان — بشد واژگون تخت ساسانیان
ز ایران زمین رخ بتابید بخت — نشد بهرهٔ تازیان تاج و تخت
چو از دست ایرانیان کار رفت — همه دین و داش به یکبار رفت
بشد فرهٔ خسروی از میان — به ایرانیان کینه ور آسمان
از آنگاه این خانه ویرانه شد — گرفتار در چنگ بیگانه شد
سیه چرده مردان پشمینه پوش — نشستند در بنگه دار یوش
نه مهر و نه مردی و نه راستی — همه در پی کژی و کاستی
نه دین ماند و دانش نه مردانگی — نه مهر و نه مردی و فرزانگی
همه خیره سر مردمی بد نهاد — نهاده بکشتار نام «جهاد»
کشودند بازو پی رنج و کین — نهاده بتاراج و کین نام دین!
به پیچید برهم دگر سور و بزم — بهر سوی هنگامه کین و رزم
ز بیداد و کین آتش افروختند — همه بارگاه کیان سوختند
نه مهر و نبد دادشان در نهاد — نه نیکی و مردیشان بد بیاد
نه آتشکده ماند و نی بارگاه — نه دیهیم شاهی بماند و نه گاه
چو اورنگ شاهی و گاه مهی — ز شاهان بافرهی شد تهی
بر آمد ز گردون بهرام و تیر — غریو ار روان یلان دلیر
ز نیکان بتابید چهر آسمان — فروزان بشد اختر تازیان
شد آن روزگاران بافر هی — به تخت شهی تکیه بر زد رهی
بخوشید سر چشمه مهر و داد — حوانمردی و راستی شد زیاد

به آتشکه آتش چو خاموش شد دگر مهر میهن فراموش شد
چو خون یلان آتش مهر سرد بیفسرد همچون روانها ز درد
نکاخی که برزین شرر بار بود پرستشگه پاک دادار بود
سر همسری بد بمهر و مهش سر سرو ران بود بر درگهش
در آن پاک بنگاه مینو نشان ز خون مغان جویها شد روان
کنون کاخش با خاک یکسان شده پرستشگه پاک ویران شده
زمینی که بد دخمه اردشیر همه مردمش راستکار و دلیر
زستخوان نیکان همی خاك داشت چو زرتشت پیغمبر پاک داشت
درفشش نگیتی بدی سر فراز بیونان و مصر و رمش ترکتاز
چه گردید آن خاك تا آفرین شود این چنین خانه جور و کین
زستخوان نیکان بود خاک آن زمینش بود دخمه باستان
چه سان زیر سم ستوران شد همان دخمه پاك ویران بشد
گشودند گنجور ایران زمین ربودند دیهیم و تاج و نگین
در فش کیانی بتاراج رفت هم اورنگ شاهی وهم تاج رفت
چو پیچیده شد بارگاه کیان همي سوخت کاخ انوشیروان
دگر فره نام بهدین برفت مه آئین زرتشت پیشین برفت
نه دانش بماند و نه دین بهی نه کیش و نه آئین بافر هی
نه نام و نشان ماند از کیش نه نه گفتار و کردار و اندیش نه
درونها شد از ریمني تیره گون همه کینه ور زشتکار و زبون
چو ار بیم تازی نمودند پشت نه آئین و کیش به زرتهشت
چو افسانه شد زانسپس راستی نماندي بجز کژی و کاستی
بومي که تاج آوریدی ز روم کنون بوم نالد به آوای شوم
چو مینو جهان را بد ایران زمین بد آرامگاه شهان مهین
سراسر بد آباد ار دین و داد دریغا که آبادیش شد بباد

دریغا ز بهروزی پیش ما — دریغا ز شاهان به کیش ما
نه بنگاه دارا و نوشیروان — چه افزود از تازیان جز زیان
تو از پارس داری نژاد مهین — چکارت به تاتار و تازی زمین؟
بیاد همان نامداران کنون — بباید بمردی شدن رهنمون
مگر ما از آن نامداران نه ایم — خود از تخمه آن نیکان نه ایم؟
مگر نیست این کشور ایران ما — نبودند آنان نیاکان ما؟
چه شد آتش مهر خاموش شد — دگر کیش پیشین فراموش شد
نه از کیش زرتشت باشد سخن — نمانده نشان از دمان کهن

☆ ☆

تو ایرانی اکنون شنو داستان — چه بنمود گردون به ایرانیان
ز آئین پیشینان یاد کن — دل از بند رنج و غم آزاد کن
بیاد آر آئین پیشین خویش — رها شو از این روزگار پریش
تو زان راد مردان چو داری نژاد — دمی از نیاکان خود آر یاد
منش با گوشن و کنش باز خوآن — "چنان رو که رفتند آن رهروان"
و نو کیش پیشین خود زنده کن — که زرتشت وخشور گفت این سخن
که چندی بود جنگ اهریمنان — ابا پاک یزدان و ایرانیان
سر انجام اهریمن تیره کار — ز یزدان پرستان نماید فرار
سپس اختر بخت تابان شود — ز او فرسامان نیایان شود
همیدون بپا باز گردد سپهر — کشاید بمهر آسمان باز چهر

بمبئی ۲۲ اردیبهشت ۱۳۰۸

THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET

THE ORIGIN AND HIGH ANTIQUITY OF THE AVESTAN WRITING

By Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara, m a

I Introductory

Stupendous Value of the Invention of Writing

1 Civilization owes no greater debt than what is due to the invention of writing It is hard to conceive what the state of human mind would now be, if this medium of preserving and transmitting knowledge were not known to mankind Indeed, early man must have used the word of the mouth and the tablet of memory to serve the purpose in a primitive way, but it would be easy to see how progress would be but slow and accumulation of knowledge quite meagre if that means alone were possible

2 Human genius therefore has striven for millenniums of time to obtain the best mode of writing Many of the attempts were clumsy and these clumsy modes have been continued through ages, without marked improvement even by such bright peoples as the Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Mexicans, who continued to use their hieroglyphic or cuneiform modes up to the last days of their independence, and as the Chinese who have continued their picturesque but clumsy mode, with something like *forty thousand signs, down to the present times*

The Marvellous Achievement of Iranian Genius

3 Hence real achievement lay for just that people who could invent an ideal alphabet The ideal alphabet would be one in which there would be distinct signs for each possible sound of the language, and only one sign for

each sound. That alphabet should be easy to write and good in form. It should have no possibility of any one sign being confounded for any other. There is one alphabet that distinctly realizes that ideal; and it originated before all known records of history, in the cradle of the gifted Iranian people; and these have handed it down to us as preserved in the Avestan writings! The following lines will show how far this claim is substantiated. It should not surprise one that a flash of the brightest genius, for it could be nothing less, inspired one of a people distinguished for practical wisdom in all times of history, really to invent an alphabet in a most original and finished way. And the vast majority of the present day world uses alphabets ultimately derived from that alphabet which the various nations have not been able to improve upon, but have more or less spoiled in the process of adaptation.

High Antiquity of Iranian Civilization

4. It is surprising how scholars, who have been familiar with the high antiquity of nations and civilizations, have been so loth to recognize that the Iranian people and civilization belong to a similar or perhaps even higher antiquity. The meagreness of their ancient monuments, or at any rate want of sufficient research in them, is no doubt responsible for this to some extent; but it should not be forgotten that they were a people who have handed down the most ancient records of their history, comprising events preceding the last glacial period, and even perpetuating the incidents of their ancient arctic home. They have continued such records through epochs of the highest glory and achievement down to modern times, and their influence on the civilization of the world has long been found and recognized as great. Such a people indeed could fairly be credited with an antiquity comparable with that of other nations no more virile and intelligent than they.

5. Undeniable facts however are pressing scholars to yield ground, pace by pace, to the claim of the Iranian civilization to high antiquity. The following lines will reveal one more and undeniable proof of that claim, because they bring to light a clear evidence of their high civilization before all other beginnings of history.

II. Research after the Origin of the Alphabet

The Ancient Belief

6. Gifted men have since ages been investigating the subject of the origin of the alphabet; but the thing appears so illusive that they have steadily been shifting ground and changing the location of the home of the origin of the alphabet from place to place, and passing the credit of its achievement from one race to another. There appears so large a proportion of speculation in these efforts that critical minds hesitate to accept as conclusive any of the theories that have been propounded on the matter from time to time.

7. The memory of its origin was so completely lost that the Israelite Rabbins traced it to Adam; the Hindus called their writing "Devanagari", or "come from the city of the gods"; in its early issue of 1853 the writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica observed that it might seem to be not a human but a divine invention; Dr. Isaac Taylor, while arriving at certain conclusions, is not decided as to "to what nation the glory of the invention of the alphabet may be due"[1]; E. Clodd wrote in his interesting work on the subject that "settlement may never perhaps be reached in deciding the origin of the alphabet"[2]; and one of the most recent writers on the subject declares that "hitherto the origin of our alphabet has remained unknown"[3].

8. Still men, including the above, have industriously

1 I Taylor: The Alphabet: 1899, Vol I, p. 155.

2 E. Clodd: The Alphabet: 1913, p 3

3 L. A. Waddell: The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet. 1927, p. 1

kept up the investigation to the present moment, and it is therefore worth while taking a review of this research from the earliest times.

9. Up to the middle of the last century, people held the view that the world got its alphabet from the Phoenicians who were believed to be its inventors.[1] Still as early as the first two centuries after Christ such eminent men as Plutarch and Tacitus[2] maintained the belief that the Phoenicians had got their alphabet from Egypt. About the same time Pliny had asserted in his Natural History that it was from the Babylonian writing rather than the Egyptian that the alphabet of the western world was derived.

Modern Inquiries

10. In recent times Gesenius[3] upheld the view that the Phoenician letters arose out of independent Semitic picture writing; and Prof. Deecke[4] endeavoured to trace these letters to the late form of the Assyrian cuneiform writing, but that view is refuted by Prof. Sayce and Dr. Isaac Taylor.[5]

11. Professors Wuttke[6] and Hommel[7] and Dr. J. P. Peters[8] suggested that the ancient Accadian was the parent of all alphabets; and more recently still Dr. L. A. Waddell[9] is propounding the view that the Hitto-Phoenicians, whom he takes to be a branch of Aryan Sumerians, were the inventors of the alphabet. And it may be noted in this connection that both he[10] and Sir John Marshall[11]

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1 Herodotus, V, 58, Diodorus Seculus, V, 79; Renan. Histoire des Langues Semitiques, p 113, etc - 2 Tacitus: Annals, xi, 14.

3 Gesenius Scripturae Linguaeque Phœniciæ, Leipsic, 1837.

4 Deecke: Der Ursprung der Kyprischen Sylbenschrift.

5 The Academy, June August, 1877.

6 Wuttke: Geschichte der Schrift und des Schriftthums.

7 Hommel: Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens. 8 Peters: Nippur

9 L. A. Waddell: The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet: 1927, p. 66

10 L A. Waddell: Indo Sumerian Seals Deciphered: 1925

1 Times of India Illustrated Weekly, January 22, 1928.

draw attention to the pictographs on seals discovered in Sind at Mohenjo Daro and in Montgomery district in the Punjab at Harappa, resembling in some cases the old Sumerian signs, and dating back as early as the third millennium before Christ. C. J Gadd and Sidney Smith[1] announced the same view some four years ago.

12. Earlier however than these, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Viscount De Rouge had maintained that the Phoenician alphabet was obtained from the Egyptian about the second millennium before Christ[2] Gardiner[3] and Kurt Sethe[4] also have written on the subject and discussed the Sinai Inscription in its relation to Egyptian.

A Great Discovery

13 Now, as explained by M François Lenormant[5] and others, a triple system of writing had continued in Egypt (1) the hieroglyphic or picture-writing, (2) the syllabic representation of sounds, and (3) the final alphabetic forms These last had two earlier systems, the Hieratic of the earlier empire and the Hieratic of the new empire, and a later degraded form of these, called the Demotic De Rouge brought to light the fact that the Phoenician letters had their prototypes in the most ancient of the Egyptian alphabetic forms called the early Hieratic , and that these corresponded to hieroglyphic picture forms which indicated particular names for each letter of the Hieratic alphabet, as "Eagle" for A, "Crane" for B, "Throne" for C, "Hand" for D, "Meander" for E, and so on to the end[6]

14. This was indeed a great discovery as will be seen

1 Illustrated London News October 4, 1924

2 See Jacques de Rouges Memoire sur l origine Egyptienne de l alphabet Phœnicien, Paris 1874

3 A H Gardiner The Egyptian Origin of the Alphabet' in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 1916

4 Kurt Sethe Die neuentdeckte Sinaischrift, Berlin, 1926

5 F Lenormant Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phœnicien dans l'Ancien Monde 6 See Plate I, Columns 1 6

hereafter ; and such eminent men as Max Muller, Sayce, Maspero, Mahaffy, Isaac Taylor[1] and others have accepted his conclusions. But scholars like Professors Lagarde[2] and Flinders Petrie[3] were unconvinced of these results. The former has been ably and efficiently answered by Prof. Taylor who very strongly sufforts De Rougé's views,[4] and upholds his own that it was during the rule of the Hyskos that the prototypes of Semitic alphabets were derived from the ancient Egyptian Hieratic in the third millennium before Christ.[5]

Prof. Petrie however had discovered certain marks on pottery unearthed as belonging to predynastic or early dynastic period of Egyptian history. These, he maintained, originally had been simply owner marks and had latterly led to the formation of the alphabet. And holding the opinion that these alphabetic letters existed in predynastic Egypt long before the hieroglyphic system developed there, Petrie concluded that De Rougé's conclusions were futile, and, after some research of his own, would name northern Syria as the place where the alphabet first arose.[6] Elsewhere however he suggests the possibility of Elamite origin of Egyptian civilization, and says: "It is likely that both the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian civilizations are branches from the still older culture of Elam, as shown in the great depths of the great mound of Susa, reaching back before 6000, or perhaps to 8000 or 10000 B.C."[6]

16. Waddell agrees with Petrie in his estimate of De Rougé, but traces most of those ancient pottery-marks to the early Sumerian alphabet, and arrives by some research to the conclusion noted above.[7]

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1 I. Taylor: The Alphabet, Vol. I, pp. 88 ff.

2 Lagarde: Symmicta: Gottingen, 1877.

3 F. Petrie: The Formation of the Alphabet: 1912.

4 I. Taylor: The Alphabet, Vol. I, pp. 116 ff. 5 Ibid, pp 143 ff.

6 F. Petrie: The Formation of the Alphabet, pp. 1 ff

7 F. Petrie: Hutchison's History of the Nations. Vol. I, p. 15 7 L. A. Waddell: The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet, pp. 7 ff

The Maya Writing

17. About the same time Prof. Ingo W. D. Hackh writes an interesting article on the "History of the Alphabet" in the Scientific Monthly of August, 1927. He considers the Egyptian Hieroglyphics as the parents of all modern alphabets; but owing to the apparent resemblance between the Egyptian and Maya hieroglyphics, he thinks that their origin might perhaps be traced to the lost continent of Atlantis!

18. This startling view however is not a new one. M. De Rosny had very early drawn attention to the apparently curious and cumbrous characters of Yucatan and Central America, which were difficult to trace owing to their being interwoven with figurative paintings.[1] But as early as 1886, Augustus Le Plongeon made a serious effort to strip these characters of their picturesque garb, and showed them at p. xii of his "Sacred Mysteries among the Mayas and the Quiches." Besides this, he traced in that book the mysteries of the ancient institutes of Freemasonry and Mithraism as also existing in some form among the peoples in Central America. Of this we shall speak later. But about the resemblance between the writings of the ancient Egyptians and the Mayax he concludes, like Prof. Hackh, that it is due to an ancient communication between these two peoples through the lost continent of Atlantis. As the Egyptians maintained that this communication ceased with the sinking of the Atlantis 9000 years before Solon, Le Plongeon is of the view that the Maya writing which resembles ancient Egyptian cannot be later than that very hoary past.

19. In his article on "The Maya Marvels of Central America", Mr. L. E. Elliott however concludes from some chronological evidence of the people, that the golden age of

1 De Rosny: Les Ecritures Figuratives des Different Peuples Ancien et Modern, p. 20.

Maya civilization covers the period between about 200 B.C. and 340 A.D. only.[1] But evidently the matter is not yet sufficiently investigated to arrive at any very definite conclusions. One thing however is clear that if the claims for resemblance between Maya and Egyptian writings set forth by investigators like Le Plongeon and Hackh have real foundation, then these last dates must certainly be too recent. At best perhaps they might refer to a revival of Maya civilization in later times. We must therefore await further research in the field before drawing any very certain opinion in the matter.

20. We may conclude here our short review of this valued research among the learned of the world. Many more have worked in this fascinating field, and given their share in its illumination. But it is hoped this review will give some idea of where the matter now stands.

III. Invention of Writing

What led to the Present Discovery

21. This writer had a controversy with some scholars here in the matter of the Avestan semivowels, as he would maintain that an ancient peculiar sign, which is now confounded to be the vowel ŧ, had distinctly existed and been placed across letters with semivowel tendency, such as ﻭ – ﻮ – ﻯ – ﻰ – ﻮ – ﻭ – ﺍ – ﻩ – ﺩ – ﻣ – ﻧ and ﷺ, to give them semivowel values. He wanted therefore to discover that sign by the comparative study of the alphabets. He succeeded in this object with the smallest possible trouble as will be explained hereafter. But he had sufficiently been interested in alphabetic forms to investigate their origin. This led him ultimately to an examination of the ancient Egyptian writing and its Hieratic forms as discovered by De Rougé. He was astonished to discover that the hieroglyphic values of the

1 Wonders of the Past, Vol. I, pp. 109 and 111.

Hieratic letters suggested the Avestan names of the objects which were represented both by the Hieratic and Avestan letters, but more faithfully by the latter, and that the pure initial sound of each of these individual Avestan names was represented by the particular Avestan letter each stood for ! It will presently be seen that, in this light, the Avestan alphabet appears to be built up by a most ingenious process and in the most natural way suiting primitive associations.

The Origin of the Avestan Alphabet

22. The process of formation of the Avestan alphabet is quite very natural, simple and ingenious That bright Iranian who first thought of it seems to have got it almost by divine inspiration. It occurred to him to invent writing forms from names of objects with which primitive society was familiar. He classified human speech into twenty-six primitive sounds and saw that further sounds were derivatives only and could be expressed by distinguishing marks placed on these primitive sound tokens, or by their combinations, which all will be explained hereafter. He accordingly proceeded to invent them by pursuing the following simple but ingenious process.

23. The principle he employed was to give pure individual initial sound in the name of each object to the picture of that object, and to mark this down as permanent symbol to represent that pure sound. For this purpose he chose five parts of the human body, seven well known animals, nine simple houshold objects, and five simple and familiar things from nature. All this will be clearly seen by a glance at columns 1-4 in plate I. By this simple process he succeeded in forming the most complete alphabet ever known !

24. Of course sounds peculiar to non-Iranian languages are not to be found in the system, and sound values have been further distinguished in three instances, *viz.* of

𐬯 – 𐬎 and 𐬅 ; still the sounds peculiar to Avestan language have been all represented in it in a very clear and decisive way. It is probable however that long vowels were not distinguished from the short originally ; but a necessity arose to do so latterly, and that was answered by adding a particular mark for doing so. The aspirates 𐬊 – 𐬏 and 𐬑 were latterly derived from corresponding consonants probably because their sounds developed latterly ; whereas the aspirates 𐬉 – 𐬚 – 𐬛 – 𐬞 and 𐬟 existed at the time of the invention of the alphabet, and therefore have a representation in the original system. It is also probable that the distinction of the sounds 𐬑 and 𐬎 arose only latterly: and therefore they represent only one original sign. It will be clearly seen that 𐬌 is the only semi-vowel represented in the original system, and therefore probably the sound 𐬯 was originally represented by 𐬌 only. The other semi-vowels were derived owing to the necessity of poetical intonations, and are therefore distinguished similarly by adding one common mark to corresponding consonants.

Examination of the Thesis

25. Plates I and II show a graphic and comparative representation of the Avestan and the derived alphabets. A careful examination of these will go more to convince the reader than mere description in words. In plate I, the first column gives the present forms of the Avestan letters, and the second their ancient shapes. The objects whose shapes these letters represent are named in Avestan in the third column, and in the fourth are given their English equivalents as also suggested by the Hieroglyphics corresponding to the Egyptian Hieratic letters. Column fifth gives the transitional forms between the ancient forms of the Avestan letters and those early Hieratic forms which were preserved by the ancient Egyptians, and column sixth those Hieratic forms themselves. Column seventh gives the ancient transitional forms

between the Egyptian Hieratic and early and pre-dynastic modes of writing. And column eighth gives the early and pre dynastic letters of the Egyptians as discovered by Petrie and accepted by Waddell

26. Column ninth gives ancient Phoenician letters wonderfully following the pre dynastic Egyptian letters which themselves might really be corruptions of the Hieratic forms Columns tenth and eleventh give letters of the ancient Greek and Latin alphabets which apparently follow the ancient Phoenician forms

27. Column twelfth gives the Maya alphabet as discovered by Le Plongeon and Hackh. Column thirteenth gives the letters of the ancient Sumerian as given by Barton and accepted by Waddell, and column fourteenth their ancient transitional forms following Avestan

28. It will also be shown below, in a way so clear as to convince, that the alphabets of the Hindus also are directly derived from Avestan. This fact is demonstrated in plate II which shows how Asokan and Devanagari modes of writing are derived from the Avestan. Column first shows letters of Asokan writing as given by G. Buhler and accepted by Waddell, and column second their transitional forms following Avestan Column third gives the Avestan letters, and column fourth the slight alterations they assumed for giving the basal forms of the Devanagari letters Column fifth gives these basal forms of Devanagari, and column sixth the masks that were put on them for giving final shapes of Sanskrit writing; and these last are given in column seventh [1]

29. A careful examination of the transitional forms given in these plates must show the process by which the several alphabets were formed from the Avestan, and the process is so self evident that there can be no possibility of

1 It will be noticed that in drawing from previous plates this writer has made amendments where necessary

doubting the descent of these all from the original Avestan forms. And similarly, if indeed the Maya forms of writing are really anything like what they are shown to be, then it would be equally easy to trace them from the Avestan, or from some forms ultimately derived from the Avestan.

30. What further proves the case is the unmistakable fitting in in the system of the peculiar Avestan letters  and and their pictograms with their respective names. On the other hand, the Iranian language having no "l" sound, the Avestan writing has no letter for indicating it. And it is very significant that all those languages that possess indigenous "l" sound have no original letter in their writing systems to represent that sound, but simply a form derived from the form of the Avestan letter  as may be seen from the plates. Indeed as columns fifth and sixth in plate I would show, the Egyptian Hieratic also has only a derived, and no original, sign to represent the "l" sound, though that sound existed in indigenous Egyptian words.[1] A glance at columns three and four in plate II will also show that, just as in the Egyptian Hieratic, in both the Asokan and the Devanagari systems also the letter representing "l" sound is simply a doubled of the Avestan system. More than this, even the Devanagari compound letters क्ष and ज्ञ are formed by the combination of the Avestan letters  and and and respectively, and not out of any indigenous forms.

31. What likewise strikes one is the fact that of all the primitive alphabets it is the Avestan which follows very closely the true forms of the objects from which that parent of all alphabets was copied and established, and that the forms of all non-Iranian alphabets indicate long ages of transition and ultimate formation. When we

1 See L. A Waddell : The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet, p 37; and I. Taylor : The Alphabet, Vol. I, pp 108 ff.

remember the fact that on this consideration the ancient Sumerian and Egyptian writings must be placed quite down in the scale of descent from the Avestan, and that these must be at least seven or eight thousand years old, what must then indeed be the age of the Avestan!

32. It must be noted that the ancient Accadian cuneiform letters resemble the Sumerian alphabet quite closely.

33 In concluding this subject we may say that it is not claimed that primitive picture writing did not exist among other peoples what is claimed is simply the fact that pure alphabetic writing was first invented by Iranian genius and disseminated in the whole ancient world through its enterprise. Indeed, even similar forms may quite naturally be found in the picture writings of other nations, because it itself comprising pictures of familiar objects could not but resemble the pictures of those objects independently made by the other peoples of the world for their hieroglyphic writings Indeed what is peculiar is just the fact that there has existed, from the most primitive times, a system of writing which expresses all sounds peculiar to ancient Iranian language, and represents pictures of objects, the initial sounds of whose Avestan names supply the values of those *individual pictograms in that system*, and that from that system are derived the alphabets of almost the whole civilized world, both ancient and modern

IV. Contact of Ancient Iran and Egypt

Religious Ideas

34. So far then we have seen that the nations of the west ultimately got their alphabets from the Egyptians, and the Egyptians got theirs from the ancient Iranians The inquiry therefore naturally leads us to the conclusion that Egypt must originally have come under Iranian influence by some means The idea is not a new one

Certain Egyptian religious beliefs have long been noted to have a close resemblance to notions peculiarly Iranian. The names of their most ancient deities Horus and Rá are the Iranian Hvarr and Raé, signifying the Sun and the Ray of Divinity. Aten or Aton, an equally ancient divinity, is the Iranian Atarr which signifies divine power and energy quite as Aten is described to indicate. The ancient Egyptian attachment to these divinities was reflected in far later ages when about 1420 B.C. Amenhotep IV introduced the worship of Aten, the sun's disk. Amenhotep's religious name Khun-aten too was probably the Iranian Khvarnah-Atarr, as both Khun and Khvarrnah indicate glory. Again, the Iranian Mithra is the associate of Hvarr and Atarr, and indicates the idea of the brotherhood of man; and it is peculiar that the hymns of the religion of Amenhotep also inculcate this noble idea. It is not improbable that the ancient priesthood which had taught the worship of the Iranian Horus and Rá and Aten to the primitive Egyptian, had survived in that land through all these ages and again come to the front by royal favour. It was also probably owing to its influence that the father of Amenhotep IV had married a Mittani princess, and had probably strengthened its influence under the favour of that Aryan lady.

35. Mr. M. N. Kuka, in an interesting article,[1] has also drawn attention to several very ancient Egyptian customs and notions, some of which are ideas common with all Aryan peoples; but there are also some among them that are peculiarly Iranian.

36. As A. H. Sayce points out, it has been discovered that the most ancient mode of disposal of the dead among the Egyptians resembled the orthodox Iranian custom.

37. The Egyptian idea about the judgment after death and the weighing of one's acts by the divinities

1 Prehistoric Relations between Iran and Egypt. Spiegel Memorial Volume, Bombay 1908, pp 31 ff.

resemble Iranian ideas almost in details And the idea about the spiritual counterpart of soul, or Ka as they called it among the Egyptians, is remarkably similar to the Iranian idea of Fravashi , and just as the Avesta describes this as "Nā mrrrghō kehrpa' or "man in bird's body , so too the Egyptian Kā is represented as bird with human head

Other Facts

38 Lockyer and Renouf have long since acquainted us with the nature of the Egyptian calendar, and Mr Kuka draws attention to the close resemblance between that and the Iranian mode of calculating time Both have twelve months of thirty days each and five additional days at the close of the year The names of months and days are names of divinities exactly as in the Iranian calendar And, as among the Zoroastrians, the nineteenth day of the first month of the year is devoted to the celebration of the Festival of the Dead

39 The peculiarities of the sacrificial bulls of the Zoroastrians were exactly observed in the sacrificial bulls of the Egyptians Both should be all white without a single hair of any other colour And when the sacred bull of the Zoroastrians and the Apis of the Egyptians died they both would cause the stopping of sacred services

40 Mr Kuka also gives a list of Iranian words in the Egyptian language, and it is probable that many more could be discovered on a closer acquaintance with the language

41 So the question remains as to how could all such Iranian influence reach Egypt in such ancient times The Egyptians themselves have recorded the fact of a foreign people having come to their land in prehistoric times and started the worship of Horus They have similarly noted that the worship of Rā and Aten was similarly introduced from outside If these are Iranian divinities, the people

who introduced them would be Iranians. And ancient Iranian history recounts a fact which might be related to these far-reaching events.

42. The great and ancient Iranian conqueror Kavi Usan is noted to have overrun Egypt and northern Africa in one of his grand campaigns. Kavi Usan lived about 2500 years after the great and illustrious Yima Khshaeta. Yima lived close to the last glacial period about 12500 years ago. Hence Kavi Usan had flourished 10000 years ago, or somewhere about 8000 B.C. And the Iranian influence in Egypt might be closely related to that great fact of ancient Iranian history.

43. The eminent Egyptologist Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie observes in his article on "The Gods of Ancient Egypt" that the worship of Horus was introduced into Egypt about 8000 B.C. from the west, and of Rá and Aten about 7000 B.C. from the east.[1] The different directions he assigns to their introduction might be accounted for in other ways; but his dates closely tally with the date of that event in ancient Iranian history.

V. Ancient Iran and the Mayax

The Age and Origin of the Maya People

44. We have noted above Mr. Elliott's view fixing the golden age of the Mayax not earlier than 200 B.C. But people who have worked in that field naturally see that to whatever age their remains might belong, their beginnings must have arisen in far anterior ages.[2] And hence if researches in Central America finally established a resemblance between the ancient Egyptian and the Maya writings, the age of the origin of the Avestan writing would have to be shifted to a still more hoary age,—perhaps indeed

1 Wonders of the Past, Vol. I, pp. 170 and 177.

2 Thus Mr. J. Eric Thomson thinks that this would be at least before 1000 B.C.: see The Scientific Monthly November 1927, p. 396.

to the age of the brilliant Yima Khshaeta, who flourished before the last glacial period about 11000 years before Christ. The history of the discovery of wine-making during his reign would indicate the existence of writing in his age. And as the home of the Aryans in his days was somewhere near the arctic regions, it is not improbable that a branch of these early Iranians marching eastwards mixed with intervening Turanian races of north-east Asia, and this mixed race of Mongol-Aryans ultimately passed into America across the Behring Strait.

Other Facts.

This view might receive support from the tradition of the kindred Quiches themselves, whose sacred book "Popol-Vuh" records the fact that the people arrived to settle in Central America from northern regions,—and also from the fact that their calendar names bear a close resemblance to those used by the Chinese.[1] The ancient eastern mysteries claimed to have been discovered by Le Plongeon[2] as having also been observed by these people and their descendants might have been brought by them from their ancient home. And as these mysteries would specially turn round the numbers three, five and seven,[3] it would be easy for us to discover in the number three our triple canon of Good Thought, Good Word and Good Deed, and in the number five the five Gathas or Gahs, *i.e.*, the five Stages in spiritual advancement in the Life Everlasting, and in the number seven our seven Amesha Spentas or the Supreme and Immortal Virtues of the Divine Being.

45. It is however not improbable that subsequently the Mayax had some intercourse with the old world The

1 Cassell's Children's Book of Knowledge, Vol I, pp 307 ff.

2 Le Plongeon : Sacred Mysteries among the Mayas and the Quiches, pp 1 ff and 27 ff

3 *Ibid*, pp 136 ff.

weaving of beautiful cotton cloth with spun gold was not perhaps acquired independently[1]; still it remains to be proved that the Mayax owed this and other things to Egyptian civilization. Further research may also lead to prove some affinity with the Chinese,[2] and an earlier Aryan and Mongol association. Nevertheless however, as the most eastern point of Brazil is fairly close to the nearest point in West Africa, the Mayax might have had some communication with Egypt through that route without the necessity of any intervening Atlantis. And this might probably explain the resemblance between the Maya and Egyptian writings if the discoveries claimed to have been made by Le Plongeon and Hackh prove to be correct. But as the forms of the Maya letters they claim to have discovered resemble rather the early or pre-dynastic letters discovered by Petrie and Waddell than the earlier Hieratic forms of Egyptian writing, it is apparent that the Avestan writing would be far more remote than the introduction of writing among the Mayax. But this is a domain into which we may not venture further at present, as more of research is yet necessary in this field.

VI. Origin of the Devanagari Alphabet

The Avestan and the Indian Writings

46. We have seen above how all the principal Semitic and European alphabets are to be traced to the ancient Hieratic letters of the Egyptians, and through them ultimately to the ancient Avestan alphabet. But we have not still examined what relation the Devanagari and other ancient alphabets of the Indian Aryans bear to these varied forms of writing. Scholars have attempted to trace them also to the Phoenician through the south Semitic

1 Cassell's Children's Book of Knowledge, Vol I, p 307.

2 See above and also note the fact that just like the Chinese dragon, the great serpent was the symbol of the Maya country according to Le Plongeon; see p. 116 of his book.

forms.[1] But a mere glance at plate II would show how impossible any such theory ought to be.

47. The discoveries in Sindh at Mohenjo Daro and at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab indicate their close relation to ancient Elamite culture;[2] and that would show that as late as the third millennium before Christ the Aryan Hindus had not yet entered those parts of India. So if distinct Hindu culture is more ancient it must have been formed in Iran proper or in the border lands of India close to Iran. And hence it would be the less surprising that of all alphabets the Sanskrit alone approaches the Avestan in completeness. This is apparently because the Hindu Aryans had already been familiar with Avestan in the ancient Indo-Iranian home before they separated. They however chose to put such mask on its letters as might almost render them distinct in appearance. The removal of that mask however at once reveals the Iranian shapes of the letters in a manner as could not be mistaken for anything else.

48. The placing of cross lines at the head of all letters is a familiar peculiarity in Sanskrit alphabet; but they also added upright lines at the end in majority of cases. They also added in some cases lines slanting rightwards below the letters according as suited the shapes of particular letters, or vertical straight or slanting lines at the top to connect some letters with the headlines. The removal of all these lines that have been superficially added, reveals to us the Avestan letters with slight modifications or corruptions only.

49. It must however be noticed that the Sanskrit values of the letters are not purely alphabetic, but are syllabic, as in use the vowel *a* is understood after each Sanskrit consonant letter, and that when the necessity arises to use

1 I Taylor: The Alphabet, Vol I, p 81.

2 Prof. Flinders Petrie has already been quoted above on the antiquity of Elamite Culture.

pure consonant letter, that is managed in most of the cases by the removal of the upright stroke from the mask added to the Avestan letter to form the Sanskrit, whenever that upright stroke happens to be placed just on the right hand side of the letter and thus easily removable without disturbing the general assumed shape of the Sanskrit letter.

50. It will be noticed that letters representing the hard aspirates which are peculiar to the Sanskrit language are simply adaptations from the corresponding original Avestan soft aspirate letters. So also their peculiar sound *l* and the corresponding semi-vowel are equally adapted from the Avestan letter 𐬴 by doubling it, as shown in plate II. And we have already noticed above how it can easily be seen from diagrams at the close of plate II that the Indian compound letters क्ष and ज्ञ are simply combinations respectively of the Avestan letters 𐬐 and 𐬯 and 𐬎 and 𐬴 and not of their corresponding Indian forms. Whereas the Indian ह is almost a direct adaptation of the Avestan letter.

51. The very formation of the Sanskrit mask would show that the Sanskrit writing would proceed from left to right. And that is an additional feature adopted by Sanskrit writers to distinguish their adaptation from the Avestan.

Original Values of 𐬰-𐬎 *and* 𐬭

52. A remarkable fact is discovered from a comparison of 𐬰-𐬎 and 𐬭 with the values of their equivalents in other languages. The original equivalent of the letter represented in English *Z* is Avestan 𐬰 and not 𐬎 which is only a later adapted form of 𐬰. And again the original equivalents of the Indian ज - झ and श are 𐬰-𐬎 and 𐬭 respectively. These facts and the further one that the necessity to represent the sound indicated by English *J*

arose only latterly in European languages when it was introduced by giving a modified shape to the letter *I*, would indicate that the Indo-Iranian languages had originally no sound corresponding to that rep resented by the English letter *J*.

53. It must be noted that the Sanskrit alphabet has no letter corresponding to the Avestan letter 𐬛, but the Gujerati alphabet has it in the letter ઝ. This might show that the original Indian alphabet had it, but the Sanskrit language lost its sound and therefore also its use.

VII. Derived Letters in Avestan

The Long Vowels and the Vowel Consonants

54. As we have seen above, only twenty-six letters of the Avestan alphabet have original forms, and the rest are all derived from them. Plate III shows this clearly—still, some explanation is needed to make it clear.

55. Among the derived letters, the first to be noticed is the additional vowel 𐬋. When the primary vowel 𐬀 had to be altered by the "guna" change in it, the resulting sound was found to be between 𐬀 and 𐬁, hence a new vowel sign had to be invented out of the primary vowel 𐬁; and this was done by adding to it a stroke at the top thus 𐬁. And a change in position gave the new vowel letter 𐬋.

56. The way the long vowels are formed from the short is a very simple one. This is done by the addition of a little stroke, slanting to the right, as may be seen from section 1 of plate III.

57. The vowel-consonants 𐬌 and 𐬍 are formed by the doubling of the corresponding vowels 𐬀 and 𐬃 respectively. The rare 𐬎 is only a modification of 𐬌 as may be seen from section 2 of plate III. And it will also be seen from it that 𐬋 is only the altered form of the original 𐬎, which might therefore be preferred in use.

58. It will also be seen from the plate that the initial 𐬀 is not a form of 𐬌 but is derived from 𐬎 by a process shown in the plate. Besides, the original Avestan name of the letter 𐬎 suggests that though its modern initial is 𐬀, that originally was 𐬎 itself. Hence the initial 𐬀 would originally be always 𐬎, but was afterwards thus distinguished to give 𐬎 the modified value *uv*.

The Semi-vowels

59. The special mark to transform a letter with semi-vowel tendency into the semi-vowel proper is present in Avestan 𐬋 and 𐬍 and, in Sanskrit, in ऋ and, in a corrupted form, in ऌ. It can therefore be easily picked out to be 𐬼. This mark therefore is properly placed across the letters 𐬀 and 𐬌. But the actual shapes of 𐬋 and 𐬍 would indicate a possible replacement of these letters by each other through some continued error; because 𐬍 appears more like 𐬀, and 𐬋 more like 𐬌 with the semi-vowel mark placed across them.

60. The Sanskrit form ऋ has properly preserved the original Avestan semi-vowel corresponding to 𐬉, because it is formed by placing the semi-vowel mark 𐬼 across the letter 𐬨 which is rather the Avestan shape of the letter than the adapted Sanskrit form र. This would show that the Sanskrit semi-vowel also was directly taken from the Avestan original.

61. As was observed in the early part of the paper, the Avestan alphabet has a number of letters with semi-vowel tendency: *viz.*, 𐬫 - 𐬭 - 𐬯 - 𐬱 - 𐬵 - 𐬹 - 𐬺 - 𐬽 - 𐬾 - 𐬿 and 𐬲. Of these the most commonly used are 𐬀 and 𐬉. The distinguishing mark in the semi-vowel corresponding to 𐬀 is properly represented in 𐬋 or 𐬍; but the semi-vowel corresponding to 𐬉 is strangely corrupted into the absurd form ऽृ, while properly it should be as shown in section 3 of plate III. Alongside this will also be seen the other semi-vowel forms and the way they are corrupted now.

The Aspirate Letters

62. As above noted, the aspirate letters in Avestan are produced from the corresponding unaspirated letters, by the addition of a swerving horizontal stroke at the lower end, excepting in cases where the sounds happen to be original and therefore represented by special letters from the very beginning. All the aspirate letters, excepting 𐬵 - 𐬹 and 𐬽, have distinct original letters, and therefore those must be representing original sounds of the language. The letters 𐬵 - 𐬹 and 𐬽 are apparently formed by the addition of the stroke 𐬌 to the letters 𐬫 - 𐬮 and 𐬰 which have undergone slight modifications in the process.

63. The analysis reveals the fact that 𐬹 also is an aspirate letter though apparently much softer than 𐬴.

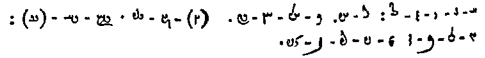
64. It may be noted that the form 𐬾 found in old Avesta manuscripts would, on this basis, appear to be the aspirate of 𐬿, though it is now supposed to represent the sound *hm* rather than *mh*. That supposition however appears to be erroneous as there is the possibility of the original *hm* having to be altered to *mh* on the analogy of the original 𐬀𐬭 having to be altered to 𐬭, in such instances as when the proper form 𐬨𐬀+𐬀𐬭𐬌 is altered to 𐬨𐬭𐬀𐬌 owing to the peculiar tendency of pronunciation in such cases.

The Compound Letters

65. Certain letters having a tendency to produce compound sound have united into their present forms. So the nasal guttural letters 𐬁 and 𐬂 are apparently each compounded from 𐬀 and 𐬫 as shown in section 5 of plate III. These two ultimate forms however have distinct use, and 𐬂 rather appears to favour the sound *ng*. We have also seen that 𐬌 and 𐬀 combine in the form 𐬃 or rather 𐬄 which perhaps wrongly interchanges values with 𐬃. So also 𐬅 is simply a combination of 𐬌 and 𐬁, and 𐬆 and 𐬇 of 𐬍 and 𐬁 and 𐬎 and 𐬁 respectively.

offers an explanation,[1] but probably it was not taken from the Egyptian which appears to have been different[2]

68 Not improbably however the Avestan order was quite different. And one might fairly surmise that owing to the close resemblance between the Avestan and Sanskrit alphabets, the Avestan order was not much different from the Sanskrit And the idea appears to receive confirmation from certain research work in the matter by late Ervad Sheheriarji Bharucha In his article on "The Accurate Pronunciation of the Avesta"[3] he refers to a curious little work called ورباد اوساک. This little book notes the order of Avestan characters given in old Khordeh Avesta manuscripts and in Persian Revayats There is considerable confusion in these owing to the ignorance of copyists and of early writers on the subject But reading the order in the light of Sheheriarji's suggestion that the scientific groupings have been represented in inverse orders through ignorance of early copyists, we arrive at the following intelligent and scientific seriation:—



69 The initial order of vowels is given at the end of the ورباد series, and is also preserved in the Sanskrit order The remaining order of consonants is according to the order in Table I of the ورباد corrected as suggested by Sheheriarji, excepting that the positions of ۲ and ۵ are properly adjusted The ورباد rightly gives ۵ and ۍ the place between the vowels and the consonants, as they apparently had a vowel tendency in early speech.

70. Hence in the original system of Avestan alphabet there are 5 primary vowels, 2 letters with vowel tendencies,

1 L A. Waddell The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet, pp 56 ff

2 Isaac Taylor The Alphabet, Vol I pp 86

3 Spiegel Memorial Volume, Bombay 1908 p 50 ff

Notes to Plate I.

1 Pah ; Per = Eagle The Avestan of Vend XIV, 5 may possibly be the correct form here

2 Per

3 Per has also the same meaning

4 The Persian indicates that when the Avestan alphabet was formed the word had this original form and not as we have now It is probable that the original value of had a shade of the z sound in it

5 = = not + = to flow straight, or to pursue a straight course

6 From Av = to hiss, which act appears to have got the reptile its name

7 Cf Per = a sieve

8 From Av = to pass along, or to go + + indicating the parallel track of wheels left by vehicles going across places, which would be the familiar parallels noticeable by the ancients

9 Per .

10 The Avestan language had no *l* sound, and it is to be noticed that the other peoples who wanted it improvised their letter for it by duplicating the Avestan letter

11 The Avestan = bird, might very well be the name of the letter here, but if its name was a term indicating the owl, then that would be represented in the Pr = owl

12 Av = to rise in a spring

13 From Av. = to see. Cf. Latin *oculus*, and the Gujarati ચોખ્ખુ.

14 Cf Guj or = shutter

15 Cf Per , Guj ખૂણો.

16 From Av = to speak Or = lips, would be a more appropriate name of the letter.

17 Cf Per = shoulder blade

18 Cf P = a looped line

19 From Av, = to draw

20 Cf Per = dove

21 This thus appears to be the ancient form of the word

22 Cf Per, = a wading bird

23 The values indicated in parenthesis are those given by Le Plongeon and Hackh to the letters

24 For Indian alphabets see plate II.

PLATE II

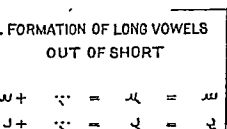
DERIVATION OF THE INDIAN ALPHABETS FROM THE AVESTAN

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ASOKAN AFTER GEORGE BÜHLER	FORMS BETWEEN AVESTAN AND ASOKAN	AVESTAN LETTERS	FORMS BETWEEN AVESTAN AND DEVANAGARI	BACK-FORMS FROM AVESTAN	MARKS FOR DEVANAGARI	SANSKRIT LETTERS

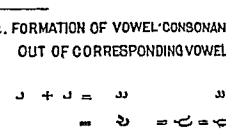
PLATE III:

ADDITIONAL LETTERS DERIVED OUT OF AVESTAN PRIMARY FORMS FOR REPRESENTING FURTHER SHADES OF AVESTAN SOUNDS

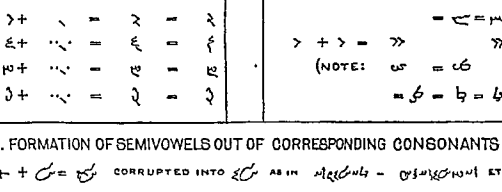
1. FORMATION OF LONG VOWELS OUT OF SHORT



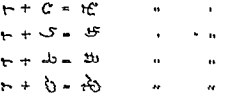
2. FORMATION OF VOWEL-CONSONANTS OUT OF CORRESPONDING VOWELS



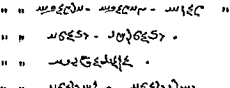
3. FORMATION OF SEMIVOWELS OUT OF CORRESPONDING CONSONANTS



4 FORMATION OF ASPIRATE OUT OF NONASPIRATE LETTERS



5. COMPOUND LETTERS IN AVESTAN



PARSIISM AND HINDUISM.

By S. S. Mehta, B.A.

It is trite to observe that the sisterhood of Veda and Zend-Avesta stands already established; and the present-day Parsi and Hindu manners exhibit an incontestable affinity on the occasions of birth, marriage and death, which are the chief performances held holy and dear as ceremonials among the two sister communities. Many striking similarities have been pointed out, and have grown hackneyed; consequently the present attempt will be mainly concerned with only some matter that has remained almost untouched by sages and savants of the modern critical age.

> The Persian—Zealous to reject
> Altar and image, and the inclusive walls·
> And roofs of temples built by human hands—
> To loftiest heights ascending, from their tops,
> With myrtle-wreathed tiara on his brow,
> Presented sacrifice to moon and stars,
> And to the winds and mother elements,
> And the whole circle of the heavens, for him
> A sensitive existence, and a God
> With lifted hands invoked, and songs of praise.
>
> Wordsworth: *The Excursion.*

The Persian scaled beyond the roofs of temples built by human hands to loftiest heights and presented sacrifices to moon and stars and winds and mother elements. Ahura Mazda was the God of the Iranian-Aryan. The special cultus of the "Wise"—Ahura Asura—must have been in existence, ages before the traditional date of Zarathushtra. From the beginning of time, the Persian was a monotheist.

The third stanza of the 30th Yasna and also the fourth give us a clue to suppose that the age of the Brahmanic literature in India corresponds to the age of Zoroaster ; they read as follows :—

3. "Now the two primal spirits who revealed themselves in vision (?) as Twins, are what is Better and what is Bad in thought, word and action. And between these two, the wise ones chose aright ; the foolish not so.

4. And when these twain spirits came together in the beginning, they established Life and Not-Life, and that at the last the Worst Existence shall be to the liars (Drəgvatām), but the Best Thought to him that follows the Right (Aŝaonē).

The two primal spirits correspond to the Purusha and Prakriti of the Sāmkhya Philosophy. They are Life and Not-Life. Prakriti is dull-dead, *i.e.*, Not-Life, and Purusha is Life. Good and Evil were co-eternal in the past, or they arose together in the beginning. The Iranian-Aryan presented sacrifice to the moon, the stars, the winds and the mother elements—the symbols or rather embodiments of Good—of Life. He brought out the Number 24 as also did the follower of the Sāmkhya Philosophy out of the Two primal Spirits, from which these became naturally evolved. The processes of thought, apparently divergent, converges into one fact of all facts ; and the words of Prof. Moulton, who depicts the conception of Zarathushtra about a better world, deserve to be cited here :—"With Right at the centre of his doctrine of the Divine, he could not be content with a world in which wrong seemed for ever on the throne. God is Lord and God is Wise, omnipotent and omniscient, and He can never be foiled at the last that the Right Order succumbs to the Lie ". A powerful conviction of the Justice of God came to be developed at a later stage out of the same forerunning matter of

receiving Life in the mind of the Iranian-Aryan, in the form of Justice proving triumphant in another world. In the mind of the Indian-Aryan, the same conviction gained ground in a similar practical form during the so-called Purānic age.

After the Indo-Iranian split, Semitic culture predominated in Iran ; and still earlier, Western Aryans developed cultural traits that differed greatly from the same of the Eastern Aryans. The Parsi lays stress upon the worship of one God Ahura *i.e.*, Asura—Varuṇa of the Vedas ; manifested in two forms the so-called Twin Spirits—Purusha and Prakriti ; or, Brahma and Māya ; whose Life-interplay brings out all manifested forms. These manifested forms of the objective world are guided by the great law of Action and Re-action, *i.e.*, the great law of Karma, and the same is based upon Religious Scriptures that propound the various aspects of Duty, or, in other words, service not to humanity alone but to the universe. These constitute the essence of Hinduism as well as Zoroastrianism.

Zoroastrianism has many points in common with Hinduism. Some critics brand both equally as having favoured the idea of pluralistic godhead. It is argued, for instance, by a writer in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VI, pp. 291-2, that the Ahuras are many as well as one ; says he " The Ahuras .. ..seem to have gradually gained in prestige, and apparently at a very early epoch, one of them had become the Ahura *par excellence* ". The writer Mr. Edward favours the idea of progressive monotheism which is naturally based on the notion of evolution from a state of savageness to one of civilization. In a sense, moreover, plurality may be regarded as inseparable from Divinity. Zoroastrianism gives the precise number of gods as four and twenty. Among the Indo-Aryans, the well-known Sankhya Philo-

sophy has promulgated the idea of Divinity as based upon 21 Tattvas They are Prakriti (Nature) from which are produced the following 23, *viz*, the intellect, the consciousness, the five subtle Elements, the five grosser elements the five senses of perception, the five organs of action and mind, thus the whole total reaches 21

This number, twenty four, is identified with constellations and stars that are regarded as symbols of Divinity Prof Cumont takes these gods to be the 21 stars outside the zodiac—twelve in the northern and twelve in the southern hemisphere Zimmern tries to take the 24 constellations that revolve round the polar stars as the 24 Spiritual Kings of the Book of Revelation

Moulton observes on this point in his Early Zoroastrianism (p 102) that "this may or may not convince us But what does he mean when he goes on to remark that these 21 signs are, of course, 21 divisions of the Zodiac? Diodorus expressly says these were outside the zodiac, and Zimmern's remark implies that they are not far from the poles"

The very word Ahura Mazda in the singular number denotes the One Omniscient God, the Supreme Status and in the plural form it signifies the sense of 24 most glorious Siddhas—as will be evident from Yasna XXVIII, 9, which says :—

"With these bounties, O Ahura, may we never provoke your wrath, O Mazdah and Right and Best Thought ..Ye are they that are mightiest to advance desires and Dominion of Blessings" (E Z, p 346)

In Yasna, we read —"Your blessings shall ye give us, all ye that are one in will with whom Right, Good Thought piety and Mazdah (are one), according to promise, giving your aid when worshipped with reverence'

Now in the Christian Bible, God is described by John as one seated on the throne from which proceed thunder and lightnings and which is surrounded by four and twenty seats, on which sit the 24 Elders, all robed in white and wearing crowns of gold. The same idea occurs also in the Jain philosophy—the idea of the One in the Twenty-four and twenty-four in the one. It is observed in the Bible:—

"When these beasts give glory and honour and thanks to Him who is seated on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat down on the throne and worship Him that liveth for ever and ever and cast their crowns before the throne saying: Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power, for Thou hast created all things and for thy pleasure they are and were created."

Again, it is said:—"Having made other four and twenty gods, He put them in an egg." This cosmic egg from the Munokhired is the same as in Manu—the idea being Aryan. It is the Purusha of the Samkhyas.

After duality, comes trinity; and accordingly, Mazda, Ahura and Asha constitute the Zoroastrian Trinity corresponding to Brahma, Vishnu and Maheśa of the Hindus. The duality in both Hinduism and Parsiism discriminated the Good from the Evil. In Yasna 30' we read: In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity and these two spirits united, created..... one the reality, the other, the non-reality. This is like the united action of Brahma and Māyā of the Vedānta or Prakriti and Purush of the Sankhyā philosophy.

These two that signify Light and De-Light represent also Will and Intellect. Intellect is the tutor of Will. Satan is commended to prostrate himself before man, so that it is a proof of the divinity of the soul to whom the human incarnation furnishes the coveted opportunity of

becoming like gods. Intellect, on its part, is not bad in itself, but only its employment solely to determine the good and the evil of things for our worldly ends. It is no doubt the tutor of will ; but the pupil is not submissive enough. Consequently, when the soul is disgusted with the pleasures of the world, intellect draws its attention to its real nature and lays bare its shortcomings. In Yasna 45[2] it has been noted :—"I will speak of the Spirits twain at the first beginning of the world, of whom the holier thus spake to the enemy : Neither thoughts, nor teachings, nor wills, nor beliefs, nor words, nor deeds, nor selves, nor souls of us twains agree." This is tantamount to saying that both are holy and that Will is holier than the other.

Hindus, again, regard these eternal twins as Spirit and Matter; the latter misleads men away from God ; so that Satan is said to be constantly engaged in seducing mankind. The worship of matter is fraught with harm and spiritual degeneration, *i.e.*, leads men to hell. It is clear, therefore, to see that it is the pursuit of matter and not-matter that is responsible for worshipping Evil in the world. So rationally speaking, Evil lies in our inclinations and pursuits, not in intellect or matter.

In the Rigveda, VII, 86, the following hymns distinctly declare :—"O Varuna ! What have I done that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, thy worshipper.

O Royal Varuna ! deliver Vasistha like a calf from its tether, like a thief who has feasted on a stolen animal. O Varuna, all this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, even thoughtlessness has begotten sin. Even an elder brother leads his younger astray, sin is begotten in our dreams. Freed from sin, I will faithfully serve, as a slave, Varuna who fulfils our wishes and supports us. We are ignorant; may the Arya God bestow on us knowledge. May the wise deity

accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth".

The Sankhya Philosophy, again, regards each soul having a separate existence after its emancipation from the bondage of Nature. Purusha is distinctly different from Prakriti and Prakriti or primordial matter is material. The elements, the senses, the organs of action, the mind, the consciousness, and the intellect are all the results of matter, or mind-stuff in the phraseology of European pholosophers. It is clearly stated that the Manas, the consciousness or Ahankára and even the intellect or Buddhi are material in their origin ; and that the pursuit after material things to enjoy pleasure or happiness, is the origin of Evil.

Hinduism and Parsiism have existed from the earliest birth of time, and are both Aryans. A wonderful tie of sisterhood unfolds many aspects of similarity that are preserved almost intact, and oftener than not make manifest the same Aryanhood with all its earliest pristine purity and glory preserved.

THE SOGDIAN WORD FOR 'TO READ'.

By Hans Reichelt.

In Old Persian and in Middle Persian of Inscriptions 'to read' is expressed by *pati-prsa*, *pat-purs* something like 'to investigate what is written' *e g* Bh Col IV 6 (§ 56) *tuvam kā hya aparam imām dipim patiprsāhy* 'thou who wilt read this inscription in future,' N 1 Rjb Krt 13, 14 (Herzfeld, Paikuli, p 90, 91) *u he en nāmake vēn[e]t u patpursāt* 'and he who sees and will read this inscription'.

In Sogdian the corresponding term is Christ *ptfs*, Buddh. *ptβs- e g* Christ *cwt qd'c ptfs'ty ny 'yst' pr pwsty qt.* 'What ? Have ye never read in the book ' Soghd. Texte, ed by F W K Muller, Abh Preuss Ak. d. W. 1913, p 21, l 15, Buddh *γwnγ ZKny ZKw pwstk ptβsty* 'he who reads the book' Sutra des causes et des effets, ed by Gauthiot and Pelliot, Paris 1926, l 112, *γwnγ ZKny ZKw pwstk pry wnty 'Pny ptβs't 't šw γwβt* 'he who makes the book popular, so that one reads and praises it' 1 521, 522, *γwnγ ZKny pry pwstk δrm np'ys'kw βwt KγH 'Pny myšnw mrtγm't δβ'rt 'ZKny šw ptβs'n* (for *ptβs'nt*) 'he who willingly writes a text-book, in order to give it to the people who want to read it' 1.522-534, *rty myšnw w'tδ'r "z'wnk 'ns'yδ 'Pny šw ptβs'nt* 'recommend (?) it (the Sutra) to the people, so that they read it' 1.546, 547.

It is therefore obvious to identify the Pers and Sogd words. The only question is how to explain the loss of *r* in the Sogd. words, since *r* can be dropped in both groups, *fr-* as well *-rs*. The examples given by Benveniste MSL 23, p 128, for the loss of *r* in group *-rs-* are not of the same type. Christ. *ps-* and Buddh *'ps*, which Benveniste has overlooked (s. VJ. 290 *rty syms δβtyw 'ps' ZKk wδwk mntr'yk* 'and his wife M asked a second

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time'), are certainly formed through the loss of *r* in *-rs-*, because they begin with *p* and not with *f* (β) and because the compound "*prs-* 'to take leave', Skr. *āpṛach-*, is also written "*p'ɾs-* (s. VJ. 54c, 36d, 58, 709 etc.), whereby the pronunciation *purs-* (Yaghn. *purs-*, Av. *pərəsa-*) is placed out of the question. On the other hand Christ. *fsx* and Buddh. *'βs'nγ* 'parasang, mile' begin with *f* (β), which shows the loss of *r* in *fr-*, especially so, because Christ. *fsx* exactly corresponds with the Arm. lw. *hrasax*. *Cf.* also Buddh. *β'yr-*, *βyr-* (*f'yr-*, *fyr-*) 'to put in motion, to lift' from **fră-āraya-* Dhyāna-T. 254, 298, 299, 385 etc., *β't'yr* 'he went further' from **frā tāraya-* Fr. IIa. 23 besides *wyt'yrty* 'he goes away' VJ. 272 (*cf.* MP. *vitartan*), *βs'nt'k*, *βs'ntk* 'child' from **frazantaka-* S. 300, 609 (s. ZII. IV. p. 245) and Christ. *ft'r* 'more', *ftm-* 'first', Buddh. *'βtmw* from **fratara-*, **fratama-* (*cf.* Av. *fratara-*; Av. *fratəma-*, OP. *fratama-*). In the words for 'more' and 'first' Benveniste op. cit. sees the loss of *r in-rt-*, which means that we must derive them from **partara-*, **partama-*. But against this theory speaks the initial f, β as well as the fact that in Iranian we have only **parθama-* (MParth. *pahlom*), which must be written **prδm* in Buddh. Sogdian, *cf.* Bartholomae IF. 23, p. 56.

Thus it seems, as if Christ. *pt-fs-* and Buddh. *pt-βs-* are to be derived from *fras-*, because they, as opposed to the simplex *ps-*, *'ps-*, begin with f, β. But this is not probable, as the stem Iran. *fras-*, Skr. *pra's-* does not occur in the present. When the juxtaposition is correct, then there remains only one possibility: to assume a primary form **pati-pursa-* which was changed first into **pati-pusa-* through the loss of *r* in *-rs-*, as in the simplex Christ. *ps-*, Buddh. *'ps-*, and then into **pati-fsa-* through the synkope of *u*. The above referred to *βs'nt'k* 'child' shows without any doubt that in Sogdian there existed a group *fs-* in which *s* was not changed into *š* as in Avesta.

ASHA IN THE GĀTHĀS OF THE AVESTA AND ṚTA IN THE RGVEDA

By Rev. Dr. R Zimmermann, S J, Ph D

"We find in the hymns of the Rgveda the remarkable idea of Rta, which corresponds exactly to Asha or Asha Vahishta in the Avesta The identity of Rta and Asha in word and thought is beyond any doubt"[1] This statement can be accepted without qualification as far as the grammatical form is concerned, as for the identity in thought some reservation seems to be necessary The same distinction will have to be made when it is said: "This much is certain — Asha is the Vedic Rta"[2] It is true that unaccented Sanskrit ṛ is generally represented by ərə in the Avesta, bhṛtam = bərətem, on the analogy of which one should expect ə(a)rətam, instead of asha, as sh corresponds to the accented ṛ mashyəng = Skt mártyan Thus we have an arətuish = an ṛtabhih in Sanskrit[3] That Asha occurs as Arta in royal names of the Achaemenides as well as in commentaries on the Avesta is a matter of common knowledge[4] There can then be no doubt that phonetically Avestan Asha is the equivalent of Sanskrit Rta But can the same be said as

1 M Winternitz, The Ethics of Zoroastrianism from a Comparative Point of View Journal of the K R Cama Oriental Institute, Nr 3 Bombay 1923 p 62

2 Grundriss der iranischen Philologie II Band V. Die iranische Religion, von A V Williams Jackson, p 635[1]

3 Cp Jackson, Avesta Grammar Part I Stuttgart 1892, pp 53 4 Reichelt Awestisches Elementarbuch Heidelberg 1909 § 49 pp 41 2, Grundriss der iran. Philol 1 Band, II Bartholomae, Awestasprache und Altpersisch, § 289[1], where the probable cause of differentiation of ṛ in ərə and sh is indicated

4 Jackson Grundriss Die Iran Religion, p 695[1], M N Dhalla Zoroastrian Theology, New York 1914, p 231

far as the "thought", *i.e.*, the content of the word is concerned ?

The temptation to explain certain parallels between various religious systems by borrowing is no more so great to-day as it was when the material of comparison was less comprehensive, the parallels newer and for this reason more striking than they appear now, when similar usages are recognised with peoples at such a distance in time and space from one another that communication justifying borrowing is simply out of the question. Thus the statement that the complete and consistent group of the Amesha Spentas with Vohu Manah and Asha, the old Ṛta, does not look like a stranger in the Mazdāh-religion[1] is certainly correct, being directed against the view of an importation of the Amesha Spentas from Alexandria. But this very assertion points to the possibility that Asha is not quite "the old Ṛta". True, Asha together with the other Amesha Spentas is an integral part of the Mazdāh-religion; yet the Mazdāh-religion as taught in the Avesta, and especially in the Gāthās, is not the outcome of an organic growth of religious thought, but the result of a reform. Ṛta, on the other hand, has never been moulded by the hand of a reformer, but has—as can be traced in the Ṛgveda—taken the course of a steady development of a fundamental concept in the religion of the post-Indo-iranian period. Unless it can be shown that Zarathushtra's reform did not intrinsically change the contents of the term, there is at least a chance that the equation Asha = Ṛta is not quite correct. There is indeed a strong presumption that through the reform the meaning of Asha has not been twisted out of all similarity with Ṛta, but as the Avesta and the Ṛgveda show religious beliefs and practices differing in some of the fundamental lines, it is

1 Jedenfalls steht das geschlossene System der Amesha Spenta mit Vohu manô and Aśem, dem alten ṛtam, nicht wie ein Fremdling in der Mazdareligion aus. Grundriss, II. Band, I, Awestalitteratur, von K. F. Geldner, p. 30[1].

also likely that such a fundamental notion as Asha and Ṛta was affected by the tendency of the whole system. Only an examination of the two texts can conclusively show to what extent the denotations of Asha and Ṛta actually coincide.

Whatever may be the rank and the sphere of action of Ṛta in the Ṛgveda, it seems beyond doubt that Asha's personification in certain passages of the Avesta, the Gāthās in particular, is much more advanced than that of Ṛta in the Ṛgveda. In none of the rôles, Ṛta is given to play in the Ṛgveda; it is more than a principle which lives because it underlies the order and action of the macrocosm and microcosm as a governing norm. But nowhere is there a personality attributed to Ṛta in the Ṛgveda. Personality, restricted to the mere constitutive characteristics, *viz.*, intelligence and will, Ṛta in the Ṛgveda does not appear clearly endowed even with those. Yet the Vedic poets were not at all at a loss how to create and depict a personal deity if they had a mind to do so. Indra and Uṣas, for instance, as personalities are much more clearly shaped than one might perhaps expect. The fact that these deities are anthropomorphic does not change the position, only emphasises the difference between Asha and Ṛta. Asha already in the Gāthās appears as a personality with individual traits, actions and functions, with a definite and concrete enemy, the Druj, to be opposed and overthrown.[1] Anṛtāni in the Ṛgveda seems to be a mere grammatical and abstract creation as compared with the Druj of

1 That in the younger Avesta the personification should have become complete is easily explained on the ground of a (deteriorating) tendency away from the abstract towards the concrete. The supposition that all evolution in religion and in philosophical questions starts from the concrete and lower to rise to the higher and abstract, can in the face of the evidence adduced by the comparative study of religion no longer be held. For this reason the principle of interpretation adopted by Mills in determining the meaning of Asha as Law, always starting with the concrete and admitting the abstract explanation only when the concrete is impossible, has to be rejected. See L. H. Mills, Asha as the Law in the Gāthas. J.A.O.S. XX. pp. 31-53.

the Avesta. Even apart from the question of personality, Asha is a more clearly circumscribed concept than Ṛta. That Asha denotes something more concrete and approaches closer to the notion of personality seems to follow from the grammatical number of Asha and Ṛta respectively. Though the plural of Ṛta appears to be used in the Ṛgveda only as equivalent for yajña, the sacrifice and its rites, and for satya, truth or true, and both in comparatively rare cases, yet Asha in the Gāthās is to be found but in the singular.

The observations made in respect of the personality of Asha and Ṛta may to a great extent be applied to the personality of the Amesha Spentas as compared with that of the Ādityas. Though among the latter there are some figures clearly enough worked out, yet the group as a whole is in regard to number and rank of its members not nearly so definitely arranged and constituted as the Avestan parallel. When in Yasna 33.5 the author of the Gāthās asks that Asha might appear visibly together with Vohu Manah, or when in 43.16 the prayer is raised that Asha should be in flesh and blood, full of life and strength, more than the bare constituents of a personality must have been before Zarathushtra's mind. Against this might be held the fairly concrete description of Varuṇa in the Ṛgveda. But with all the data of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā it would be extremely difficult to get a well defined, clear idea and picture of Bhaga and Dakṣa. It is in fact against the parallelism between the Amesha Spentas and the Ādityas that Ṛta is only in close connection with the Ādityas, Mitra-Varuṇa especially, but is not counted among them.[1] In the Avesta Asha is of course in intimate union with

1 Cp. H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda[3], Stuttgart 1923, pp. 181ff. Oldenberg rightly says that the new doctrines of Zarathushtra were to a certain extent on the old traditional lines, and thus preserved the connection with old views, of which there is a greater amount kept intact in the Ṛgveda. L. c. p. 187

Mazdāh Ahura, the highest of the Amesha Spentas, and one of them.

Considering the nature and function of Asha in detail, we find Asha put on equal rank with Mazdāh Ahura and Vohu Manah in Yasna 28,3 and 5. Rule and protection are common to Mazdāh Ahura, Vohu Manah and Asha according to 34.5,7. In 31.5 Asha is co-ordinated with the other supreme principles in the settling of the destiny of Zarathushtra. In the majority of cases the three are expressly mentioned, and, apart from the fairly regular sequence which puts Mazdāh Ahura first, Vohu Manah second and Asha third, the text as such does not mark a clear subordination among the three. Still, in 47.2 Mazdāh Ahura is said to be the father—the productive cause—of Asha, 51.16 has it that Mazdāh Ahura produced the paths of Vohu Manah together with Asha; but if there is any relation between Mazdāh Ahura and Asha clearer than another it is that of instrumentality of Asha in the hands of Ahura Mazdāh. For the practical purposes of preaching, Mazdāh Ahura, Vohu Manah and Asha seem to form a sort of trinity, without of course coalescing into one being.

Generally Asha appears in the company of Mazdāh Ahura and Vohu Manah, so much so that in some cases one of the three addressed in the plural is made to stand for all of them, thus in 34.7. Exceptionally in the Gāthās, Asha is mentioned in company with Armatāy in 34.10, and associated with Xshathra in 33.10. Both, Armatāy and Xshathra, are Ahuras themselves. From the whole system of Zarathushtra's teaching it is beyond doubt that Mazdāh Ahura is the absolutely First and Fundamental Principle, whatever impression individual passages might be calculated to make. Statements like the one in 46.15, that by " these deeds " Asha will be acquired according to the first laws of Ahura, are the true and explicit expression

of the relative rank of Mazdāh Ahura and Asha. 48.3 asserts that Mazdāh Ahura teaches through Asha, though in 46.17 Asha figures as the prudent adviser of Mazdāh Ahura.

In the majority of passages Asha appears as the principle and source of truth, especially of religious and "revealed" truth or faith. Asha as Truth and Order is the embodiment and sum total of all that is true and right, consequently nothing less than Ahura's kingdom of truth and order[1]. Asha is essentially opposed to Druj, the Falsehood and Wrong, the Lie and Deceit, the daevic kingdom of Lying and Wrong,[2] 44.14; 48.1; 49.3; 51.13. The prayer for Asha's alliance, that there the thoughts may be centred where insight is yet but weak, 30.9, appears as natural as the appeal to Asha against heretics, 32.9. The knowing one who reveals the right word of Asha about prosperity and immortality in 31.6 is promised the "best" as a reward. It may be that the same verse shows Asha as a principle and means of material and religious progress; in the next following verse Asha is certainly the principle and means of faith. If 46.17 does not hesitate to give Asha as the wise councillor of Mazdāh Ahura, it means probably, besides the concrete representation of Asha,[3] only an emphasis of Asha's nature as intelligence and order. It sounds perfectly well in the mouth of Zarathushtra, when in 46.9 the teaching of Asha and the message about the protection of the kine are desired. Through Asha the right paths are known, 33.6, defection from those amounts to association with Druj, 51.13. Mazdāh Ahura himself orders Zarathushtra to come to Asha to get instructed, 43.12. Individual doctrines are mentioned in 45.4, where assurance is given that through Asha the

1 Cp. Chr. Bartholomae. Die Gathas des Awesta. Strassburg, 1905. pp. 121f.

2 Cp. Bartholomae, l. c., p. 123.

3 See Bartholomae, l. c., p. 122

greatest good for life is learnt; in verses 8 and 9 of the same Yasna it is said that through Asha none less than Mazdāh Ahura and Vohu Manah are revealed. After this it is but logical when, in 31.3 and 48.3, Mazdāh Ahura teaches through Asha. Through Asha the knowledge and possession of the good mind is obtained from Mazdāh Ahura, 46.2. Man is to be advised by Asha, 51.11; Asha, knowing the deeds of man, is to reveal them, 50.4. Asha's realm must be meant when in 51.21 it is stated that Asha is furthered by good thoughts, words, deeds and the I; 31.22, according to which Asha is supported by the wise and intelligent, has the same bearing.

Though not so pronounced as the characteristic of truth, the moral aspect of Asha forms a constitutive element of its nature. In fact the two are so closely allied that they at times seem to be one attribute. Just as Druj is the idea and embodiment of falsehood and wrong, lying and cheating, so is Asha the abstract and concrete truth and goodness, both objective and subjective, and their source and means. Thus through Asha the right paths are known, 33.6; and "teach through Asha, O Mazdāh, the paths of Vohu Manah, easy to go", prays Zarathushtra in 34.12. The knowledge of righteousness then is through Asha. Asha indeed is not indifferent towards the happenings and doings of men: for Asha has plans of the will, 49.6; and Mazdah Ahura and Asha are of the same will, 29.7. 34.3 brings out Asha very emphatically as the principle of righteousness, stating that the perfection of all the beings in the realm is from Ahura and Asha, through Vohu Manah. It it but natural that Asha turns away from the evil-doer, 34.9. Asha, the moral perfection, is asked for along with material prosperity in 34.1. The alliance with Asha brings the best reward for the I, 49.9; Asha is looked for by the obedient one as the revealer, 50.4. The sanction for good

The importance of the material side in Zarathushtra's reform is indicated in 29.2, 3 ff., where the soul of the kine, Asha and Mazdah Ahura are introduced. And though Asha does not know of any guardian able to ward off every harm from the kine, 29.3, still Asha furthers agriculture, 44.20. In fact the correct attitude towards kine constitutes part of the righteousness embodied, proclaimed and rewarded by Asha. The social and political influence and power of Asha are clearly to be seen from Yasnas 51 and 52.

A detailed inquiry into the nature and function of Rta of the Rgveda and Asha of the Gathas yields the following results. Rta and Asha are grammatically identical, though with some phonetic irregularity. The denotation of the term shows both similarity and dissimilarity, the latter mainly due to the different history of the term after the Indoiranian period. In the Avesta Asha appears not only as a concrete, but even personified principle, in the Rgveda Rta never rises above the impersonal, though active norm. Their respective counterparts share the character of Asha and Rta. Druj being as concrete as Asha, and Anṛtám as impersonal as Rta. To a certain extent this difference can be found in the Amesha Spentas and the Ādityas respectively.

Asha appears practically always in the same company, *viz.*, with Mazdah Ahura and Vohu Manah, Rta on the other hand may be associated with any deity following a law. Asha generally is ranked third or second among the three highest Ahuras of the Gathas, but is never above Mazdah Ahura, whose instrument or agent it is. Rta in the Rgveda is on a par with the oldest and highest deities, Varuna in particular. Asha appears as the embodiment and source of Truth and Order, Rta as the first norm of Truth and Order. The power of the Vedic Rta extends over the macrocosm, the universe, and the micro-

گئوتم

(در فقرهٔ ۱۶ فروردین یشت)

By Aga Poure-Davoud.

گئوتَم 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀 اسم یکی از دیوپرستان و ز رُقبای زرتشت است جز در فقرهٔ ۱۶ ز فروردین یشت دیگر در هیچ جای اوستا و نه درهیچ کتب پهلوی اسمی ار او برده نشده است معنی لغطی آن معلوم نیست در سانسکریت گوتَم Gotama موجود و اسم طبقه ای ار سرود گویان وید است اسم مؤسس دین بودائی نیز گوتَم میباشد باین مناسبت برخی ار مستشرقین از آنجله هوگ Haug گمان کرده اند که در اوستا گئوتَم همان گوتم مؤسس دین بودائی باشد ودر فقر ۱۶ از فروردین یشت مناظره‌ای میان زرتشت و بودا اراده‌گردیده است[۱] بخصوصه دارمستتر در ترجمه اوستای‌خود درسر این مسئلهٔ پافشاری میکند و دلایلی ذکر میکند که گئوتَم‌همان بوداست و از مناظره مذکور مناظره ای از طرف زرتشت با پیروان بودا مقصود میباشد[۲] این حدس و مجموع دلایلی که از برای استحکام آن ذکر شده هیچکدام مبني براساسی نیست اشپیگل Spiegel پیش از دارمستتر در ترجمه اوستای خود فقرهٔ ۱۶ فروردین یشت را طور دیگر ترجمه کرده گئوتَم‌را اسم خاص ندانسته بلکه اسم جنس گرفته است بمعنی دهقان Landmann[۳] گلدنر Geldner نیزمعنی دیگری ار آن مقصود دانسته باهل قبیله Stammesgenossen ترجمه کرده است[۴] همچنین یوستی Justi پس ازآنکه گئوتَم را یکي از دشمنان مزدیسنا ذکر کرده احتمال داده که کلمه مذکور اصلاً اسم‌جنس باشد نه اسم خاص[۵] تیل Tiele مینویسد ابداً ممکن نیست

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۱ Haug's Essays, p. 205

۲ Zend Avesta par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 259, et Vol. III, p. XLVIII

۳ Avesta die Heili. Schriefften der Parsen, von Spiegel, B. III, S. 4.

۴ Übersetzungen aus dem Avesta, von Geldner in Kuhns Zeitschrift fur Vergleichende Sprachvorschung, S. 555.

۵ Irani. Namenbuch, von Justi.

که گئوتم اوستا با گوتم بودا مناسبتی داشته باشد ولی ممکن است که با گوتم که یکی از سرودگویان وید است مربوط باشد و نیز دانشمند مذکور در تردید است از اینکه در عهدقدیم گوتم مؤسس دین بودائی را بدون عنوان بودا یا مرتاض یاسکیا که اسم خانواده وی بوده در جائی ذکر کرده باشند[1] در وید اسم هفت تن از ریشیها Rišis یعنی سرودگران یا آموزگاران ذکر شده یکی از آنان موسوم است به گوتم که مکرراً اسمش در ریگ وید آمده است در مهابهارتا کتاب رزمی هندوان نیز غالباً باین اسم برمیخوریم[2]

بمناسبت مهم بودن مسئله و از برای نمودن راه تحقیق از برای خوانندگان این نامه لازم است که چند کلمه درخصوص بودا گفته شود چه در همین مقاله از یك کلمه دیگر اوستائی که بوئیتی Butti باشد و نیز برخی ازمستشرقین آن را با بودا مشتبه کرده اند صحبت خواهیم داشت

از پادشاه هند اسوکا Asoka (ازسال ۲۶۳ تا ۲۲۶ یا ۲۶۰–۲۲۳ پیش از مسیح سلطنت نمود) مروج دین بودا که بمنزلهٔ کی گشتاسب حامی زرتشت و کونستانتین مروج دین عیسی بودکتیبه‌ای کشف شده که از آن ۴۸۰ سال پیش از مسیح وفات بودا مفهوم میشود ولی عموماً سال وفات او را ۴۸۳ ذکرکرده اند نظر باینکه در کتب دینی بودائیان ۸۰ سال عمر از برای بودا قائل شده اندباید سال ولادت وی ۵۶۰ یا ۵۶۳ پیش از مسیح باشد بود درکاپیلا واستو Kapilavastu که نزدیك سرحدّ جنوبی نپال واقع است متولد شده است پدرش که ازا مرا بوده موسوم بوده است به سودهدانَ Suddhodana ازقبیلهٔ سکیا Sakya اسم خانواده گوتم Gotama و اسم شخصی وی سیدّهتا بوده است[3]

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۱ Die Religion bei den Iran. Volk. von Tiele ubersetzt von Gehrich, S. 87 und 257.

۲ Gaotema in the Avesta by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, Leipzig 898, p. 7-8.

از برای مزید اطلاع بترجمه اوستای هارله و بترجمه قروردین یشت وندیشمان که گئوتم را اسم خاص دانسته اند ملاحظه شود: Avesta Traduit, par De Harlez. Zoroastrische Studien, von Windischmann, S. 85.

۳ Das Leben des Buddha, von Dr. Julius Dutoit, Leipzig 900, S. IX-X

بودا در خانواده خود باسم شخصی خود خوانده میشده است و وقتی که شهر و خانواده خود را ترك کرده در نقاط مختلف هند وعظ میکرده معاصرین وی را سرَمنَ گوتمَ نامیده اند یعنی گوتمَ مرتاض و زاهد چه سرَمنَ Sramana که ذکرش بیاید .یعنی مرتاض است و از همین کلمه است شمن در فارسی بنا بعادت شرفای هند که بخانواده خود اسم یکي از سرود گویان وید را میداده اند قبیلهٔ سکیا نیز از برای خانوادهٔ خود اسم گوتمَ را که اسم یکی از سرود گویانِ وید است برگزیده است بودا که یعنی بیدار و دانا است عنواني است که پیروان پس از آنکه هادی آنان بحدّ کمال رسیده بدو داده اند ممکن است که همین عنوان را پیروان سایر فرقه های مذهبی .یرشدان خود که معاصر بودا بوده اند میداده اند گهی هم بودا بطرز شاعرانه سکیا مونی Sakyamuni یعني دانای قبیلهٔ سکیا خوانده میشده است[1]

دین بودا در عهد اسوکا پادشاه مقتدر مذکور از حدود هند تجاوز نموده بواسطه مبلغین از شمال غربی تا کشمیر و قندهار و کابل نفوذ کرد متدرجاً بسواحل جیحون رسید محققاً پیش از میلاد مسیح دین بودا ببلخ رسیده در آن سر زمین زرتشتی معابد بوداني برپا بود مورّخ و نویسنده یونانی الکساندر پولی هیستور Alexander Polyhistor که در حدود سال ۶۰ و ۸۰ پیش از مسیح کتاب خود را نوشت از شمنهای بلخ ذکری میکند[2]

آنطیوخس دومین پادشاه سلوکید (۲۶۱–۲۴۶ قبل از میلاد) بنا بدرخواست اسوکا اجازه داد که در تمام ایران و ممالك قلمرو سلوکید بدستور بودائی از برای ستوران آرامگاه و مریضخانه بسازد[3] همانطوری که ایرانیان پس از استیلای عرب خدمات شایان بدین اسلام نمودند و گروهي از دانشمندان علوم اسلامي ایرانی بودند چندین صد سال پیش از داخل شدن اسلام بایران زمین

۱ Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde, von H. Oldenberg, Stuttgart u Berlin 1921, S. 3.

۲ Die Religion des Buddha, von C. Fr. Koeppen Zweite Auflage; Berlin 906, Band II, S. 88.

۳ Eranische Alterthumskunde, von Spiegel, Band II, S. 77.

ایرانیانی هم که در ممالك شرقي ایران بکیش بودا گرویده بودند خدمات برازنده بدین بودا نموده و کتابهای بسیار گرانبها از خود بیادگار گذاشتند که تا اکنون هم بودائیان چین و ژاپون رهین منّت دانشمندان ایرانی هستند پس از دخول دین بودا بچین درسال ٦٧ میلادی گروهی از داشمدان ایرانی و بودائي کیش از برای تبلیغ بچین رفتند و کتب مقدس بودائی را بزبان چیني ترجمه نمودند بطور تحقیق معلوم نیست که چند نفر مبلغ از ایران بچین رفتند فقط اسم پنج نفر از آنان محفوظ مانده است از این قرار:

ان شی کائو (An Shi-kah) ان هوان (An Huan) ت ان وُتي (T'an-wu-ti) ان فا هین (An Fa-hien) ان فا چین (An Fa-chiu) از اینکه ان اسامي ایرانی نیست برای این است که مبلغین خارجه درچین اسامی خود را بچینی ترجمه مي نمودند و از برای امتیاز اسامي ممالك و اوطان خود را در سر اسامی شخصی خودجای میدادند چنانکه ملاحظه میشود اسامي مبلغین ایرانی مذکور باستثنای سومي ازآنان مصّدراست به ان An این کلمه دلیل است که مبلغین مذکور ازاشکانیان بودند چه مملکت پارتها یا اشکانیان بزبان چینی ان سی (An-Si) و بزبان ژاپونی ان سوك (An-Soh) نامیده میشود ملاحظه اینکه در زبان چیني قدیم تلفظ ار (Ar) نبوده کلمه ارشاك (اشك) به ان (An) تغییر یافت بنا بسّنت بودائیان چین و ژاپون ان شی کائو (An Shi-kao) ولیعهد اشکانی بوده در شعب مختلفه علم و صنعت مهارتی تامّ داشت و بآموختن کتب دینی ممالك خارجه همّت گماشت پس از مرگ پدرش از بی حقیقتی دنیا اندوهگین و آزرده گشته چشم ار سلطنت بپوشید تاح و تخت بعّمش برگذار نمود خود منزوی و تارك الدنیا شد بمطالعهٔ تعلیمات بودائی پرداخت عالباً ریاضت میکشید و باوراد و اذکار مشغول میگشت پس از چندی از مملکت خویش خارج شده بسیر و سفر رفت تا اینکه در سال ١٤٨ به لوینگ Lo yang پایتخت چین رسید در زبان چینی زبردست و استاد شد تا سال ١٧٠ میلادی در کار ترجمه کتب مقدس بودائی بزبان چینی بود در فهرست چینی کتب مذهبی بودائی ترجمه چندین کتب منسوب باوست که هنوز هم برخی از آنها موجود است

ان هوان (An Huan) پسر ارشاهزادگان اشکانی بود مردی نیك سرشت و خوش اخلاق بود حاقان چنین او را مفتخر ساخته سرهنگ اول سوار نظام خود گردانید درچین شاهزاده ان An یا سرهنگ ان An نامیده میشد همراهی دانشمند چینی یین فوتائو (Yen Fo-tao) درلویانگ در سال ۱۸۱ دو کتاب بربان چینی ترجمه نمود

ت ان وتی (T'an-wu-ti) در ژاپونی دُم موتای (Dom-ma tai) یك بودائی از مملکت پارتها بود درلویانگ درسال ۲۵٤ میلادی چندین قطعات بربان چینی ترجمه نمود ان فاهین یك رُهبان بودای از مملکت پارتها بود تاریخ ورود او درچین معلوم نیست دو کتاب او پیش ازسال ۷۳۰ میلادی از دست رفته است

ان فا چین (An Fa chin) رهبانی از مملکت پارتها در لویانگ در حدود سال ۲۸۱ ۳۰٦ وچندین کتاب ترجمه نمود سه جلد از آنها پیش ازسال ۷۳۰ میلادی از دست رفته است امروزه دو جلد از کتب او موجود است[1]

در پهلوی معبد معروف بودائی در بالای کوه کارلی (Karli) (حالیه کارلا) درمیان راه بمبئی و پونه سرلی که در بدنه کوه سنگی از برای اقامت رُهبانان با شعبها ساخته شده و نگارنده مکرراً بدیدن آن رفتم بانی آن یك ایرانی است که نکیش بودا گرویده بوده است گفتیم پیش از میلاد مسیح دین بودا بملخ رسید در آن سرزمین زرتشتی معابد بودائی برپا بود از آنجمله است معبد نوبهار معروف که اسمش بگوش همه رسیده است نوبهار در بلخ که آل برمك تولیت آن را داشته اند محققاً آتشکده و منسوب بزرتشتیان بوده است چنانکه رخی از مورخین عرب و ایرانی پنداشته اند و دقیقی در شاهنامه راجع بآن گفته است

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۱ از برای اطلاعات مفصل تر راجع بمترجمین ایرانی در چین و اسامی کتب آنان که بهترین اسناد قدیم بودائی است رجوع شود بمقاله بسیار مفید هوری پروفسور در دارالفنون توکیو Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, Bombay 1918, p 509—53 Persian Buddhist Translators in China by Kentok Hori, Imperial University of Tokio.

چوگشتاسب را داد لهراسب تخت فرود آمد از تخت و بر بست رخت
ببلخ گذین شد بر آن نوبهار که یزدان پرستان در آن روزگار
مر آن خانه پنداشتندی چنان که مر مکه را نازیان این زمان

معبد نوبهار بواسطه شهرتی که داشت بعدها با سایر معبدهای زرتشتی مشتبه گردید از اشعار فردوسی در متمم داستان لشکر کشی ارجاسب بضد گشتاسب چنین برمی آید که لهراسب در آتشکده آذر نوش منزوی بوده نه در نو بهار بنا بسنت زرتشتیان حضرت زرتشت هم در همان روز هجوم تورانیان در آتشکده شهید گردید

شهنشاه لهراسب در شهر بلخ بکشتند و شد روز ما تار و تلخ
و از آنجا بنوش آذر اندر شدند رد و هیربد را همه سر زدند
ز خونشان بمرد آتش زردهشت ندانم چرا هیربد را بکشت

لابد در این جا از کلمه رد حضرت زرتشت مقصود است در این جا متذکر میشویم که خبر دقیقی در منزوی شدن لهراسب در معبد بکلی در تحت نفوذ بودائی است چه در تاریخ ایران در هیچ قرنی سراغ نداریم که پادشاهی در معبدی منزوی شده باشد گذشته از اینکه آئین مزدیسنا هم با انزوا و ریاضت سروکاری ندارد

اسم نوبهار مناسبتی با بهار فارسی ندارد و ترجمه این اسم به ربیع الحدید چنانکه عمر بن الاورق الکرمانی ترجمه کرده درست نیست اصلاً بلکه نووبهار nova vihara که در سانسکریت بمعنی دیر نو میباشد اسم اصلی آن معبد بوده است از مندرجات برخی از مورخین هم بخوبی برمی آید که نوبهار معبد بودائی بوده از آنجمله است خبرالکرمانی مذکور که یاقوت حموی و ابن الفقیه ذکر کرده اند بنابر این برمکیها که تولیت نو بهار را داشتند و در اراضی وسیع و موقوفات دیر ریاست روحانی داشتند اصلاً بودائی بودند و بعدها در آخر قرن اول هجری باسلام گرویدند و در دربار خلفاء بنی عباسی بوزارت رسیدند[1] کلمه برمك را هم

[1] رجوع شود به Encyclopédie de L'Islam : Barmakides par Barthold

برخی از مستشرقین از لغت سانسکریت پرَمکَ Para maka که بمعنی سرو بزرگ است مشتق دانسته اند گرچه از مندرجات مورخین و جغرافی نویسان راجع بآل برمك و نوبهار ذهن قهراً منتقل بکیش بودا و دیر بودائی میشود گذشته از این از اخبارات چیني ابداً شکی نمی ماند که بلخ در مشرق ایران یکی از مراکز مهّم بودائی بوده و نوبهار متعلق بپیروان این دین بوده است زائرین چینی در اطراف و اکناف ممالك بودائی قدیم برای بدست آوردن کتب مقدس و آثار بودائی مسافرت نموده و سفر نامها از خود گذاشته اند یکی از این زائرین چینی موسوم بوده به هوان تسنگ Huan Tsang که از سال ۶۲۹ تا ۶۴۵ درگردش بوده و در شهر بلخ که در آن عهد صد دیر بودائی و سه هزار شمن یا طلاب و زهاد و رُهبان داشته در خود نو بهار که صد نفر داشته در مدت یك ماه منزل کرده است در آنجا تشتی که بودا از برای غسل و تطهیر بکار میبرده محفوظ بوده است یك دندان بودا و جاروب بودا را هم زائر چینی مذکور در آنجا دیده است[1]

درگوشه و کنار تاریخ ایران مکرراً باسم بودا و آثار مقدس وی برمیخوریم شاید ذکر یك دو فقرهٔ آن خالی از فائدهٔ نباشد چنانکه معروف است پس از درگذشتن بودا استخوانها و دندانها و موها و ناخنها و آنچه متعلق باو بوده از قبیل جاروب و ظروف و سایر لوازم زندگی وی در گنبد و برج مخصوصي که استوپا Stūpa می نامند در ممالك مختلفهٔ بودائي حفظ شده که هنوز هم بنا بسنّت بودائیان برخی از آنها موجود است هر یك از این بقایای بودا را مانند صلیبي که عیسیٰ در بالای آن جان سپرده و چندی هم در خزینه ساسانیان محفوظ بوده تاریخ و سرگذشتی است دو آثار بودائی در عهد سلطنت ساسانیان بایران رسید اولي از آنها یکی از دندانهای بودا بوده که در قدیم در پیشاور محفوظ بوده در حدود درسال ۵۲۰ میلادی در ناگره نزدیك جلال آباد بود در قرن هفتم میلادی زائرچینی هوان تسنگ مذکور این دندان را درطی سیاحت

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1 رجوع شود Die Religion des Buddha von Koeppen B. II S. 344
Eränahr von Marquart S. 90.
Les Barmécides par Bouvat Paris 1912 P. 5 et 29—30.

بخصوصه دانستن مناسبات ایرانیان با بودائیان بسیار مفید است چه قسمتی از آئین مانی که در عهد دومین شاهنشاه ساسانی شاپور اول (۲۷۱-۲۴۰ میلادی) ظهور نموده از تعلیمات بوداست همانطوری که مانی پیغمبر خود را سوشیانت زرتشتی و بار قلیط عیسوی خوانده خود را موعود بودائی هم نامیده است دین شریف بودا درکلیه ممالک شرقی ایران زمین قدیم کم و بیش دوام داشت تا اینکه در استیلای عرب مانند دین زرتشت و مانی دستخوش تعصب پا بر هنگان جزیرة العرب گردید از این چند فقرهٔ وقایع تاریخی که مجملاً بذکر آنها پرداختیم بخوبی برمی آید که ایرانیان زرتشتی از زمان بسیار قدیم مناساتی با بودائیان داشته اند و چندان هم جای تعجب نبوده اگر در کتب مقدس ایرانیان ذکری از بودا و آئینش شده باشد ولی هیچ وجه در اوستا به صراحةً و به کنایةً اسمی از بودا و دینش نیست باید بنظر داشت که پیش از ظهور بودا ایرانیان با کیش برهمنی سروکاری داشته اند از کلیه فرشتگان یا دیوها یعنی پروردگاران باطل که دراوستا از آنان ذکری شده باید از دین برهمنان و کتب وید نام و نشانی جست نه از کتب مقدس بودائیان اگر اتفاقاً برخی از کلمات اوستا شباهتی با کلمات بودائی دارد برای این است که دین بودا در سرزمین هند بوجود آمده و مؤسس این دین خود برهمنی و آبشخور بسیاری از فلسفه و تعلیماتش همان وید برهمنان است

اما کلمهٔ شمن که در این مقاله چندین بار تکرار گردید این لغت در ادبیات فارسی معروف است و از برای بت پرست استعمال میشود چنانکه رودکی گفته است بت پرستی گرفته ایم همه این جهان چون بت است و ما شمنیم (لغات اسدی) معزّی سروده است مگر فلک صنم خویش کرد بخت ترا که پیش او بعبادت چیده چون شمنت (فرهنگ سروری)

این لغت از سانسکریت سرّمنّ Sramana مشتق شده است و در این زبان اخیر از برای روحانیون استعمال میشده است سرّمنّ کسی است که خانه وکسان را ترک گفته در خلوت بریاضت و عبادت میگذارند بعبارت دیگر

سرَمنَ یعنی زاهد تارك الدنیا درزبان پالي Pâli که یکي از لهجات سانسکریت بوده و قدیمترین و معتبر ترین کتب دینی بودائیان جنوبي باین زبان نوشته شده سمن شده است خود بودا را چنانکه گفتیم سرَمنَ گوتمَ میگفته اند درتمام ممالك بودائی کنونی این لغت با اندك تغییر و تحریفي موجود است [1] گفتیم که الکساندر پولي هیستور در قرن قبل از مسیح از شمنهای بلخ ذکري کرده است بي شك مقصودش همان روحانیون کیش بودا بوده است چنانکه سه هزار طلاب و مرتاضین بلخ که زائر چینی هوان تسنگ نقل کرده شمنها بوده اند شمن در فارسي از برای پیروان بودا استعمال نمیشود بلکه از برای تعیین مطلق بت پرستان مي آید نمیدانیم این لغت در چه عهدی داخل زبان فارسی شده کرپانها طبقهٔ ای از روحانیون برهمنی که غالباً حضرت زرتشت درگاتها از آنان شکایت میکند و در سراسر اوستا از گمراه کنندگان و پرستندگان پروردگاران باطل یا بتها شمرده شده همان سرَمنَ هاي سانسکریت یا شمنها هستند [2] بهیچ وجه دلیلی نداریم که شمنها را بخصوصه مرتاضین بودائي و کلمه بت را با بودا یکی بدانیم

اینك رسیدیم بسر کلمهٔ بوئیتي که دارمستتر بدون هیچ دلیل محکمی مایل است آن را با بودا یکی بداند [3] این کلمه سه بار در فرگرد ۱۹ وندیداد در فقرات ۱ و ۲ و ۴۳ تکرار شده است و هر سه بار با کلمه دیو یکجا آمده است:
(بوئیتی دَئوُ)

برای اینکه درست مورد استعمال این کلمه را دریابیم در فقرهٔ اولي فرگرد مذکور وندیداد را ترجمه میکنیم «از طرف شمال اهریمن تبه کار آن دیو دیوان بشتافت و این چنین گفت آن اهریمن زشت تبه کار ای (دیو) دروغ برو زرتشت پاك را هلاك کن دروغ با دیو بوئیتی و با آسیب مرشئون بسوی وی شتافت

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۱ Die Religion des Buddha von Koeppen B. 1 S. 83

۲ Encyclopédie de L'Islam: در خصوص شمن رجوع شود به Shaman par V. F. Buchner.

۳ Zend Avesta par Darmesteter Vol. II P. 259 Vol. III p. XLVIII

زرتشت نماز اهنو ویثریه بجای آورد آبهای نیك و رود دائیتیای نیک[1] را بستود و بدین مزدیسنا اعتراف نمود دروغ مغلوب وی گشته با دیو بوئیتی و با آسیب مرشئون قدم واپس کشیده » اهریمن برای اینکه دین راستین مزدیسنا را از میان برد دیو دروغ و دیو بوئیتی که عفریت بت پرستی است و مرشئون (مدیویسدوه) را که دیو فراموشی و محو کنندهٔ دین یکتا پرستی است ازلوح خاطر انساني برآن گماشت که زرتشت را هلاك کنند معنی فقرات فوق باندازهٔ روشن است که هیچ تردیدی باقی نمی ماند ار اینکه بوئیتی را دیوی بدانیم که مردم را به بت پرستی وادار میکنند درتفسیر پهلوی اوستا در تفسیر همین فقرات وندیداد بوئیتی دَئوْ درپهلوي بت شیدا But šeda ترجمه شده است شیدا کله ایست سامی (ارامي) بجای کلمهٔ آریائی دیوکه درفارسی بمعني آشفته و دیوانه است[2] اصلاً این لغت بزبان اکاد (Akkad) [3] شِیدُوْ (šedu) و اسم عفریتی بوده است درعبری شد šed و در ارامي شیدا (šēdā) شده است[4] درکتب معروف پهلوی دینکرد در کتاب هفتم آن در باب سوم فقرات ۳۶ـ۳۹ در معجزات حضرت زرتشت بعینه فقرات ۱ و ۲ از فرگرد نوزدهم وندیداد که ذکرش گذشت به پهلوی چنین نقل شده است « اهریمن تبه کار (پرُ مرگ) زشت از طرف شمال (اپاختر) شتافته خروش بر آورد ای (دیو) دروغ بشتاب زرتشت پاك را بکش دروغ با دیو بت (بت شیدا) و با دیوسح فراموشکار (نهان روان) فریفتار بسوی وی شتافت زرتشت بآواز بلندنماز اهونور بسرود دروغ و دیو بت و سج فراموشکار فریفتار خود باخته روی بگریز نهادند »[5] دیو سح همان مرشئون اوستا ست که

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۱ دائیتا وسدوهسه رودی است در آریا وبج رجوع کنید بجلد اول یشتها ص ۵۹

۲ رجوع شود به Vendidâd, Avesta Text with Pahlavi Translation and Commentary, Vol. II, Glossarial Index by Dastoor Hoshang Jamasp. Bombay 1907. Neupersische Schriftsprache von P. Horn, im Grundriss der Irani. Philologie, B. 1, Abt. 2, S. 6.

۳ راجع به اکاد بجلد اول یشتها ص ۷۹ ملاحظه شود

۴ Akkadische Fremdwörter, von H. Zimmern, Leipzig 1917, S. 69

۵ فقرات فوق در ترجمه انگلیسی دینکرد که توسط داراب دستور سنجانا صورت گرفته طور دیگر ترجمه شده است

دیو فراموشی است و نماز اهونور نیز همان نماز اهنو وئیریهٔ = یتا اهو وئیریه میباشد[1] در فصلی ۲۸ بندهش در فقرهٔ ۳٤ نیز از بت شیدا اسم برده شده گوید «بت شیدا آن است که ستایشش درمیان هندوان است . . . .» جملهٔ دوم این فقره مبهم است معنی درستی از آن برنمی آید[2] از اینکه در بندهش پرستش بتی بهندوان نسبت داده شده ابداً مستلزم این نیست که خیال ما به بودا متوجه شود کلیّه پروردگاران آریائی که مزدیسنا برضد ستایش آنهاست و همه در اوستا دیوها و پروردگاران باطل نامیده شده درمیان هندوان ستایش میشده و تا بامروز هم ستایش میشوند

درسومین جائی که در اوستا از بوئیتی اسم برده شده گفتیم که در فقرهٔ ٤٣ فرگرد ۱۹ وندیداد است در اینجا بوئیتی با گروهی ازدیوها باهم ذکر شده اند مثل دیو اِندرا دیوِ (Indra) که نزد هندوان ازبزرگترین پروردگاران بشمار است اما نزد ایرانیان رقیب امشاسپند اردیبهشت خوانده شده است[3] ودیوسئوروِ دیو (Sauru) که درسانسکریت سروا (Sarva) گویندواسم پروردگاری است اما در مزدیسنا دیوآشوب و غوغا و مستی است و رقیب امشاسپند شهریور شمرده میشود[4] دیو ناونگهئی ثیه دیو (Naonhaithya) دیو ناخوشنودی رقیب امشاسپند سپندارمذ[5] دیوتئوروی دیو (Taurvi) دیوگرسنگی رقیب امشاسپندخرداد دیو زئیرئچ کَ دیو (Zairiča) دیوتشنگی رقیب امشاسپندامرداد[6]

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۱ راجع بنماز یتا اهو وئیریه بگفتها تفسیر نگارنده ص ۱۰۰ ملاحظه شود

۲ جملهٔ دومی درپهلوی چنین است: «آقس وَخش بَوَن بتیها ما همان چگون بت اسپ پرستد» و چنین ترجمه شده است: « and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse as an idol »

وست West مینویسد که معنی این جمله روشن نیست اما دارمستتر برای اینکه ثابت کند که بت شیدای بندهش همان بودا ست دو جملهٔ مبهم مذکور کلمات (بت اسپ) را بوتاسپ خوانده یعنی بودا! رجوع شود به Sacred Books of the East, Vol. V, by West, p. 111 وبه Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 259.

۳ رجوع بجلد اول پشتها ص ۹۲

٤ رجوع بجلد اول پشتها ص ۹۳

٥ رجوع بجلد اول پشتها ص ۹٤

٦ رجوع بجلد اول پشتها ص ۹٦

دیو آئشمَ (Aēšma) دیو خشم رقیب ایزد سروش[1] دیو مرشئون که ذکرش گذشت[2] دیو دریوی (Drivi) دیو دریوزی و گدائی در دئیوی (Daivi) دیو فریب دیو کسویش (Kasvīš) دیو کین و کیفر دیو پئیتیشَ (Paitiša) دیوی است که برضد آنچه نیك است در کار و کوشش است یا بعبارت دیگر قوّه ایست اهریمنی که ار برای تباه نمودن جهان در مقابل هرچیز نیك برعکس رفتار نموده چیز زشت پدید می‌آورد دیو بوئیتی یا دیو بُت درمیان این دیوها پس ار دیو مرشئو ذکر شده است و ابداً تصور نمیرود که ار این کلمه شخص بودا اراده شده باشد چنانکه گفتیم در اوستا و کتب پهلوی همیشه کلمهٔ وئیتی یاست یا با دیو یا شیدا قید شده است درگاتها کلمهٔ دیو از برای پروردگاران باطل آریائی آمده و در سایر قسمتهای اوستا از برای مطلق شیاطین در جائی ار اوستا بنظر نگارنده نیست که شخص معروفی دیو نامیده شده باشد مثلاً صحاك یا ارجاسب را دیو خوانده شده باشند بنابر آنچه گذشت گوئیم نه کلمه گئوتمَ مناسبتی با گوتمَ بودا دارد و نه بوئیتی با بودا اگر بایستی باشد کلمهٔ گئوتمَ اوستائی که در سانسکریت شبیه و نظیری دارد از برای کلهٔ بوئیتی نیز در سانسکریت کلمهٔ شبیه و مناسبی پیدا کنیم لابد باید بلغت بهوتَ Bhūtr متوجه شویم که در سانسکریت بمعنی جنّ و شبح میباشد گروهی ار دانشمندان مثل یوستی[3] و تیل[4] و وست[5] همین کلمه اخیر سانسکریت را بابوئیتی اوستا مربوط دانسته اند بنابر این لغت بُت در فارسی و پهلوی از بوئیتی اوستا آمده و بوئیتی اوستا از بهوتَ سانسکریت در انجام متذکر میشویم که در فقرهٔ ۵ از فرگرد ۱۱ وندیداد دیوی موسوم به بوئیذی ریهد و ماده او بوئیذیزا ریهدیه ذکر شده احتمال برده میشود که این کلمهٔ ترکیب دیگری از بوئیتی باشد

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۱ رجوع بجلد اول ص ۴۷۵ و ۵۲۰

۲ رجوع بجلد اول ص ۳۱۳

۳ Handbuch der Zendsprache von Justi

۴ Die Religion bei den Irani. Volkern von Tiele Übersetzt von Gehrich S. 37.

۵ Sacred Books of the East Vol. V by West p 111

CONFESSION OF SINS IN ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION

By Prof. R. Pettazzoni.

Confession of sins is a topic of greatest interest for science and history of religion.

Having undertaken a systematical investigation on that subject, I have just now published a volume[1] dealing with Confession of Sins in Primitive Religion, Ancient American Religions, the Religions of Japan and China, Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism. A further volume will deal with Confession of Sins in other religions—Egyptian, Babylonian, Hellenistic, etc., including Zoroastrianism.

In Zoroastrian religion, confession of sins does not appear before the Sasanian epoch, mention whereof occurs for the first time in *Pahlavi* post-canonical literature.

As a matter of fact, confession of sins seems to be rather incongruent with the very spirit of Zoroastrian religion in its genuine form.

Zoroastrianism as evidenced by the Gāthās is a religion of struggle and responsibility. The struggle is everlasting between the Two Principles, and man has to take part in it making his choice between Good and Evil (Yasna 30, 2-3; 31, 11-12). Though helped by the teachings of Zarathushtra, man is entirely free in his choice; and hence, he is responsible for it. Ahura Mazda, as the 'Knowing Lord' *par excellence*,[2] is mainly a god who judges, not a god who forgives. He knows all men's deeds (Yasna 32, 6; 31, 13-14; 48,8); at

1 R. Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati*, Vol. I (Vol. VIII of the Series "Storia delle Religioni" issued by R. Pettazzoni), Bologna, Zanichelli, 1929.

2 *Cp.* R. Pettazzoni, *Ahura Mazda the Knowing Lord*, being a Paper contributed to "Indo Iranian Studies" in honour of Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana (London 1925).

His order all human actions are exactly booked and reckoned (Yasna 34, 2; 49, 4; 49, 10). The man whose wrong deeds exceed the right ones (Yasna 49, 4) goes, after death, to the 'House of Lie' or Hell (Yasna 49, 11; 46, 11; 31, 20); he whose good deeds are exceeding goes to the 'House of Song' or Paradise (Yasna 32, 15; 45, 8; 46, 15-17; 50, 4); he whose merits are exactly counterbalanced by faults is consigned to a separate place (Yasna 48, 4; *cp.* the *Hamistakān*, or 'Purgatory' of the Later Avesta). Sins are by no means annihilated; they only can be neutralised by the exceeding amount of right actions. Nothing of what man has done goes to naught: salvation of man depends upon man himself, not at any rate upon forgiveness by God or remission of sins,—a feature which recalls Buddhism, genuine Buddhism being, as Zoroastrianism is, a religion of strength for strenuous men.

Turning now to the Later Avesta, we are confronted with a sharp distinction between expiable and inexpiable sins. According to the Vendidād there are sins for which no expiation at all is admitted. The man who has committed some sins of this kind (*e.g.* inhumation of a corpse, murder of a believer, paederasty: Vendid. 3, 40 f.; 8, 27) becomes *peshotanu* and is damned for ever. Remission of *anāperetha* (inexpiable) sins is allowed only in connection with the act of embracing the Zoroastrian religion (Vendid. 3, 40 f.), owing to the incomparable amount and strength of purificatory virtue possessed by it. On the other hand, expiation is ordinarily admitted for the other (venial) sins after accomplishment of a due penance, mainly of some corporal penance, which can, however, be ransomed by good works, firstly by almsgiving.

It is noteworthy that a condition for a sin being expiable is, besides repentance of the sinner, the fact that it was committed unwillingly,—a feature rooted, so to say, in very primitive thought and practice, as I have shown in my Volume.

It is not difficult, I think, to trace the line of development by which the very detailed system and complex casuistry of expiation of sins by good works in the Later Avesta has grown out from the earlier ideology of the Gāthās. Starting from the Gāthic idea of neutralization of sin by means of good works, it was easy to realize, in Later Avesta, a whole systematisation of such meritorious actions by which sin was to be neutralised, *i.e.*, expiated, the most valuable virtue being attributed, in this connection, to corporal sufferance and pecuniary contribution.

Confession of sins, being unknown to the Avesta, occurs firstly, as said above, in *Pahlavi* writings of the Sasanian period. Let us quote the following passage from the *Shāyist nē-Shāyist*: " VIII. 1. Sin which affects accusers (*i.e.*, victims, a *hamēmāl* sin) is to be atoned for among the accusers, and that relating to the soul (a *rūbānīk* sin) is to be atoned for *among the high-priests*, and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command, the sin will depart...2. The sin of him who is worthy of death *is to be confessed unto the high-priests*...8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin, the duty of his state of renunciation (*patītīh*) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation ; the duty of openness is this, that *the sin, which he knows has assailed him, is to be specially confessed by him*; and the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I will not commit sin," (E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, I. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. V, 300 f.)

On the other hand it is a well known fact that Sasanian Zoroastrianism on the whole was lacking of creative strength and originality, having devoted itself to restoration and scrupulous observance of ancient tradition. Such a statement holds good even as to the theory and practice concerning sin. To give a single example, the above quoted statement from the Vendidād, according to which

only unwillingly committed sins are allowable of expiation, occurs again in the *Mēnūk-i Khrat*: "52, 3...and how is the renunciation of sin to be performed for the preservation of the soul?...16. For the existence of renunciation of sin the special thing is this, that one commits no sin voluntarily; 17. and if through folly, or weakness and ignorance, a sin occurs, he is then in renunciation of sin before the high-priests and the good. 18. And after that, when he does not commit it, then that sin which is committed by him becomes thus absolved from his body; 19. just as the wind which is hasty and mighty, when it comes swift and strong, sweeps so over the plain that it carries away every single blade of grass and anything which is broken in that place" (E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, III, S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, p. 94 f.)

The more conservative Zoroastrianism is in the Sasanian epoch, the more surprising is the appearance of such an innovation as confession of sins. The problem, then, of foreign origin is open to discussion. Confession of sins was practised by several religions with which Zoroastrianism has had various intercourses during Sasanian times. Besides Christianity, Manichaeism deserves consideration, Nor should Judaism and Mandaeism be completely neglected. Buddhism also is to be accounted for.

It is a very difficult task to discover genetical connections between confession of sins as practised in the above named religions and in Zoroastrianism. A special term of comparison is afforded by the different formulas of confession which were in usage in most of the above mentioned religions. On the one hand, the Zoroastrian *patēt*[1] has been confronted with the Manichaean *khuastuanift*.[2] On the

1 *Cp.* the paper of Dr. J M Unvala, *Patēt or the Confession of Sins* issued in the Italian periodical 'Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni" 2, 1926, 85 ff.

2 W. Bang, *Manichäische Lasterbeichtspiegel*. Le Muséon 36. 1923, 137 242

other hand, some points of resemblance are to be found between the Manichaean *Khuastuanift* and some formulas of confession for Buddhist laics discovered at Turfan[1] The question is a too complex one to be fully dealt with on this occasion I will restrict myself to a single statement *i.e.* that some of the rules in the Buddhist monastical *prātimokṣa*, namely nr 73 and 75 of the *sekhiya* section in Pali *pātimokkha* (73 not to ease himself standing, unless one is sick, 75 not to ease himself nor spit into water)[2] occurs again in Zoroastrian *patēt* (*Patēt Irān.* 11 D[armesteter] = 8 S[piegel], 15 D = 12 S).

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1 F W K Muller, *Ueigurica* II Abhandl Berlin Akad 1910, 89

2 Corresponding to S'aikṣya rules 51 and 50 in the *prātimokṣa* of the Dharmaguptaka Wieger *Bouddhisme Chinois* I 253, Chung Se Kimm, Asia Major 2 1925 605, and to rules 112 and 111 in that of the Sarvāstivādins Journal Asiatique 1913, II, 537

LA PESÉE DE L'ÉLÉPHANT.

PAR DR. SYLVAIN LEVI.

Chavannes a, dans ses "Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois", traduit un conte où se rencontre une application inattendue du principe d'Archimède. Un génie qui veut confondre l'orgueil d'un roi lui pose une série de questions embarrassantes. ("Le génie demande derechef : Combien pèse ce grand éléphant blanc ? Les ministres délibèrent entre eux, mais aucun d'eux ne peut le savoir ; cette fois encore on publie une proclamation dans tout le royaume, et personne ne peut savoir quelle réponse faire.) Le grand ministre interrogea son père qui lui dit : Placez l'éléphant sur un bateau qui aura été mis dans un grand lac ; faites alors un trait pour marquer jusqu'à quelle profondeur le bateau s'enfonce dans l'eau ; puis (l'éléphant étant enlevé) mettez des poids en pierre dans ce même bateau jusqu'à ce que l'eau couvre la ligne que vous aurez tracée. Vous saurez ainsi quel est le poids de l'éléphant".

Le recueil d'où ce conte est tiré, le *Tsa pao tsang king*, est la version chinoise d'un original indien aujourd'hui perdu ; il a été traduit en 472 par le moine Ki kia-ye, originaire des pays d'Occident, avec la collaboration du moine chinois T'an-yao. Chavannes a écrit à propos de cet épisode une note intéressante : " Ce remarquable procédé de pesée a passé dans le folklore chinois qui en attribue l'invention à Ts'ao Toh'ong. Le célèbre Ts'ao Ts'ao (152-220) avait un grand éléphant dont il désirait connaître le poids ; Ts'ao Toh'ong, qui n'était âgé alors que de cinq ou six ans, lui indiqua l'artifice même dont nous avons la description dans notre conte. Un livre d'école primaire, qui m'a été communiqué par M. C. Blanchet,

nomma son premier ministre".

L'accord du conte jaina et du conte bouddhique conservé dans une traduction chinoise prouve que le conte est bien indien d'origine La donnee d'ordre technique qui lui sert de base ne prouve pas que l'Inde ait connu, pour l'avoir empruntе ou pour l'avoir decouvert, le principe auquel le nom d'Archimède reste attache Archimede énonce une loi qui fixe le rapport entre le poids de l'objet plongé et le poids du volume d'eau qu'il déplace Le conte indien se fonde sur une observation empirique si la charge est de poids egal, quelle qu en soit la nature, la ligne de flottaison est identique Ainsi formulée, la constation repond mieux a l esprit de la science hindoue A voir les travaux exécutés par les Hindous aux premiers siecles de l'ere chrétienne, a lire les témoignages des visiteurs étrangers, on ne peut mettre en doute que les connaissances techniques aient acquis des ce temps un haut degré de developpement dans l'Inde La pesee de l'éléphant apporte a l'appui de ce sentiment un fait positif

AŚOKAN NOTES

By Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

(1) *Saṃbodhi in Rock Edict VIII.*

I wrote one note on this subject in *Ind. Ant.* 1913, pp. 159-60. I showed that the word *sambodhi* could not but here denote the "Bo Tree", where Buddha obtained Enlightenment. Although I was not able to quote any text from Pāli and Sanskrit literature in support of this word actually bearing this sense, my conclusion has been accepted by all scholars of repute. Thus in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. (Inscriptions of Aśoka), by the late Prof. E. Hultzsch, he accepts my view in his translation of RE. VIII., Girnar version, and on pages xxxvii and xliii of the Introduction. For long I expected to find some reference, which would show that the word *sambodhi* signified *inter alia* the sacred spot where Buddha attained to supreme knowledge. But it is only recently that Mr. S. N. Mitra has drawn our attention to this reference in his paper published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1929, p. 741. The word occurs in the last but one verse occurring almost at the close of the *Kālingabodhi-Jātaka* (*Jat.*, Vol. IV., p. 236). The verse is as follows:—

Mahāyitvāna sambodhiṃ nānāturiyehi vajjamānehi
mālāgandhavilepanaṃ āharitvā pākāraparikhepaṃ.

It has been translated by Cowell and Rouse as follows:—

"Thus worshipt he the great Bo-tree with much melodious sound
Of music, and with fragrant wreaths; a wall he set around." (Vol. IV, p. 148.)

This *saṃbodhi* has been referred to as Mahā-Bodhi in the prose passage which immediately follows the verses

and which concludes the Jātaka. The only adverse point that we have to note in this connection is that there is one manuscript, the only one, which gives the variant *tam bodhiṃ* for *sambodhiṃ*. But it is worthy of note that this is only one out of five manuscripts used by Fousboll and is a manuscript presented by Col. Duncan from Burma, where the people owing to their local peculiarity can seldom pronounce *s* properly but pronounce *t* instead. It will not thus be unreasonable to suppose that even in this Burma Ms. by *tam Bodhim*, *Sambodhim* is really intended.

(2) *Ayaputa in Mysore Inscriptions.*

The Mysore versions of the Minor Rock Edict I. have a preamble which specifies an order issued to a Mahāmātra at Isila by Ayaputa and the Mahāmātras. The question is: who is this Ayaputa? Senart took it in the sense of 'local chief'. Buhler, however, was the first to quote a Pāli text and take it as signifying 'a prince'. In the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, XII. 75-6, he has quoted two verses from the *Khandahāla-Jātaka* (Jāt. 542) which in the light of the commentary upon them conclusively show that *Ayyaputta* means 'a prince'. This meaning seems to have been accepted by scholars uptil now, and the preamble of the Mysore copies has thus been taken as indicating the appointment of a prince as a provincial governor. But it is worthy of note that princes as provincial governors have been referred to in Separate Kaliṅga Edicts I. and II., where *kumāra* and not *ayaputa* has been used in this sense. Besides, it does not appear that the word *ayyaputta* was used in the Pāli literature always in the sense of 'a prince'. Thus in the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka (I. 232. 4 and 7) a story has been narrated in which a courtesan, namely, Ambāpāli forestalls the Licchhavis by inducing Buddha to accept first her invitation to dinner. There we are introduced to a

dialogue which is reported to have taken place between them and the courtesan. And it is in this dialogue that the Lichchhavis have been twice addressed *Ayyaputtā*[1] by her, which term has been translated "my lords" by Oldenburg and Rhys Davids.[2] It is to be remembered in this connection that the Lichchhavis here were not *Rājakumāras* or princes but rather *rājās* or rulers, the joint but independent rulers of a tribal oligarchy. Here then we have instance of the word *ayaputa* employed to denote not 'a prince' or mere 'son of a king' who at best could be a provincial governor, but rather a ruling chief, if not actually a king. Similarly, we have to note that this sense of the word is not wanting in Sanskrit literature also. Thus in the *Svapnavāsavadattā*[3] of Bhāsa, the Vatsa king Udayana, has been addressed *Āryaputra* thrice. Udayana here figures not as 'a prince', but certainly 'a king' of the Vatsa country. It is, therefore, more reasonable to suppose that the term *ayaputa* of the Mysore edicts denoted 'a prince of the royal blood' who was higher in rank than a prince viceroy. And we shall perhaps not be far from right if we hold with J. F. Fleet[4] that this Āryaputra was a vice-regent who represented king Aśoka for some time. Fleet however, wrote long before Hultzsch published his authoritative transcripts of the various versions of Minor Rock Edict I. and was therefore led astray in regard to the time of this edict. But we now know that this edict was issued when Aśoka was with the Buddhist Saṃgha and visiting the different places of pilgrimage. To enable him to do this, it was necessary that there should be some deputy to act for the king. It thus seems that Āryaputra here denotes the *Yuvarāja* or crown-prince who carried on the administration during the

1 *Vinaya P.*, I. 232. 4 and 7.

2 SBE., XVII. 107.

3 Trivandrum Sk. Series, pp. 60 and 69.

4 JRAS., 1908, 497 and 822.

temporary absence of Aśoka from his capital. It further seems that this *Yuvarāja* was stationed at Suvarṇagiri in Rājagṛiha, the old capital of Magadha, just as the Yuvarāja of the imperial Gupta dynasty was posted at Vaiśālī, the old capital of the Lichchhavis, from whom practically the Guptas received sovereignty. The language, again, of the preamble of the Mysore copies is almost exactly the same as that of a Nāsik Cave Inscription in which Gautamīputra Sātakarni issues an order to his *amātya* at Govardhana.[1] The former was the ruler, and similarly the Āryaputra-Mahāmātras of the Mysore edicts, being the vice-gerent, formed naturally the ruling authority for the time being at least.

(3) *Dhamma in the Aśoka edicts.*

In my book on Aśoka[2] I have considered the question how far the *dhamma* taught by him in his edicts was Buddhism. Scholars like Fleet and Smith have contended that this *dhaṃma* is not Buddhism, but is a mere code of morality which is of a non-distinctive and non-sectarian character and may easily be assented to by members of any other sect. I have, however, shown in refutation of this view that the practices of *dhamma* such as obedience to father and mother, reverence for teachers, seemly behaviour towards friends and acquaintances, kindness to servants and slaves, and liberality to Brāhmans and Śramanas which Aśoka is never wearied of teaching in his edicts have all been inculcated in this specific group by the *Siṅgālovāda-sutta* which has been designated as *gihivinaya*. We may proceed one step further, and ask whether we cannot similarly trace in Buddhist scriptures the qualities which constitute Aśoka's Dhaṃma. We know that they are: (1) *dayā*, (2) *dāne*, (3) *sache*, (4) *sochaye*, (5) *mādave*, and (6) *sādhave* or *hayāṇe*. Now,

1 EI., VIII, 73.
2 p. 116 ff.

in the *Lakkhaṇa-suttanta* of the Dīgha-Nikāya we have verses which set forth certain virtues which, if practised, we are told, lead to "Heaven, to share in bliss and ravishment".[1] The verses are as follows:

sachche cha dhamme cha dame cha saṃyame
socheyya-sīlālay-upposathesu cha
Dāne ahiṃsāya asāhase rato.[2]

It will be seen that *sachcha*, *socheyya* and *dāna* are common to both the lists. And further there will be no difficulty at all in perceiving that *ahiṃsā* (*-asāhaṣa*), and *(dama-)*saṃyama of the verses must correspond to *dayā* and *mādavê* of Aśoka's inscriptions. And it is not impossible that *sīla* of the verses stands for the *sādhave* of the epigraphs. Here also we notice certain virtues mentioned together in the *Lakkhaṇa-suttanta* which occur together almost in that lump in Pillar Edicts II. and VII. of Aśoka. It is quite clear that even in the enumeration of the qualities which constitute Dhaṃma, Aśoka was indebted to a Buddhist scripture.

If any further proof is needed to show that the Dhaṃma taught by Aśoka was inspired by Buddhism, it is furnished by what he says in Rock Edict XII. We have already seen that therein Aśoka exhorts his people not to praise one's own sect and condemn another's unduly. The whole of this edict is but a development of the theme set forth in the *Chūlaviyūha-sutta* and *Mahāviyūha-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta*. The following translation of some of their verses will not be out of place:

(V.891) 'Those who preach a Dhamma different from this, fall short of purity and are imperfect' so the Titthiyas say repeatedly; for they are inflamed by passion for their own views.

(V.904) Their own Dhamma they say is perfect,

1 SBB., IV, 140.
2 *Dīgha-N.*, III. 147.

another's Dhamma again they say is wretched ; so having disagreed they dispute , they each say their own opinions (are) the truth.

(V.880) He who does not acknowledge an opponent's Dhamma, is a fool, a beast, one of poor understanding. All are fools with a very poor understanding, all these abide by their (own) views.

(V.884) For the truth is one, there is not a second, about which one intelligent man might dispute with another intelligent man. (But) they themselves proclaim different truths, therefore the Samanas do not say one (and the same thing).

(V.898) Those who are highest in virtue (*sila*) say that purity (*suddhi*) is through restraint (*saññama*) Taking (this) vow (*vàta*), they serve Here only let us learn purity (taught by) Him (Master).

What the above verses tell us is that different schools or sects praise themselves and stigmatise others, but that truth is one. This is exactly what Aśoka expatiates upon in Rock Edict XII. And further the verses inculcate the cultivation of *samyama* and *śuddhi* exactly as the Buddhist king has done in Rock Edict VII. and XII. No reasonable doubt can after this be entertained as to Aśoka being indebted, for this grand truth, to the teaching of a Buddhist scripture.

THE MHERS.

By Vishvanáth P. Vaidya, B.A., Bar-at-Law.

The Mhers are a community about which it is worth while investigating the origin, migrations, social and political status as it changed from time to time and its relation with other tribes of similar status found on the western side of India. It is a question as to what the proper name of this community is. The name is spelt differently, as "Mers", "Mehars," "Meds", "Mhers" and sometimes even "Mands". The tribe is certainly as old as the Christian era, in about the commencement of which, it was found somewhere on the banks of the Indus. They may or may not be for certain the progenies of India. Their physiognomy, stature, colour and habits bespeak of settlements in the Middle Asia round about the Caspian Sea. Tall figure, fair colour, athletic habits, skill in archery are the qualities even now found among them.

Persian scholars go so far as to say that the Mhers lived in the time of the Kauravas which may be any time before the 6th century B.C. M.[1] Reinaud[1] is of opinion that there was a work in Sanskrit, composed about the beginning of the Christian era, certainly long previous to Rājatarangini of Kallahna and probably previous to Mahābhārata, which is now reputed to have attained its present form between 200 B.C. and 400 A.D. The original work, which perhaps subsequently became a part of the Mahābhārata, seems to have been translated into Arabic and then into Persian in or about 1026 A.D. It is referred to as *Fragments Arabies et Persans Inedits relatif a la inde.* It is No. 62 in the Bibliotheque du roi et Pach. In this book, in the first part thereof, the Játs and the Mhers are men-

1 See Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, page 101

tioned. These Mhers, according to that author, lived on the Indus and were owners of herds of sheep. The Játs had an ascendancy over them and they killed many of the Mhers. One of the kings of the Mhers advised them to live in peace. Some chiefs of the Mhers then waited on Duryodhana, son of Dhritarashtra, and begged of him to appoint a king for them, which was done. Dussalá, sister of Duryodhana and wife of Jayadratha, was appointed to rule over them. In Mahābhārata we find that Jayadhratha was the king of the Indus country. When the Pandavas were destroyed[1] Káshyapa established a dynasty of Sunāgās, who ruled over the country for 15 kings. Then came the kingdom of Hala, son of Jayadhratha and Dussalá. But a tribe called Merubhuta (मेरुभूता) is mentioned with others such as Bahlikas (बाह्लिका), Ahirs (आहीरा.) of Sorath (स्वराष्ट्र) who were on the battle field.[2] There is a passage also in बृहत्संहिता (14–26) which mentions a tribe called Meruka (मेरुका.) who are mentioned with (काश्मीराः) Kashmerians and Sairindhras who lived somewhere in the north-west of the Midlands (मध्यदेश) which, according to Manu 2.21, is the country between the Himálayas and the Vindhyas. The north-west thereof would be near the northern side of the Indus. There is also a tribe called Maruka (मरुका.)[3] who with others were led to Yudhisthira and there is a मेरुक known as a demon (असुर) and an enemy of Vishnu.

These references show that there was a community of this name, not friendly with the Pándavas but leaning towards the Kauravas, living somewhere near the northern portion of the Indus and so in the north-west of the country situated between the Himalayas in the north and the Vindhyas in the south.

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1 See Elliot, Vol. I, page 104.

2 See Mahābhārata, Bhishma Parva 9 47-48.

3 See Mahābhārata, Sabha Parva 78 96

Mehers or Mhers, as styled here, do not appear in the Mahābhārata though Jayadhratha is known to be an ally of Duryodhana. It may be that Mhers were an insignificant tribe, small and then not very powerful. One thing appears to be certain that they flourished at a time when the Nágas had not yet migrated to India. The Sunāga dynasty although mentioned in the Mahābhārata in a very cursory way, seems to have a very prominent activity some time after the Mahābhārata period, in the provinces which we now know as Rajputana. The interesting method by which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar refers to the origin of the Brahmins known as Nágars, somehow or other, gives credence to the advent of Nágas just about or soon after the Mahābhārata battle. In some literature after the Mahābhārata one peculiar community is mentioned as Nágar which Dr. Bhandarkar derives from the word Nága with the suffix 'ra' having a genitive significance meaning 'Nágar', *i.e.*, the community which is connected with the Nágas. Now these Nágas are mentioned in this now lost Sanskrit work referred to by M. Reinaud as a powerful and reigning community which came after the establishment of the kingdom over the Játs and Mhers by Dussalá, wife of Jayadhratha, at the instance of Duryodhana.

In Kathiawar, there are a number of these minor communities, who migrated in the peninsula certainly not later than the 8th century. There are the Mehers, the Vághers, the Áhirs, the Hátis, the Káthis, the Mánds, the Khánds, the Bábrias and several others. They have come down from the north and perhaps from the Central Asia in prehistoric times. It may be, that some of them came to India even before the Áryans and settled round about the Indus. How did they get the name of Mhers is a question discussed by several scholars. Col. Walker thinks that the word comes from 'mer' meaning 'favour' or 'friendship', but there are other scholars who think that

the word comes from 'Mithra' meaning the sun. This is perhaps more probable. Even to-day we find most of them to be worshippers of the sun and the places through which they have migrated were places where the sun worship was very prominent. In Sindh and in the western coast of Kathiawar and even in the southern portion of the peninsula, where later on the cult of Krishna was very prominently felt, the sun worship was firm. One of these places is Prabhása, a very ancient place mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Nearly two miles from this place in the midst of the jungle even to-day one can find an old dilapidated temple of the sun. The Surya Temple of Modhera in Gujerat is very well known. Even in the not very old town of Porbunder there is a temple of Surya, the sun.

The Mhers appear in the year 833 or 841 A.D. when they are known to have been attacked by one Amran, governor of Sindh, appointed by Khájá Inustarur Dhári, an Arab prince. On this occasion, it is further mentioned that, this Governor Amran attacked the Mhers at several points with the assistance of many Ját chiefs, who had been so very cruel that they dug a canal from the sea by which the sea water flowed into the lakes owned by the Mhers, so that all the water they had to drink became saltish. After the death of Amran, his son fitted a flot*tida of 70 barges against the Mhers of Sindh, put many* of them on board and took them to Mália. This Malia may then be a town of some importance but is now a small principality in the extreme north of Kathiawar, on the southern border of the Gulf of Cutch.

It is very doubtful whether the Mhers had a colony on the banks of the Danube, says Elliot[1], and he further observes that one may not know what may happen in the long course of time.

its influence felt in the whole of the peninsula of Kathiawar, but the section of the tribe that migrated to Kathiawar was very small. The Kathiawar Mhers instead of themselves becoming rulers became helpers of other powerful tribes, who established themselves as rulers and who secured their services. Another section of the Mhers appears to have migrated towards the east and come to the country which we now call Marwar which may be Merwara or it may be even the portion which is now known as Mewar. There is an historical belief that the rulers of these places, who now trace their descent from the sun and the moon, but whose history is certainly not very ancient, may be some of the energetic and enterprising persons of this old tribe of Mhers.

But it is again authentically mentioned that these Mhers who were always shifting from place to place came under the purview of Emperor Kutbuddin in or about the year 1195 A.D. near Ajmere. Certainly there are places, for example, Bharatpur, where the Játs, the companions and opponents of Mhers, even to-day rule. We often find these two tribes working side by side though not in alliance but trying to supersede the other.

The smaller portion of the tribe which migrated to the southern portion of Kathiawar has kept up the old traditions of the tribe, though they have never reached any very high status of becoming actual rulers in any part of the province. Although, according to Elliot, they as well as the Mehers of the Árávali Hills district are descendants of the same family as Mehsnde, they were also keepers of herds of sheep, but they do not seem to be of the same origin as the Rabari, who in Kathiawar and some portion of Gujerat lived in very large number, a tribe by itself never having a fixed habitation, but moving from place to place, just as it suited their purpose, according to the climate and supply of fodder for their herds. The Rabaris have their own

Swami or Bava whom they respect and whom they go to for worship once in a year.

The Mhers of Kathiawar are found, not later than 8th or 9th century after Christ, in the territory which is now under the Jam of Nawanagar, but it appears that they migrated to the south and very likely did so with the Jetwas, who migrated from Morvi, the extreme north, to ultimately the extreme south, and established themselves in Bhumli in the midst of the Bardá Hills. Stories of the enterprises of the Mhers, males as well as females, are recited by bards and local poets and are very popular legends.

They had connection with the Ránás of Jetwa clan who after a rule of nearly four centuries had to leave even Bhumli and to migrate to Chhâyá, a fortress nearly a mile and a half distant from the present capital, Porbunder. The Mhers of Kathiawar are now mostly in Porbunder state, although there are some in Jamnagar and a few in Gondal. They have a peculiar tenure of their holdings, which in Porbunder state came to about 14 villages in which they are complete masters though under the suzerainty of the Ránás of Porbunder. In their early days, *i.e.*, some two or three centuries ago, if not earlier, they showed great martial spirit so much so that they were known as the Sword of the State and as such they had privileges and rights which were morally recognised. Some time in the middle of the last century, they appear to have put forward a claim to be treated as Mulgarasias, but that claim was negatived by a commissioner appointed to inquire into the matter by the British Government. They were, however, held to be Garasias with service tenure, permanently holding the villages in return for the military service offered by them to the Ránás.

Let alone their political status, but they were an enterprising community in several respects. Their features, stature and language bespeak of very ancient origin, perhaps earlier than even the Aryans. There are words in their language which could not be traced from Sanskrit or any of the vernacular which they may have spoken at different times. Their marriage customs are mostly of the primitive type, *viz.*, that of capturing the wife for one's use, although the rigour of the ceremony is toned down mostly by their association with the Aryan race. It is a very conservative tribe and hardly ever thinks of losing their old status and even of making education one of their present day occupation. Even to-day they are of martial spirit and although the majority of them, even as marauders, are honest to the extent that they would never injure a woman, a horse or a Brahmin. They have a very great love for horse breeding, which seems to be common in them with the Káthis and other Kathiawar tribes already referred to.

One of the peculiar features of this tribe as differentiating them from others is that they are keen speculators in metaphysics. You can hear them singing old folk songs of Vedantic views and, in the middle of the last century, when a very eminent Vedantic scholar and teacher appeared among them, this tribe took to the views explained and taught by that scholar and even after three generations now the influence is carried down. Some of the Mhers understand Vedantic theories very intelligently although they do not know how to read or write. It is not always an easy matter for a Pandit to read Purana or a Vedantic work before a Mher unless he himself is very well conversant with the tenets and theories. Metaphysics came to them very naturally.

The women are beautiful, tall in stature and, as their men, they enjoy a very old age. I knew a number of

persons of this community both male and female, who lived to the ripe age of 98 and 99 They are very loving, sincere and always loyal Even when they quarrel with you they never forget even the slightest service done to them As cultivators they are very hardworking Even though their land yield is very moderate they, as cultivators, live handsomely and are not without savings. By religion, as I have already said, they are worshippers of the sun. But the keenness over it is disappearing and yet, as already stated, Porbunder boasts of having erected a Surya Temple They refuse to come and settle down permanently in the capital town They always prefer to live in their own villages

Such is this interesting tribe and it is worth while studying similar tribes which are inhabiting the peninsula of Kathiawar.

NAILS AMONG THE JEWS AND THE PARSEES.

By Prof. Ezekiel Moses Ezekiel, B.A., LL.B., J.P.

"The beauty of Greece", says Ruskin, "depended on the laws of Lycurgus; the beauty of Rome, on those of Numa; our own, on the laws of Christ. On all the beautiful features of men and women, throughout the ages are written the solemnities and majesty of the law they knew, with the charity and meekness of their obedience; on all beautiful features are written either ignorance of the law, or the malice and insolence of the disobedience."[1]

Well might the prophet of the Victorian age, in his vision, see marks of national discipline imprinted on the national character. The Talmud—the great Jewish treasure-house, centuries before Ruskin, had given proof of the subtle modes of Hebrew thought in exhibiting the nations of the world in their distinctive aspects as expressed by Rabbi Nathan in the following words:—"No love is so intense as that which is conceived for the law (Torah); no wisdom is so great as that which prevails in the land of Israel; there is no beauty as that of Jerusalem; no riches as that of Media; no bravery as that of Persia; no lewdness as that of the Arabians; no haughtiness as that of Elam; no hypocrisy as that of Babylon; no witchcraft as that of Egypt."[2]

The bravery of the Persians apparently struck the Jews as their outstanding feature; and truly the first close acquaintance of the Jews with the Persians was after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, the Persian King, in 539 B.C. The close contact between these two nations

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1 The Art of England. Lecture II.

2 *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, Schechter's Ed. Recens. I p. 43a.

explains the many striking

Points of Resemblance

between Judaism and Zoroastrianism in view of eschatological teachings—the doctrine of a regenerate world, the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting. Kohut has discussed instances wherein the Persian legends on Yima and the primal man and woman Mesha and Méshiâne used the Biblical account of the first eleven chapters of Genesis as their basis, and has also traced the particular cases in which the Persian traditions were drawn upon in the Talmudic-Midrashic utterances.[1] The sphere of the comparative study of the Jewish and Parsee religions may, further, be widened so as to include consideration of beliefs and superstitions common to the two peoples. For instance, a peculiar belief is held by both on the subject of

Finger Nails.

The Jews and the Parsees hold a common belief, and do so rightly that anything that has been separated from the body of man is unclean dead matter. Fargard XVII of the Vendidad distinctly points out that parings of nails and cuttings or shavings of hair are unclean, and may prove dangerous weapons in the hands of demons unless they are protected by certain rites and spells. The hair and nails become, as soon as cut off, the property of Ahriman; and the demon has to be driven away from them by spells, in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead. This can be effected by the recital of certain prayers, and by depositing the parings in the earth inside consecrated circles, which serve as intrenchments to keep off the fiend.[2]

1. Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. II, 1890 pp. 223 ff; and Vol III, 1891, p 231ff; consult also Kohut's *Ueber die Jud Angelologie* etc 1866 and his essays in Z D. M. G, Vols XXIV and XXV.

2 Darmesteter, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV, pp. 185 189. On this subject one may consult with advantage the learned article, "*Two Iranian Incantations for burying hair and nails*," by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D, C.I.E., in his *Anthropological Papers*, Bombay, pp 340-354.

The Jews deem the parings of nails impure and Schorr[1] points out that the Jews have adopted the custom of washing the hands after paring the nails, from the Persians.[2] The Jewish Mystics believe that the impurity of the serpent which made Adam sin lies under the nails, and ordain a Jew to trim them, and purify himself.[3] Hence the *Zohar* remarks :—"One, who allows the growth of nails to remain, shall meet with grief every day."[4] One should not throw the parings of nails carelessly away, since they and the impurity attached to them become subject to the rules of evil spirits, and yield tools to those who practise witchcraft.[5]

R. Jehuda the Prince (135-210 C.E.) has said : "Three things lead a man to be troubled in mind and spirit—(1) distress ; (2) grown up nails; and (3) torn clothes."[6] The Parsee custom is to deposit parings of nails in a hole dug for the purpose ; while the Talmud severely condemns one as wicked, who carelessly throws them away.[7] The reason they assign for it, is that the impurity attached to the parings is likely to cause, in the case of a pregnant woman stepping on them, abortion.[8] The Midrash remarks that Adam's entire body, at the creation, was covered up with a horny substance like the finger-nail; but after Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit, the horny part disappeared and remained only on the ends

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1 He-Haluz VII. 42

2 The following are a few of the occasions on which a Jew is enjoined to wash his hands : (1) on awakening from sleep at dawn; (2) on awakening from a sleep long enough to take up sixty respirations; (3) after touching the dead, (4) after a funeral; (5) on leaving the bath or the privy; (6) on paring nails, (7) on scratching the head; (8) on removing the shoes with the hand, (9) on touching the leg; (10) on searching garments for vermin; (11) on touching any part of the body which has perspired. (*Orah Hayim, Sec 4; Yoreh De'ah, Sec.* 115).

3 Hemdat Yamim, Leghorn, 1762, Vol. I, p 23a

4 Zohar II p. 208b.

5 Zohar L. C p. 172b.

6 Kolbo Sec 128

7 Nid. 17a

8 M. Katan, 18

of his fingers and toes';[1] and the woman for her share in Adam's fall became liable to the punishment of miscarriage, should she tread on the parings of nails during pregnancy.[2]

Maimonides, the great Jewish philosopher (1135-1204), as one who has been a great force in the moulding of religious and philosophical thought among the Jews, holds absolute silence in his ritual code (*Mishné Torah*) on this subject evidently through his repugnance for any belief in witchcraft.[3]

The Rabbis are divided in their opinions regarding the day on which the nails should be pared. Some recommend Thursday, while others favour Friday. Krause points out that according to a German superstition, the nails must be pared on Friday, as otherwise they would not grow again.[4]

The Parsees believe that misfortune will follow the trimming of the nails in

The Order of the Fingers.

This belief has also caught hold of the Jewish mind since, according to the opinion of the French Rabbis, cutting the nails in their order will lead to poverty, loss of memory and loss of children. Beer Heteb to Orah Hayim, Sec. 260, quotes a Rabbi's opinion that one should not cut toe-nails and finger-nails on the same day. The former should be trimmed on Thursday and the latter on Friday. Rabbi Isaac Arama (1420-1494) and Rabbi Elijah B. Moses Vidas (16th century)—representing one camp (A), recommend that the left finger-nails should be pared first, and then the right finger-nails in the order 2, 4, 1, 3 and 5; while Rabbi Abudarham and his followers—repre-

1 Gen. R XX 12.

2 *Beer Heteb* to Orah Hayim, Sec. 260.

3 Moreh Nebuchim III, 37

4 *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XV 84 ff. Quoted in Jewish Encyclopædia, Vol. IX, p. 149.

senting the opposite camp (B), prescribe that one should first trim the nails of the right hand in the order 1, 3, 5, 2 and 4. Both camps (A and B) agree that the left finger-nails should be pared in the order 4, 2, 5, 3 and 1.

The following diagram represents the diversity of opinion in camps A and B.

Order of fingers

Camp A	2	4	1	3	5	Right hand
Camp B	1	3	5	2	4	
A and B	4	2	5	3	1	Left hand

The Parsees are enjoined, as Anquetil du Perron points out (in his French translation of the Zend Avesta, Paris, 1771, II, p. 117) to cut the finger nails with a knife especially meant for that purpose, in this order :—

Order of fingers

4 2 5 3 1

There is clearly an agreement between the Jews and the Parsees regarding the paring of nails of the left hand. According to Darmesteter, the nails are cut in two and the fragments are put into a hole[1] with the point directed *towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of* Devs.[2] On the other hand the Talmud remarks :—(1) He who *burns* the parings of the nails is a *pious* one; (2) he who *buries* them is a *righteous* one; and (3) he who carelessly *throws* them away is a *wicked* one.[3] The Jewish

1 "For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say these fiend smiting words, 'The things that the pure proclaim through Asha and Vohu-man' (Darmes. L. C p. 191)"

2 Darmest. L. C. p. 192 Note 2.

3 Nid. 17a; a custom is known to exist among the South Indian people who throw hair and nail—cuttings etc, on to the fire to overt the evil eye, probably with intention to create a stench to which demons are highly sensitive (Thurston *Omens and Superstition of South India*, London, 1912, pp. 53, 113).

mystics recommend the parings of nails to be *hidden* away[1] The Talmud terms one who *buries* them *pious*, because he becomes stringent in his observance, and patiently tolerates the disgusting stench arising from the burning of the parings[2]

The pragmatic worth of the ceremonious trimming of nails and disposal of their parings, discussed above, turns on the question of hygiene Pointedly it signifies that all possible precautions should be observed in paring the nails, lest the impurity under the points of nails might mix up with food and lead to communicable diseases *Righteous*, therefore, is the one who buries the parings The one who burns them is called *pious*, evidently because in destroying them he insures his fellow men against harm Is this not, in a way, following the dictum of Rabbi Jehuda who says[3] "He who would become a saint (pious) must fulfil the duties involved in the observance of the laws of injuries and damages"?

1 Zohar III 79a

2 Tosfé Harosh to Nid 17a

3 B Kamma 30b

THE ORIGIN OF THE IDEA OF A UNIVERSAL SAVIOUR.

By Dr. O. Pertold, ph.d.

There are three religions in which the idea of a supposed existence of a universal saviour is expressed in terms, which are unmistakable or which cannot be explained in any other way. They are: the Zarathushtrian religion, the Mahāyāna Buddhism in one of its many forms, and the Christian religion. The order of the three religious systems as used here does not prejudice any conclusion, as the systems are arranged simply according to their age of origin, and not according to the time when the idea of a universal saviour sprang up in any one of them.

To define the idea of a universal saviour is no difficult task, and it is clear to any scholar of the Comparative Science of Religions without going into more details. But, to avoid misunderstanding, I must give a few details to show the essence of the idea.

The idea of a saviour is a direct result of the idea of salvation, which is one of the basic ideas of religion. In fact, a religion without the idea of salvation would lose all its claims to existence. And we do not know, indeed, any religion without any whatsoever primitive system of salvation. The idea of salvation does not involve any idea of future life, and does not presuppose any primitive system of eschatology whatsoever. The origin of the idea is the fear of an absolute end of life, the fear which is inherent in all mankind. This fear is modified by the subsequent fear of punishment and of lasting unrest. From such elements various ideas of salvation arose in different religious systems, ranging from the idea of perfect rest after a short

life after death, up to the idea of eternal bliss in the realm of highest perfection.

The knowledge of the personal weakness of man in any attempt to change the surrounding phenomena according to his wishes and an absolute impossibility to change many of them, (*e.g.*, dreams, the great phenomena of Nature, as volcanic actions, atmospheric and astronomic phenomena) brought the idea of immense difficulty of obtaining salvation. And in the same moment there arises the idea of the necessity of a helper leading man to salvation. The helper can be another individual, as experience teaches the man that two individuals can do more work than a single man. The beginnings of religious societies sprang up from this idea. If such a person is endowed by special—either real or supposed—abilities, he can become a leader on the way to salvation either to a single individual or to several other persons who have chosen him. He becomes in this way a p e r s o n a l saviour.

But there is no need for such a personal saviour to be a real being. He can be a person seen in dreams, he can be a product of visions or fancy. Moreover, he can be even the product of a mere thought, elicited by chance of most different possibilities. Then the idea of an i n d i v i d u a l saviour arises inman. In special cases the individual saviour can be identified with the man who is to be saved, and the idea of s e l f - s a l v a t i o n of the being arises, as it is the original idea of most of the Aryan religions, and as it is most directly expressed in Jainism and the early Buddhism.

Against these ideas of personal or individual saviours stands the idea of a single leader of the whole mankind, the idea of a single helper with special abilities and potencies, which can be made use of by any man who submits to his authority and leadership, and is ready to obey

taken over by the two others.

And this is exactly the tendency of many modern European scholars who try to prove either that the idea of a universal saviour in the Zarathushtrian religion was taken over from the Semitic nations along with the Pahlavi script, or that the similar idea in the Christian religion was brought by the Jews returning from the Persian Exile, or that the Manichaeism was the means of communication of the same idea to the Mahāyāna Buddhism. In this way a complete *circulus vitiosus* is closed round the subject, and it is very difficult to find out where the beginning is, or whether there are reciprocal influences at all. Only the history of the religions concerned can teach us the truth.

* * *

In its simplest form the idea is found in the Christian religion. The Christian saviour is a man-God. He is God who has taken on himself the shape of a man in order to save mankind. The idea is of Jewish origin, and sprang up in the times of various Exiles, when the Jews mostly oppressed by their enemies, had lost their political independency, and when it appeared that there were no human means of regaining the lost political power. The universal saviour was expected to be the restorer of the political power, the founder of the kingdom of God, the king of the restored empire of Israel, whose rule will last for ever.

Concerning the time when the idea sprang up, we cannot say whether it happened before the Persian Exile, or during the sojourn of Jews in Persia, or after their return from Persia. If we survey all the Semitic religions in their whole development as far as they are known to us, we can find out some elementary traces of similar Messianic ideas, but nowhere developed to a real national and religious ideal, as we see it in Palestine in the last century B.C. Notwithstanding this, and although it is now proved beyond any doubt that the Jews returning from the Per-

sian Exile brought with them many eschatological elements taken over from the Zarathushtrian religion, we cannot prove by any reliable evidence, that among those eschatological elements borrowed from the Zarathushtrian religion was also the idea of a universal saviour.

Moreover, the investigations in this province of research are much complicated by the fact that we do not know whether during the Persian Exile the idea of a universal saviour was so far developed in the Zarathushtrian religion, as to have attracted the attention of Jews in the Exile, and whether it has had such a prominent place in the Zarathushtrian religion of those times in order to influence the Jews and to make them imitate the idea.

* * *

The difficulty of any attempt to reply to these questions is due to the fact that we are not properly informed about the conditions of the Zarathushtrian religion at the time of the beginning of our era. The present incomplete condition of the Sacred Books of the Avesta is to be blamed for it. It is a matter of fact that those parts of the Avesta, which have been handed down to us, are only a small fragment of the large religious literature of old Persia. Besides, all the texts of the older Avesta which are now extant are more or less of ritual character, and therefore do not and cannot contain all the required details about the eschatology and the theory of salvation. The Pahlavi literature with plenty of informations about eschatological matters, including the ideas of the final salvation, is relatively late, anyhow not older than the Sasanian period. And we have no proof that those ideas which appear in the relatively late Pahlavi literature are identical with those unknown ideas in the lost parts of the older Avesta.

In the extant parts of the older Avesta we have nowhere any mention of a universal saviour. Zarathushtra

is a prophet, a promulgator of the laws of Ahura Mazda, but not the saviour of mankind in the proper sense of the word, although in the Gathas he and his fellow-workers are called *saoshyantō*, the saviours. Everywhere in these oldest texts, the idea of an individual salvation peeps out, either from the theory of weighing merits and demerits, or from the idea of passing the Chinvāt Bridge. But nowhere is mentioned the idea of atonement, or that of the apprehension of the merits of a saviour. The eschatological ideas of the younger Avesta and the post-Avestan doctrines do not differ substantially from the older views. It seems that even there the essence of the doctrine is that each man works out his own salvation.

But quite different views appear in the Pahlavi literature about the salvation of the whole world, of humanity at large. The figure of a saviour, or rather saviours, is a beacon for the suffering humanity. The doctrine of the three Saoshyants, the third of whom is to preside at the resurrection of the dead, and after purifying the world is to render mankind immortal, cannot be doubted to be a Messianic idea in the full sense of the word, especially because the figure of the saviour is connected with the founder of the religion by the mystic doctrine of Saoshyants' miraculous birth from Zarathushtra's semen.

No doubt, we cannot fix the exact date, when this Messianic idea sprang up in the Zarathushtrian religion, and we must admit that it is never mentioned in the oldest known parts of Avesta. But it cannot be said that it did not appear in the lost parts of the Zarathushtrian Sacred Scriptures. Anyhow, in the Pahlavi literature of the Sāsānian times, this Messianic doctrine appears in such an elaborated form that a long development of such ideas in Persia must be supposed. It can hardly be doubted that the doctrine of the final deliverance of the world through the aid of a universal saviour must have

been already perfect at the beginning of our era, if it is not still older.

By a thorough analysis of the Zarathushtrian religion and comparison of its leading ideas with this doctrine of the salvation of mankind, this doctrine, known to us from a relatively very late literature, appears as an organic member of the Zarathushtrian religion, which hardly could be borrowed from a foreign religion, not to speak about Semitic influences.

* * *

The Messianic idea in the Mahāyāna Buddhism resembles more the Christian than the Zarathushtrian doctrine, although the substance of the three doctrines is essentially the same. The difference is the ascetic element, the idea of self-sacrification which is strange to the Zarathushtrian religion. In the Mahāyāna Buddhism it appears as renunciation of Buddhahood by the Bodhisattva for the time required for the salvation of the whole mankind. That difference does not admit the suggestion of some scholars that the idea has been borrowed directly from the Zarathushtrian religion, although the geographical conditions can be considered as very favourable to it.

But there is also the difficult question of the date when the doctrine of universal saviour must have taken root within Buddhism. We meet many difficulties if we try to give a decisive answer to that question. We know very little of the development of the Buddhist ideas and doctrines from the first century B.C. to about the fifth century A.D. The chronology of different details and divergent theories in the Mahāyāna doctrine especially is still too uncertain to be able to draw conclusions from it.

Notwithstanding this we must admit that the doctrinal difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna was perfect at about the beginning of our era. And this doctrinal difference of both the sects means laying down a

line of demarcation between the theory of the private individual salvation (*i.e.* the small vehicle, Hīnayāna), and the universal salvation of the whole humanity (*i.e.* the great vehicle, Mahāyāna). Roots of that distinction of both the theories can be found in a more remote past, and from some allusions in the canonical books of Hinayāna Buddhism we can infer that the idea of the universal salvation appeared in Buddhism—perhaps only sporadically—as early as the time of the canonical council at Pāṭaliputra. And therefore I think we can assume that at the beginning of our era the doctrine of the universal salvation has been ready in all its details, as it can be seen from the fact that afterwards no changes were made in the doctrine itself, but only either in the person of the supposed universal saviour, or in the philosophical and metaphysical argumentation in support of the theory.

A seemingly new detail is brought in the doctrine by Asanga (end of IIIrd and beginning of IVth cent. A.D.) in his teaching about impurity, *kleśa*, and the final purification. Even in this doctrine there are no elements which cannot be explained as a direct development of Indian thought. Therefore I cannot agree either with Sir Charles Eliot, who considers Asanga's doctrine to be a *result of direct Persian influences, or with Prof. Sylvain* Lévy, who is of the opinion that it somehow depends on the Manichaean teachings. However, Asanga's doctrine is not an essential component of the Mahāyāna doctrine of the universal salvation, and even if it would have been borrowed from any teaching of Persian origin, nothing can be changed on the abovementioned fact that the idea of the universal salvation and of a universal saviour is also in the Mahāyāna Buddhismus self-existent, and its roots cannot be traced to any other religion of the world.

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After this exposition of the matter, and after having given an analysis of the doctrines concerned of the three religions, I think there is no difficulty to draw conclusions about the origin of the idea of a universal saviour. It is quite clear from the exposed matter that the idea of a universal saviour in any of those three religions is an integral component of the doctrine concerned, and an essential condition of independent existence of the religion concerned.

If we compare the doctrines of the universal salvation in these three religions, we can distinctly discern at the first glance the great differences between them in details. Hardly a single detail is identical in two of them, except the mere idea of the universal salvation and of a universal saviour itself. It is not probable that a religion would have borrowed an idea from the other without taking also the details of the doctrine. Therefore we cannot maintain that the Zarathushtrian idea has been borrowed either by Jews, and conveyed by them to the Christian doctrine, or by the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The least support can be found for those sporadic opinions about the Semitic origin of the idea of a universal saviour in the Zarathushtrian religion. Except the mere fact that the Pahlavi script is of Aramaic origin there is no support for it at all.

I therefore maintain the opinion that the idea of a universal saviour and of the universal salvation sprang up spontaneously in all the three religions at about the same time, and gave rise to doctrines similar in the substance, but different in details. The time of the rise of that idea in three parts of the world, considerably distant each from the other, is about the same, *viz.*, the period before the beginning of our era. In any case there was not sufficient time for the reciprocal communication of the idea among the concerned nations. On the other

hand, there were similar religious, social and political conditions in the countries at the time, when the appearance of the idea of a universal saviour had appeared Also the standard of education and learning of those three nations did not differ too much in general Moreover the tendencies of the thoughts of the people of the three nations must have been not only similar but nearly identical In the case of Jews even the Persian influence on the mind of the people of Israel can be supposed with a great probability, although we cannot believe in a direct migration of the idea of a universal saviour In this way the idea of a universal saviour confirms the law discovered by the comparative science of religions that at the same degree of education, learning and mental development of man within identical or at least similar natural, social and political conditions, identical or similar religious ideas appear and develop in a similar way

SUR VENDIDÂD VII, 24, et V, 12.

PAR PROF. A. MEILLET.

Malgré beaucoup de recherches et d'efforts, l'étude de l'Avesta ne progresse pas autant qu'il serait souhaitable parce qu'on n'y applique pas une critique philologique assez serrée.

En apportant le principal des données traditionnelles, James Darmesteter a fait faire à la recherche un progrès décisif au moins en ce qui concerne l'Avesta récent; car, appliquée aus Gāthā, le méthode qui consiste à se laisser conduire par la tradition a échoué. Mais, après ce grand effort, un nouvel effort s'impose singulièrement difficile : celui d'appliquer la critique à un texte qui n'est exactement situé ni dans l'espace ni dans le temps.

On voudrait ici, par deux exemples, montrer que, la critique permet de résoudre des problèmes qui ont embarrassé les interprètes.

Dans Vd. VII, 24, on lit : *taēča narō gərəgōkərətåšča zərəδōkərətåšča taēča narō spitidoiθra čašmanaṭ nižbarənti.* Ils sont énigmatiques, et ont déjà embarrassé les interprètes indigènes anciens, comme on l'entrevoit par le commentaire pehlvi, de même qu'ils embarrassent les modernes.

S'inspirant du commentaire, J. Darmesteter traduit : "De ces hommes, il faut détruire le terrier et arracher le cœur; à ces hommes, on arrache l'œil clair de "l'orbite".

À bon droit cette traduction n'a pas satisfait Bartholomae, qui, repoussant aussi une traduction de Geldner, traduit à son tour, dans le dictionnaire . " und (ebensowenig) die die Galle und die das Herz (aus dem Hunde-oder Menschenleichnam) herausschneiden und (ebensowenig) die Männer, (die ihnen) die Augapfel aus der Augenhohle

heraus reissen." Cette interprétation n'est pas plus vraisemblable que la précédente, et elle a de plus le défaut d'attribuer à *gərəñū-* un sens arbitraire, faite sur un simple possibilité étymologique, qui est en l'air.

Le vrai, c'est qu'il n'y a pas lieu de traduire: le passage est interpolé, et la forme la montre immédiatement. Il figure dans un de ces textes qui ont été composés par des rédacteurs pour qui la langue de l'Avesta était plus une langue morte que le latin classique ne pouvait l'être pour les notaires du VI^e^ siècle ap. J. C. La grammaire ancienne de l'Avesta était inconnue à ce rédacteur qui connaissait tout juste quelques formes très usuelles, et qui écrit *tā nara .. ..ya .. .* "ces hommes qui .. ..". Au contraire, l'auteur à qui est dû le passage écrit suivant l'usage ancien: *taēčā narō*, il emploie la vieille forme de nominatif pluriel en *-ås-ča* dont les exemples sont rares et qui, dans l'Avesta, est une survivance. Grammaticalement, tout le passage est remarquable par un archaïsme et une correction dont le morceau où il est inséré na pas l'équivalent.

Ce n'est pas seulement par la grammaire, c'est aussi par le style que le passage détonne dans le contente où il figure.

Il suffit de le retrancher pour que le morceau retrouve une suite et apperaisse entièrement clair.

Il s'agit d'une réminiscence que le morceau a éveillée chez un lecteur, qui a été mise à côté du texte et qu'un copiste y a fait entrer—avant la date où ont été rédigés les commentaires, c'est-à-dire très anciennement. On aperçoit comment cette réminiscence a pu être éveillée: aux paragraphes 23-24, après les souillures qui admettent une purification, on est arrivé à une souillure qui ne comporte pas de purification. Quelque lecteur a pensé à un texte où il était question de gens définitivement souillés.

Quant à chercher ce que signifierait le petit passage

le verbs *apatačin* est à la forme de l'indicatif à désinence secondaire, tandis que les trois autres sont an subjonctif; et le préverbe *apa* est lié au verbe tandis que les trois autres en sont isolés. Il est donc arrivé ici ce que l'on observe souvent dans l'Avesta: un passage auquel a pensé un lecteur et qu'il avait sans doute noté à côté est entré dans le texte.

Ce passage ainsi interpolé se trouve du reste être fautif: Darmesteter a dit que *āpō* est "sous-entendu" avec *nyåṅčō*; mais cet adjectif ne suffit pas à évoquer le mot manquant *apō*. En réalité, le mot a dû figurer dans le texte; mais il se trouvait qu'il y avait deux mots consécutifs commençant par *ap-*, c'est à dire, dans le texte antérieur à la vocalisation, par — ∪ —. En pareil cas, il est bien connu qu'un mot est facile à omettre. Il faudrait donc restituer: *nyåṅčō* (*apō*) *apātačin*, ce qui ferait un vers normal de l'Avesta récent; c'est ce vers qu'un lecteur aurait évoqué pour compléter le tableau.—Toute fois cette hypothèse accessoire se heurte à une grave difficulté: quoique représentant d'anciens composés, le type auquel appartient *nyåṅk*—a des formes à féminin distinct du masculin: *apāšī*; pareil fait se retrouve en sanskrit; la forme *nyåṅčō* surprend donc près de *āpō*; mais on peut concevoir qu'une ancienne forme du type sans marque de féminin aurait survécu ici; le vers appartiendrait à un texte archaïque; et ceci expliquerait en partie l'élimination de *āpō*, choquant près d'un adjectif senti comme un masculin.

De toutes manières, le passage exige une critique et il faut se garder de l'utiliser comme s'il était authentique en son état actuel.

A PAHLAVI TEXT ON COMMUNISM

TRANSCRIBED AND TRANSLATED WITH NOTES

By Dr. Jehangir C. Tavadia, B.A., PH.D.

[The following abbreviations of books etc. are used in this article:—

ad: add(s).

Bartholomae: Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten II (38 f.) von Chr. Bartholomae, Heidelberg 1917.

BdK.: Bundehesh ..N. L. Westergaard. Copenhagen 1851.

BK.: one of the MSS. of the PRivDd.

DkM.: The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard...D. M. Madan, Bombay 1911.

Ed.: Edition or Editor.

f.: following.

FrO.: Der Frahang i Oim.. H Reichelt, Wien 1909.

GBd.: The Bundahishn ..T. D. Anklesaria, Bombay 1908.

Intro.: Introduction.

J: one of the MSS. of the PRivDd.

MP.: Middle Persian.

MR1: one of the Mss. of the PRivDd.

MRMss.: Descriptive catalogue of all manuscripts in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library. Navsari B. N. Dhabhar, 1925.

MS(S).: manuscript(s).

n.: note.

NP.: New Persian.

om : omit(s).

p(p).: page(s).

prec.: preceding.

PRivDd.: The Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dadistan i Dinik.. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1913.

Riv.: Darab Hormazyar's Rivayat · M. R Unvala···Bombay 1922.

s.: see.

SdBd.: Saddar Nasr and Saddar Bundchesh · B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1909

Šnš.: Šāyast-nē-sāyast (as my interpretation differs from that of West the reader can only be requested to see my forthcoming Doctor Dissertation on this work).

TD: one of the MSS. of the PRivDd (not used)]

The text dealt with here is to be found in the PRivDd. pp. 123-125, where it is called "Trading and Acquisition of Wealth". I repeat the numeration of the sections given there, even when I differ, and add marks of punctuations—perhaps too many—for analysing the text. This is given here in transcription after the system of Bartholomae with some minor differences for which my forthcoming Doctor Dissertation on the *Šāyast-nē-šāyast* may be referred to. My translation is as literal as possible and hence it may appear uncouth, but care has been taken to be clear. The textual notes are given only as far as I differ from the editor, who has as a rule preferred BK, which represents the one class of MSS., to J and MR1, which represent the other class; but these latter do not deserve a scant treatment as will be seen in the course of our work. It is a pity that TD "was not available" to the editor and that it cannot be used by me. We wish that B. T. Anklesaria, the fortunate possessor of this MS., may enlighten us at least about the section 5. Other notes deal with a couple of rare or obscure words, and discuss the noteworthy points from Bartholomae's treatment of the first four sections, which I came across after my rough draft was ready. It will be seen that the great Iranist is wrong in some points. As to the subject-matter I do not know any other piece that deals with it. We are told that "Kama Asa of Cambay, in the Rivāyat known after him, has given a Persian version of nearly

three-fourths of the Pahlavi Rivāyat", PRivDd. Intro. 2; but as this work is not published, it cannot be said whether the piece in question is included therein. The contents given in the SdBd. Intro. xix f. and in the MRMss. 119 f. do not refer to it; I do not think it is in the later part containing "questions with answers" and "decisions". Dhabhar compares the SdBd. *38* (which is also repeated in the Riv. I. *58*. 4 f.), but only section 1 bears comparison with our sections 1-2, the rest is quite different. As to the question how far these rules were observed, we can only say that the tone and the various reservations make an impression of certain reality about them; they could not have been mere pious wishes or flights of fancy. It is possible that the rules were framed as a compromise to Mazdak's radicalism. In any case the text is not without interest. It runs as follows:

1. ē, ku vāčārakānīh čiγōn bavēt, ku[1]-š[2] vināš andar nēst?

2. ka pa šahr ē yāmak ē tāk, ı 4 draxm aržēt, pa 4 draxm bē xrīnēt,[1] u bē ō (h)an šahr barēt,[1] u γyak, ku barēt[2], 10 draxm aržēt, pa 10 draxm bē dahēt, mižd u rōčik ı x^{v}ēš u[3] stōr[4] hač-aš ul stanēt, u parēxtak pa ahravdat bē dahēt, kirpak ē ı vazurk,

3 u ka parēxtak pa ahravdat nē dahēt, pa ān žamān pātaxša[y], ka-š pa ıarzıkkarīh u pasushaurvih[1] x^{v}āstak kartan nē tuvān

4 ēn, an[1] ı[2] ka-š x^{v}astak ıēh žıvišnīh raδ andar apāyēt, veh žīvišnīh rāδ, tak sē(h)[3] 100 pataxšay andoxtan hač an[4] frač ka bar ı-š[5] andar āyēt, an[6] yut hač uzenak ı x^{v}ēš parexťak, pa ahravdāt bē dahēt.

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1 1 Ed with MSS *ka*, but it is wrong as the context shows 2 Ed with BK. om *š*, which is necessary.

2 1 Can be read °*end*, and we may do so because of the second unequivocal *barēnd* (s n 2), but note the unequivocal *dahēt* 2 Ed with MSS. °*end*, Bartholomae *burt* 'it is carried 3-4 So also Bartholomae Ed with MSS n n s° for which I have found no suitable reading and meaning, it is an easy clerical mistake 5 Or 'district', but not 'city' which is not the meaning of *šahr* in M P, this distinction is preserved even in NP period s Riv Intro. 42 where Gujarat is spoken of as a *šahr*

3 1 δ n 3 2 So also Bartholomae, or, as I first thought, 'through', both give good but different sense 3 I cannot think of any other meaning in this context, *pasušhaur*, a common transcription from Av, means a 'sheep dog' Bartholomae who gives the same meaning does not think of this word but suggests in the foot note that it may be read *pasušx^{v}aranih* borrowed from Av **pasušx^{v}arau*= Av *pasušx^{v}arəδa* 'food for cattle',

4 1-2 Bartholomae takes it as a mistake for *and* which was first separated into an y, and then was replaced by the corresponding ideogram zk We may

1 This [also is declared], *viz* how should trading take place, so that there may not be sin in it?

2 When in a country[5] one piece of cloth, which costs four *draxms*, one buys at four *draxms*, and carries it to another country,[6] and [in] the place where he carries it, it costs ten *draxms*, he gives it at ten *draxms*, [and] takes from it the wages and daily food of himself and his beast of burden, and gives away the rest as a pious gift, it is one great good work.

3 And when he does not give the rest as a pious gift, he is authorised [for it] at that time, when he is not able to make money for[7] cultivation and cattle-breeding.[8]

4 This [also is declared], *viz*[7] when money is requisite for good living for him, he is authorised to acquire upto three[8] hundred for good living When from that onward (*i e*, more than that) is the income, which comes in unto him,[8] having[8] left that aside separate from his own expenditure,[9] he should give it as a pious gift

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grant this possibility but it is unnecessary, s n 7 3 Ed with MSS ya yy by reverting which we can read *sehs* PRivDd p 125 n 14 where *s* is given as a variant of the word in question, or by counting the curves we can read *5*, for which case s PRivDd p 120 n 20 It is not clear whether *draxms* or *sters* are meant if the latter, we may compare the Šns *S* 3 where three hundred *sters* is the limit of wealth which one must possess, so that he may indulge in hunting The amount suggests the higher status, to which, it may be safely assumed, this "good living" refers 4 Ed with BK ad *s* which is wrong, *kač ān frāc* is a common phrase, which Bartholomae leaves off in his translation, probably because its usual sense does not suit his version of the later part, s n 8 9 5 J ad *hac as* 'from it', if genuine, 'from occupation' is meant Bartholomae adopts it, and connects it perhaps with the 'collected' sum, but s n 8 9 6 Bartholomae ad *s*, and without mentioning om. the following *yut*, he is wrong, s n 8 9 7 Literally 'that which is', the above given meaning is not at all a stretched one Bartholomae changes the original into *and* (s n 1 2), and still his translation of *e i and* by 'similarly also' remains to be justified 8 9 Bartholomae by changing a phrase (s n 6) and by leaving off another (s n 4) renders . 'so far as it surpasses his own expenditure this is rather different from what is meant in the text which my translation closely follows.

5. ka-č-aš[1] x'āstak apēr ı as ast, aδak-aċ šāyēt, u' ēn, pa ān[2] žamān ka (andar dānišn[3] ı ōy ā-š[4])[5] martomān pa dānišn[3] i ōy aṯwadāt[6] nē mat ōstōt, tāk ka martomān aṯwadat[6] mat čstōt, aš pa bun u bar hudārišn be apayēt kartan.

6. haċ har čē-š ast, and, ku-š x'ēš u martoman ı andar sardārih ē sālak andar apāyēt. haċ ān, ı-š andar apāyēt, ka ē kartak kam aδīp vēš,[1] ka[2] gōšt ē kartak,—čıyōn pa-č and 1 draxm—kam, ā-š aṯwadat[3] i mart 1 o apāyēt kartan[4];

7. ka rāst, a-š an ı[1] dō mart apāyēt kartan[2],

8. ka-š e kartak vēš, ā-s[1] ān ı 5 mart o apāyēt kartan,

9. u pas har 1 kartak ē i vēš,[1] ān ı mart 1 ō apāyēt kartan.[2]

10. būt[1] kē-š guft, ku pa bar hudārišn ō apāyēt kartan.

11. u ka-š pa markih u raxtakih[1] andar apāyēt, ēvak sālak čiš-aċ āmār nēst;

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5. 1 °č n š for which I cannot think of a better reading than the one given, and for such a combination s Mx *32* 8, PRivDd. *192* 15, Šns *2* 84. 2 Ed with MSS. ad ı which is wrongly added after ān as often 3 J, MRl yan n (for yan) ı *e bavišn* 'presence?' 4 J, MRl aa which is used for ā š 'then' in PRivDd *54*.8 and often 5 This part disturbs the sentence, and it is not easy to account for it, *andar dānišn ı ōy* can be left there, if we take *pa dānišn ı oy* after the next *martomān*, but then there remains ā-š, which, if genuine, points to another supposition, that something may be missing before and after it, say 'people have come to want of food, then he should make a pious gift, and when'. 6 As in DkM. *696* 5, *715* 8, *750* 13, 15, but in FrO *33* 1 *a t p t°*, with the following definition. '*at valdīt īn bavel, ka x^{v}arišn u x^{v}ālišn, ke šuδ u tišn patāš, apāč dārel*, [the sin of] *A* is this, when one holds back food and drink [from him] upon whom there is hunger and thirst'. The term is a transcription of Av. aδwa dātay. 7. Ed joins to the prec.

5. Even when his wealth is very much, even then it is allowed, but [as to] this, at that time when (in his knowledge then)[6] people have not come to want of food in his knowledge, till when people have come to want of food, it is necessary to make good custody as regards capital and income.

6. From all which is his, so much [can be possessed by him] as it is requisite for one year for himself and the people in his guardianship. From that which is requisite, when one piece is less or more, [then the rules are these :] when meat is less by one piece,—when even by so much as one *draxm*,—then it is necessary to fulfil the want of food of one man ;

7. when it is equal, then it is necessary to fulfil that of two men ;

8. when it is one piece more, then it is necessary to fulfil that of five men ;

9. and then for every single piece which is more, it is necessary to fulfil that of one man.

10. There were some who have said about it (the extra wealth), that it is necessary to make good custody as regards income [only].

11. And when it is requisite in death and sickness, [the statement about] 'for one year' is not of any account;

6 1-2 Ed. with MSS. *vēšak i*; but we do not know of *vēšak* in the sense of *vēš*; and *vēšak* in the sense of a forest is out of the question; and in any case no translation is possible. The context suggests *vēš*; then what remains is k n y, it is possible that n is added after the words were wrongly separated, or that a was broken up into n y. In the former case *ki*, the Paz. of *kē* often met with in BdK., wrongly stands for *ka*, which we require as in clauses 7,8. 3 S. 5 n. 6. 4 Ed. with MSS. t n; hence *kart* also, which is not wrong.

7 1 Ed. with BK om. but it is necessary as in the parallel clauses, 2 S. 6 n. 4.

8 1 S. 7 n. 1.

9 1 Ed. with MSS. ad. *ā-š* 'then', which is mechanically copied from the parallel clauses. 2 S. 6 n. 4.

10 1 BK *barēt*, owing to °yt being written instead of °t as very often.

11 1 Ed. *rēšlakīh* and so also perhaps the MSS., but it cannot be derived from *rēš*, *rēšitan* 'wound';—yš = aš which is often written for *h* or *x*, and s. Nl. *arša* 'wounded, sick, diseased '.

12. čē har, kē-š ēmet i[1] ō pēš ast, ku-m[2] čiš rasēt, har ān, iš hač xᵛeš u martom i andar sardārih parēxtak, bē dahišn,

13. u ka-š ēmēt i[3] tāk ō pēš nēst, and čand hač-aš pa xᵛēš u[1] martom i andai sardārih andai apāyēt, tāk ān ē[2] ka-š ān ēmēt rasēt, pātaxša[y], ka nē dahēt

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12 1 We may omit it as J and MRl do 2 Or š 'him' with J and MRl, in which case the indirect construction is to be used. 3 ? Literally 'before, ahead, in the front.'

12. because by all, for whom there is hope for[3] the near future[3], *viz.* 'a thing will reach me[1]', all that, which is left aside from himself and the people in his guardianship, is to be given up;

13. and when there is no hope as far as the near future, from as much as is requisite for himself and the people in his guardianship, [and] till that time[2] when that hope comes to him, he is authorised, when he does not give [anything].

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13 1 Ed joins to the prec. 2 Fd with BK r J, MR1 om., for the meaning s. the number of cases collected by Bartholomae in his Zum Sasanidischen Recht III 27, 62. 3 s. 12 n 1.

THE WINGED DISK AND THE WINGED HUMAN FIGURE ON ANCIENT PERSIAN MONUMENTS.

By Dr. J. M. Unvala, ph.d. (heidelberg).

The winged globe, from which the winged disk was developed later on, appears in the history of ancient art first on religious and funeral monuments of ancient Egypt. Since the time of the ancient empire, 3000-2000 B.C., Egyptian architects decorated the high and broad walls of temples with that nice cornice, which is known as the Egyptian gorge (figs. 1 and 2). It consists essentially of three parts, the *tore*, very often encircled by ribbons and limiting the height of the wall, above it the *gorge proper*, consisting of graceful canals, tending to protrude as it reaches its top, thus forming a nice curve, and a narrow flat band terminating the height of the edifice, so that above it the eye rests on nothing else but on the blue sky. The effect produced by this gorge is wonderful; its concavity produces a well-marked and harmonious shade, which falls on the top of the wall and is relieved in its turn by the flat band terminating the edifice and thus receiving the full light of the sun; it destroys thereby the glaring monotony of the broad and high wall, destitute even of a single window, which would receive otherwise on its whole height the dazzling light of the tropical sun.

Although the Egyptian architect repeats this cornice on every wall of an important edifice, still he varies its effect either by changing its proportion or by changing the motif, with which he decorates it. Thus in the pylon, the gorge of the gateway is often larger and more concave than those of the two towers flanking the gateway. It is, moreover, decorated with the winged globe, which occupies its whole length and more than three fourths of its

height. As we shall see later on, this winged globe, or rather the winged disk will henceforth persist to appear on oriental architecture and on objects of oriental art in its simple or developed forms.

This symbolic group consists of the solar disk, on whose left and right two *uraei* or serpents are seen emerging and uplifting their heads. The uraeus is in general the emblem of royalty, and in the first place the emblem of the sun, who is the king *par excellence*, illuminating simultaneously the regions of the north and the south with its life-giving rays. In a restricted sense it is the symbol of Lower Egypt. The wings are outspread and curved at their extremities in the shape of a fan.

This group reminds us, according to Egyptologists, of the victory of good over evil, the victory of Horus over Set. An inscription of Edfu says that Toth recommended after the victory of Horus the representation of this symbolic group over all doors and gateways, and in fact it is found as a decoration of nearly every lintel of doors of Egyptian edifices. According to Mariette it is found as early as the twelfth dynasty, but then it is simple in design. The uraei are missing and the wings are rather hanging down. It is about the time of the eighteenth dynasty, 1583-1350 B.C., that it acquires the form, in which it appears henceforth on most of the monuments and other minor objects. At the end of this epoch it became the Egyptian symbol *par excellence*.[1]

This winged motif is found on cartonnages of mummy-cases and on several personal ornaments, especially on pectorals, deposited in tombs of royal personages and noblemen. On a mummy-case we find the solar disk with uraei (fig. 5) replaced by a scarab holding a globe in its claws and below it one of those figures of Isis or Nephthys

1 *G. Perrot* and *C. Chipiez*, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité. Tome I. L'Egypte, pp. 601-602.

(fig. 4), who keep watch over the tomb and protect the dead.[1] Among phylactic amulets, seldom found on mummies, but usually depicted on figures and entrances to temples Flinders Petrie enumerates amulets illustrating the sun and wings, the sun and uraei, and the winged scarab of the Ptolemaic period found at Denderch. According to him they represent Ra as protector, Ra as ruler, and the protective power of the Creator respectively.[2] It is well-known that by way of syncretism in Egyptian mythology Horus not only takes the place of Ra, but is also confounded with him.

The Assyrians came to know the winged motif through various objects of ivory and precious metals imported into their country from Egypt through the intermediary of Phœnician traders long before they visited Thebes and Memphis as conquerors. They appreciated its decorative value and adopted it sometimes in the form in which they found it (fig. 5), but very often they introduced a somewhat important change in it. In the place of the globe with uraei, which is between two outspread wings, they put the figure of a bearded man in the standing position with his face turned to the left, wearing a tiara and a closely fitting garment, the length of which is not discernible, as the lower half of the body is replaced by the long tail of feathers. It should be noted here that the wings and the feathered tail are those of the eagle, which figures on the Susian and Mesopotamian glyptics as early as about 3000 B.C.[3] (fig. 6-9). The figure is set in a ring representing the disk of the sun, whose nucleus and rays are clearly seen behind it. Some-

1 *G. Perrot* and *Ch. Chipiez*, op. cit., p. 812, fig. 542.

2 *W. M. Flinders Petrie*, Amulets illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London. London 1914. pl. VI, fig. 83 a, b, fig. 84 a, b; pl. XI, fig. 93 a, g.

3 *G. Contenau*, Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale, Paris 1927, Tome I, p. 406 fg. 306 and p. 407, fig. 307. *G. Contenau*, Les Antiquités Orientales, Sumer, Babylonie Elam. Musée du Louvre, Paris, pl. 8 and 9.

times its right hand is raised in the attitude of benediction, while the left is holding a bow, sometimes it bends this bow in order to shoot an arrow with the three-pointed head at the enemy of the Assyrian nation (fig. 10). It seems to me that in this representation of the winged human figure the Assyrians have combined the two different Egyptian motifs, that of the symbol of the sun-god and that of the winged divinity, Isis or Nephthys. There is no doubt that this winged human figure represents Ashur, the god of war, and hence the national god of the fighting race of the Assyrians.[1] Here we can clearly see that Ashur has replaced Shamash the sun-god and appears as such emanating from himself sun's rays, and as war-god he has replaced Marduk, the supreme god of the Babylonians. Further, one minor trait which draws our attention in the representation of this winged figure is the pair of horns faintly emerging from the top of the ring, but which is prominent on the top of the winged globes on the obelisk of Salmanasar III, 860-825 B.C. (figs. 5 and 11), now in the British Museum. These are the horns of the bull, which form the chief characteristic of the helmet of gods in the Sumero-Akkadian glyptic.

Through the intermediary of the Assyrians the Hittites had borrowed the winged disk, which is most probably an insignificant change of the winged globe, on a funeral bas-relief found at Zenjirli in Upper Syria, which appertains to the ninth century B.C.[2] (fig. 12). We have the same winged disk on a stela of Assarhaddon, 681-669 B.C., also found at Zenjirli, which is now in the Museum of Berlin.[3] Further, in the Syro-Hittite glyptic it occurs very frequently as symbol of the sun-god. Its various forms show us the

1 According to Unger the figure represents Shamash (*cf.* Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, hrg. von *Max Ebert* Berlin 1925, Bd. IV, s. 418).

2 *G. Contenau*, L'Art de l'Asie Occidentale Ancienne, Paris et Bruxelles 1928, pl. XXVI.

3 *G. Contenau*, op. cit., p. XLI.

influence of the Egyptian, Mycenæan, Cyprian and Assyrian arts on the Hittites.[1]

From the Assyrians the Achæmenians also have borrowed this winged globe, with or without the human figure emerging from it[2] (figs. 13 and 15). It is found on the royal Achæmenian tombs at Naqshe-Rustam, on the door-posts and window-cases of the Hall of Hundred Columns and on those of the royal palaces at Persepolis and Susa, on several intaglio seals and cylinders, and on two satrapial coins pertaining to the Achæmenian period. Of the representations of this winged human figure the most characteristic one is that on the tombs, one of which the second from the south, is identified as that of Darius I by his inscription engraved upon it. On the top of the vertical arm of the cross, in whose shape all these royal tombs are hewn out of the living rock, on a sort of a platform formed in imitation of that of the audience-hall of the palace, the king is standing on a dais, which is reached by three steps. He is easily recognised by his dress and tiara, which he is also wearing on the bas-reliefs of the palace. In his left hand he holds a bow, one of whose ends rests on the ground, while the right is raised in the familiar gesture of prayer, which he is offering before the sacred fire burning on the altar. Above the fire-altar, a little to its right, is the solar disk, which Herzfeld erroneously describes as the crescent resting on the full lunar disk.[3] This opinion is

1 *G. Contenau*, La glyptique Syro-Hittite, Paris 1922, s. fig. 171, 202, 306, 318.

2 The Achæmenians were undoubtedly acquainted with the winged solar disk of the Egyptians since the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. But the form in which this motif appears on Achæmenian monuments shows the direct Assyrian influence. Darius I enumerates on his stela of the foundation of the palace of Susa the material contribution offered by every one of his subject nations for the construction of the palace. It is, therefore, probable that this motif was executed by Assyrian artists, not only on the palace of Susa, but also on the royal tombs at Naqshe-Rustam.

3 *Friedrich Sarre* and *Ernst Herzfeld*, Iranische Felsreliefs, Berlin 1910, p. 14.

definitely proved to be incorrect, as the moon is always represented by a crescent not only in the Achæmenian, but also in the Assyrian, Parthian and Sasanian glyptics. On the top, exactly between the king and the fire-altar, a winged human figure is seen emerging from a ring and hovering in the air with its face turned towards the king. The figure holds in its right hand a ring, while the left is raised in the attitude of benediction or prayer. A fillet is attached to the ring, whose ends are fluttering in the air to the right and left of the lower half of the human figure.[1]

XIII the Fravashis are, broadly speaking, the spiritual prototypes of the creations animate as well as inanimate They are somewhat like the Ideas of Plato They are, moreover, the protecting and the guarding spirits of man Every human being has got his Fravashi It existed before he was born, and will continue to exist after his death and take part in the welfare of the universe They are described as possessing rapid movements and flying to the aid of those who invoke them for victory in the midst and heat of the battle (Yasht XIII, 23, 26), and particularly to the aid of a well ruling king who is surprised by a harmful enemy in the shape of well winged man-like birds[1] Thus there is no wonder that Darius I represented in his bas reliefs his own Fravashi, which had taken an active part invisibly in all his battles with the pretenders, who had revolted against him in different provinces of his empire This happens, as he says repeatedly in his inscriptions like a pious worshipper of Ahura Mazda, "according to the will of Ahura Mazda". It is true that the motif of this winged figure is wholly Assyrian, but the execution of its design is undoubtedly Achæmenian In the first place its features, head dress, costume, and gestures are exactly the same as those of the king. The sun, which we see behind Ashur in the ring itself, is seen to the right of the fire altar As said above, the

11, p 16, no 21, p 20, no 21) In Yasht XIX, which is written in praise of the Royal Glory, it is said to accompany righteous Iranian kings There is no reference whatsoever in this Yasht to support the above statement of Taraporewala except in §§ 34 35 where it is said that it flew away from Yima in the shape of the bird Varegan, when he deviated from the path of righteousness

It is interesting to note that according to Sarre the typical globe like ornament of the Sasanian crown represents the Royal Glory, which is said to settle down on the heads of righteous and legitimate sovereigns like an aureola It is perhaps in connection with this belief, he says, that in some Sasanian bas reliefs the globe surpasses the regular border of the reliefs (*Sarre* op cit p 63, No I).

1 Yasht XIII, 69 70 *cf J J Modi* Asiatic Papers, Part III, Bombay 1927, p. 178

of Hundred Columns Darius I is represented sitting on the throne, which is uplifted by three rows of the representatives of different countries subjugated to him, standing on three superposed platforms. Above him there are two rows of lions marching with a fierce gait towards the central winged globes, separated by a row of rosaces (fig. 15). We see plainly that there is here no question whatsoever of the symbol of Ahura Mazda, but that of the borrowing of the usual decoration of Egyptian temples and palaces, which served there at the same time a phylactic purpose. This is further proved by the presence of the winged human figure, the Fravashi of the king. The Fravashi is also represented on the door post of the palace No. 7 of Persepolis according to Flandin and Coste, where the king is seen marching followed by two officers, one carrying the fly-flap and the other the umbrella, the two important insignias of oriental sovereigns since very ancient times (fig. 16). In these instances we see that the Fravashi has already become a necessary element of the decoration of royal palaces, and has thereby totally lost its original signification.

In the Achæmenian glyptic it has become so stereotyped that it has thoroughly lost even its original character, and appears exactly where we would expect to find Ashur. The motifs of the Achæmenian seals and cylinders are wholly Assyrian, but in details and workmanship they are undoubtedly Achæmenian. A cylinder of a certain Darius who calls himself "great king", most probably of Darius I, appertaining to the British Museum, represents a lion-hunt. On the top between two date-palms the Fravashi is seen hovering in the air. It has a trilingual inscription, which fixes the date of this cylinder, between 521 and 323 B.C. It is of burnt chalcedony (fig. 17). Another cylinder of brown amber of the collection of G. Schlumberger shows not only the Assyrian influence in its motif but also in details. It represents two winged sphinxes sitting on their haunches

and protecting a plant with one of the uplifted forepaws. The sphinxes, although borrowed from Egypt, have heads of a bearded man wearing a tiara, exactly like the winged bulls guarding the palace of Niniveh. On their right and left two palms limit the field of the cylinder. On the top the Fravashi is hovering in the air with outspread wings. On its right and left there are the star and the crescent, the symbols of the sun and the moon. The cylinder has an Aramaic legend, which says that the seal is of Mitras, son of Saili (fig. 18). Further, on a small cone, the diameter of whose seal is 0 m. 02, appertaining to the Louvre Museum of Paris, we see two winged sphinxes wearing the *pshent* with the uraeus in front. Between the sphinxes there is the bust of a king framed in a circle of dots. On the top the Fravashi is hovering in the air (fig. 19). It was brought by M. Dieulafoy from Susa. Here the Egyptian influence is quite obvious. There is another cone of the Cabinet de France of ribboned agate, on which only the Fravashi is engraved. To its right there are the star and the crescent (fig. 20). Finally, we have a cylinder of chalcedony, on which the king is represented fighting a Greek warrior; another warrior is lying motionless at his feet. Over their heads the winged globe, the symbol of the Fravashi, is hovering. A pair of horns are seen emerging from the globe (fig. 21). We have already noticed them in the winged figure of Ashur described above (*cf.* p. 491).

Although the Fravashi does not make its appearance on the coins of the Achæmenides, still it is found on two satrapial coins of the Achæmenian period. The one is a silver statera of Tiribazes, viceroy of Armenia, who became afterwards satrap of Sardes in 393 B.C. He was later on in command of the army and concluded the famous peace of Antalcidas, which delivered the whole of Asia Minor to Artaxerxes II Mnemon in 387 B.C. The coin was struck at Issus in Cilicia between 386-384 B.C., when he was

carrying on war against Evagoras I, king of Salamine in Cyprus. The bust of the Fravashi is represented emerging from the winged disk, holding in its right hand a crown and in its left the usual ring. On its reverse Baal is represented standing and holding an eagle with outspread wings in the right hand and a sceptre in the left (fig. 22).[1] The other coin is a silver statera of Datames, who succeeded his father Camisares the Carian in the satrapy of Cilicia in about 386 B.C. Diodoros (XV, 91) calls him satrap of Cappadocia. It was struck in Cilicia, when he was in the joint command of the unsuccessful expedition against Egypt with Pharnabazes and Tithraustes. It has on the obverse Baaltarz sitting with his face turned to the right and holding in his right hand a sceptre with an eagle on its top and a bunch of grapes in the left. The legend on the obverse is B'ALTaRZ. The whole is encircled by a broad border representing the walls of a fortress. On the reverse the satrap is sitting on the throne holding in his right an arrow, while a bow is placed upright before him and the winged globe, the symbol of the Fravashi, is hovering above it. We see here also the pair of horns emerging from the globe as in fig. 21. The legend on the reverse is TaRKaMU, which like similar other Aramaic forms of the name is an error of the engraver for Datames attested incontestably by historians (fig. 23).[2]

In the ruins of an Achæmenian building pertaining to the palace of Babylon Koldewey has excavated many glazed bricks, similar to those found in Persepolis and Susa, on one of which we see the right arm and the right hand of a lance-bearer, guarding the entrance to the audience-hall, as can be presumed from the cords with the tassels pertaining to the curtains hanging over the door. His arm is covered

1 *J. de Morgan*, Manuel de Numismatique Orientale de l'Antiquitè et du Moyen Age. Fasc. I, Paris 1923, pp. 46-47, fig. 23. According to de Morgan the bust is that of Ahura Mazda and not of the Fravashi.

2 *J. de Morgan*, op. cit. p 50, fig. 27.

by the sleeve of an embroidered upper garment. The design of the embroidery is familiar to us from several Achæmenian bricks. On the part of the sleeve covering the upper arm we see the symbol of the Fravashi, a winged disk with fillets, which becomes later on very frequent on Sasanian coins (*cf.* p. 500)[1] (figs. 23a and 26).

After the fall of the Achæmenian empire by the conquest of Alexander, Persia was for about seven decades under the Seleucides. The Parthians who followed them into power and ruled over the country for four hundred and eighty years, were completely hellenised as can be seen from their numismatic and epigraphic documents. No winged figure of the type in question pertaining to this period has been discovered upto date, although Nike or Victory, a female deity, makes her first appearance on the reverse of the coins of Mithridates I, 171–138 B.C. But she is wholly a Greek goddess borrowed from the Greek pantheon by the king in order to commemorate his victory.[2] The interesting documents regarding the winged human figure pertaining to this period are the coins of the kings of Persis, tributary to the Parthians, struck after the liberation of the Parthians from the Macedonian yoke. The reverse of these coins has always as its characteristic a great fire-altar in the middle, on whose left the king is standing with his face turned towards the right. In his right hand he holds a bow, one of whose ends rests on the ground, while the left is raised in the famous gesture of prayer. There is very often a banner on the right of the fire-altar on some coins of this category. A winged human figure is hovering over the altar, which Mordtmann attributes to Ahura Mazda (fig. 21). He says that the portrait of Ahura Mazda formed certainly a part of the religious

1 *Robert Koldewey* Das wieder erstehende Babylon, Leipzig 1925, 4 Aufl. Abb 80.

2 *A. de Longpérier*, Memoires sur la chronologie et l'iconographie des rois Parthes Arsacides, Paris 1853, p 72

cult, exactly with the features which we find on lapidary monuments, particularly on the tomb of Darius I, and on seals and coins of the Persian origin.[1] I consider this winged human figure to be the Fravashi of the king for the same reasons as stated above. The dynasty which struck these coins was either that of the direct ancestors or that of the legitimate predecessors of the Sasanides.

The above view is supported by the reverse of the Sasanian coins, which differ very little from that of the Partho-Persian ones in its motif. We see here the altar of the sacred fire guarded by two priests, sometimes by the king and the high priest, standing on either side of the fire with drawn swords in their hands. Moreover, on the reverse of several Sasanian coins we have again the human figure, though not winged, as on the Partho Persian ones (fig. 25). This also I consider to be the Fravashi of the king. The Fravashi represented in its symbolic form, the winged disk with the fillets, appears to the right or left of the fire altar and seldom on its shaft on the reverse of several other Sasanian coins (fig. 23). The frequent occurrence of the Fravashi or its symbol on Sasanian coins is noted by Paruck as follows:—"On the coins of kings from Sapur I to Sapur II, except those of Bahram III, are to be seen either the taurus or the Frōhar symbol or both. The image of the Frōhar issuing from the fire on the altar appears for the first time on the coins of Hormazd II and continues on those of his successors till Bahram V, when the king's head occupies a position very different from the bust of the Frōhar of the previous currencies. In effect it becomes the upper part of the altar itself. This device reappears on the coins of Balash to be seen no more on later coins."[2] From this it is clear that Paruck attributes this Frōhar neither to Ahura Mazda

1 *A. D. Mordtmann*, Persipolitanische Muenzen—ZDMG. 21, pp. 425 426.

2 *F. D. J. Paruck*, Sasanian Coins, Bombay 1924, p. 26.

as de Morgan does[1] nor to the king as I do He seems to be in doubt on this question, and obviously makes an error when he says that the king's head becomes in effect the upper part of the altar itself In my opinion the Fravashi is always that of the king on all these Perside and Sasanian coins, as is definitely proved by the coins of Bahram V and Balash (Vologeses), where the Fravashi wears the typical Sasanian crown with the globe (fig 27), which is replaced by a simple *kolāh* on earlier coins Its hair is puffed out in big balls on the sides in the Sasanian fashion Moreover, it is evident from the coins of Bahram V and Balash that the Fravashi does neither form the upper part of the fire-altar nor is it placed before the altar as de Morgan says, but that it emerges from the flames as on coins of Hormazd II. On the former coins the shaft of the altar is very short, the altar itself is crudely designed and approaches somewhat the type of the altar on a satrapial coin of Hormazd I (fig. 28)

I think it will not be here out of place to express my opinion on the portraits of Ahura Mazda on the Sasanian bas-reliefs of Naqshe-Rustam, Naqshe-Rajab and Shapur. They represent two equestrian figures of a purely Sasanian type No I (according to Sarre) of Naqshe Rustam has on the shoulders of the horses of these equestrian figures inscriptions in the Greek and Pahlavi languages, which attribute the figure on the left to Ardashir I, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and that on the right to God Ōhrmazd Shapur I and God Ōhrmazd are represented on his relief No. III (according to Sarre) of Naqshe-Rajab The king's equestrian figure is on the right, and that of Ōhrmazd on the left. No II (according to Sarre) of Shapur is attributed to Narses, judging from the form of the crown of the figure on the right (fig. 29) All these bas-reliefs commemorate important events in the

1 *J. de Morgan*, Manuel de Numismatique Orientale de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age, fasc II, Paris 1924, p 311

Sasanian history, the first the final defeat of Artabanus V in the plain of Hormuz by Ardashir in 226 A.D. and the foundation of the Sasanian empire, the second the defeat of Valerian at Edessa by Shapur I and his imprisonment in 260 A.D., and the third perhaps the victory of Narses over Galerus Cæsar in Mesopotamia in 297 A.D. It is, therefore, that in all these bas-reliefs a personage, who is undoubtedly a divinity, offers the victorious king a ring or rather a diadem with fillets fluttering in the air. This motif is purely Hellenic and borrowed from the Parthians, who had employed it very often on the reverse of their coins since the time of Orodes I (fig. 30)

As said above the Achæmenians had no images of Ahura Mazda. The so called image of Ahura Mazda on Achæmenian bas-reliefs is the Fravashi of the king. The same aniconic tradition was upheld by the kings of Persis; and the Sasanian kings, who were not only their direct descendants, but also the upholders of the pure Persian tradition, must have done the same. I have already expressed my opinion in "Observations on the Religion of the Parthians", Bombay 1925, p. 40, that one of the chief causes of the revolt of Ardashir against Artabanus V was his zeal for the reform of the Zoroastrian religion, which was greatly endangered by the ecclectism of the ruling Parthian dynasty. We know from history that Ardashir and his successors carried out this reform with a very firm hand. Now, in the Avesta and Pahlavi literatures we have no reference about the image of Ahura Mazda, except in Yasna XXXVI, 3, 6, where fire and the sun are called the visible symbols of Ahura Mazda. The sun is poetically called His most beautiful body (Yasna XXXVI, 6). Not only the whole Zoroastrian literature but also the Zoroastrian tradition knows nothing about the image of Ahura Mazda and even about those of the other Yazatas, with the exception of the later Parthian period, during which images of the Zoroastrian and other

foreign divinities are said by historians to have been very common. Such descriptions as that of Ardvīsūra Anāhita in Yasht V, 126-129 must be considered as purely poetic.[1]

Now the difficulty lies in explaining the presence of the name Ōhrmazd attributed to the equestrian figure on the right on the bas-relief of Naqshe-Rustam. Taking into consideration the Hellenic influence, which was very prevalent among the later Parthians, it is highly probable that Ardashir desired only to impose on the minds of the subjugated Parthians familiar with images of divinities the importance of his victory and of his legitimate claim to the throne of the Achæmenides by this bas-relief, on which he represented himself accepting the crown with fillets from the hands of Ōhrmazd on the battlefield. The body of Artabanus is seen lying under his horse's feet. The motif is Græco-Parthian, but the design is wholly Sasanian, as is evident from several Parthian coins, *e.g.* from those of Mithridates I, on which Nike, the Greek goddess of victory, offers a crown with fillets to Demeter (fig. 31). Some of these coins were struck by him to commemorate certain victories gained over his enemies. The equestrian figure of the king reminds us of the reverse of the coins of Artabanus III and Pacorus II (fig. 32). When the necessity which forced Ardashir to adopt this iconic representation of Ōhrmazd on his bas-relief passed away it was completely abandoned by his successors, with the exception of Shapur I and Narses. Here we see nothing else but the borrowing of the motif and no iconic conviction of Ardashir, whose zeal for the reform of the Zoroastrian religion is attested by historians. Now, as regards the rendering of Ōhrmazd by Ζεὺς genitive Διός, in the Greek inscription, this identification

1 Bas-relief No VII of Naqshe Rustam represents, according to Sarre, King Narses, Goddess Anahit, and the crown prince. It is differently explained by different savants, but all of them consider the figure of the woman as that of the queen and not of a goddess (*cf.* Iranische Felsreliefs, p. 85).

is due to the name Ζεὺς Ὠρομασδης under which the supreme deity of the princes of Commagene was known in post-Alexandrian times. The chief locality of the cult of this divinity was Doliche, a small town of Commagene, from which he was later on known to the Romans as Jupiter Dolichenus.[1] He was popular also among the Parthians.[2] There is no wonder, therefore, if Ardashir adopted this well known identification of Ohrmazd with Zeus, by which he meant, of course, not the chief divinity of the Greek pantheon but God of the Zoroastrians.

It must be here noted that the Parsi tradition has never known and does not know images of Ahura Mazda and that the learned men of the community have already rejected the western interpretation of the winged human figure. The first lithographed pictures drawn in imitation of the bas reliefs of Naqshe Rustam known to the Parsis are of the first half of the nineteenth century. They are, like the famous pictures of the court of king Kaikhusru and of the heroes of the Shahnameh, works executed by Chinese artists to order of some Parsi merchants of Hongkong. The king is represented as an old man with long white beard and flowing locks. He is dressed in a long scarlet robe with broad loose sleeves. He is standing before the fire-altar with one hand raised in the attitude of prayer, while the other rests on his bow. He wears a head dress like that of Darius. The sun is behind the fire altar, and his Fravashi is shown emerging from the clouds on top of the picture between him and the fire-altar. Its gestures are the same as his. The predominating colour of the picture is scarlet. Below it the name of Gushasp Shah, the king who accepted the religion of Zoroaster, is written in Gujarati characters.

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1 *Franz Cumont*, Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain. Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris 1907, pp. 330. Antiochos king of Commagene, orders in his religious edict the veneration of Zeus Oromasdes (*Luebker*, Real lexikon des klassischen Altertums, 8 Heft. Leipzig, Berlin 1914 [illegible])

2 *J. M. Unvala*, op. cit. p. 19.

This Achæmenian motif, which is found only on the tombs of Naqshe-Rustam, is copied in recent years by Parsi architects on facades of several new fire-temples of Bombay and of some other Parsi centres in the Gujarat merely by way of decoration. There is no question here of any special religious cult as Mordtmann had suggested while speaking about the coins of Persis.[1] It is employed only as a decoration, although it is quite incongruous on fire-temples. All old fire-temples in India are plain buildings devoid of any such decoration.

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1 *A. D. Mordtmann*, op. cit. p. 42[illegible].

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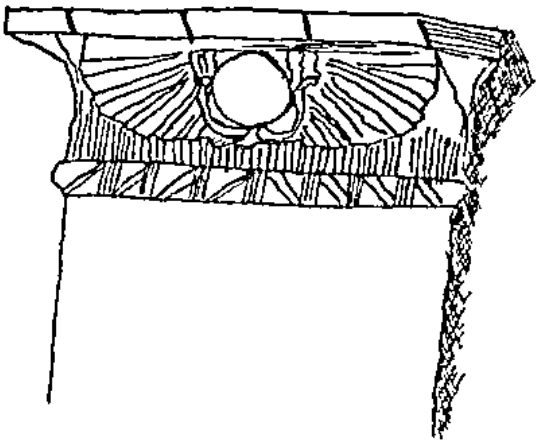


Fig. 1

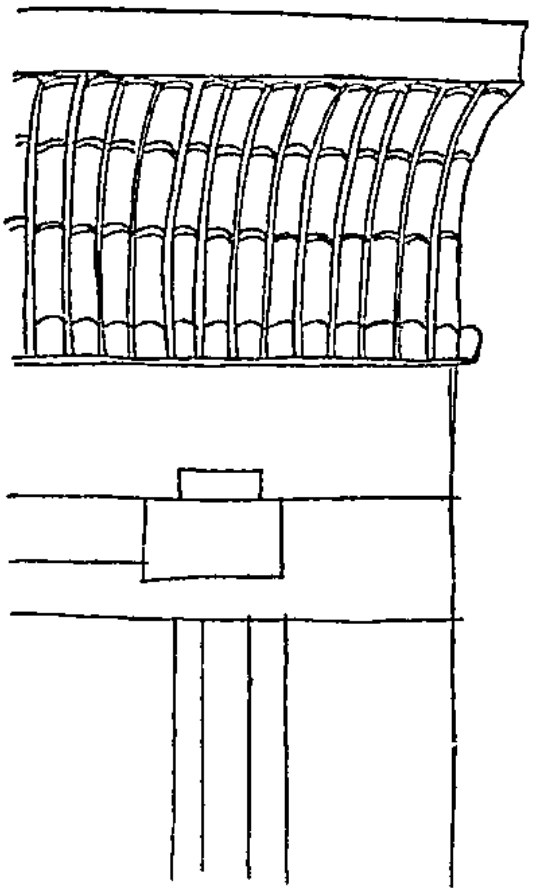


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

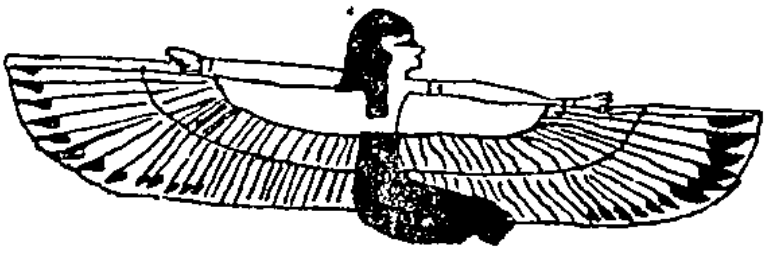


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7





Fig. 9

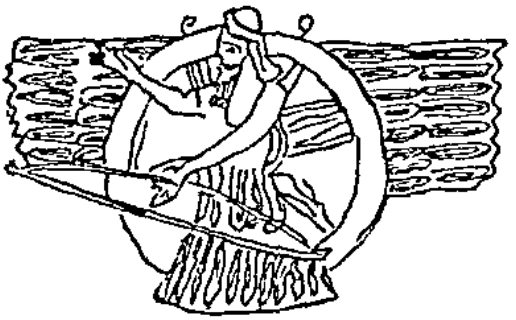


Fig. 10

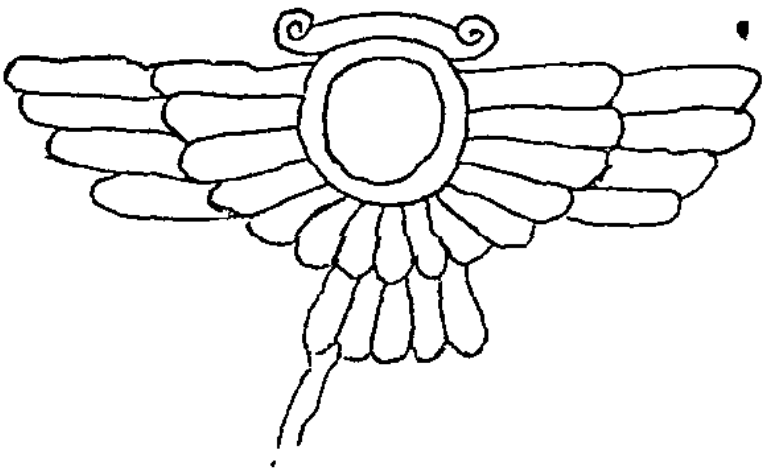


Fig. 11



Fig. 12 a

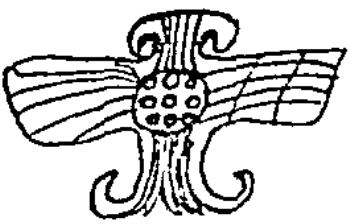


Fig. 12 b



Fig. 12 c



Fig. 12 d

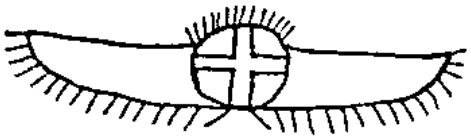


Fig. 12 e



Fig. 12 f



Fig. 12 g

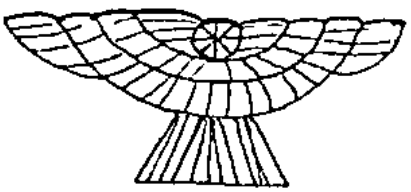


Fig. 12 h

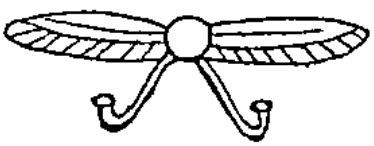


Fig. 12 k



Fig. 12 l



Fig. 12 m

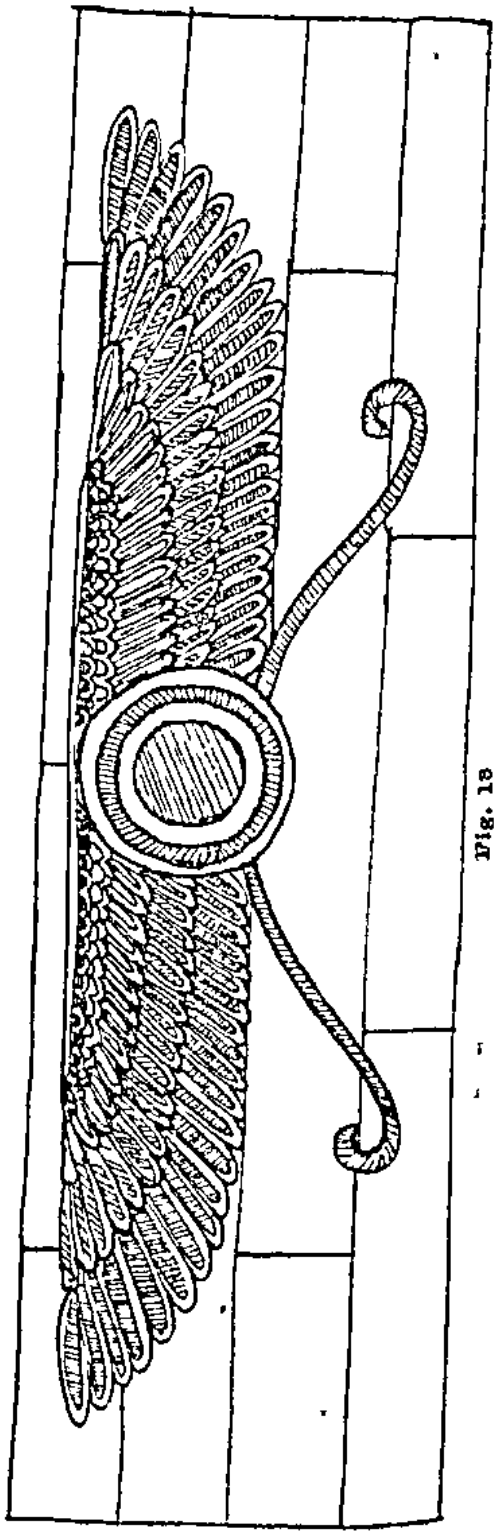


Fig. 13



Fig 19



Fig 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

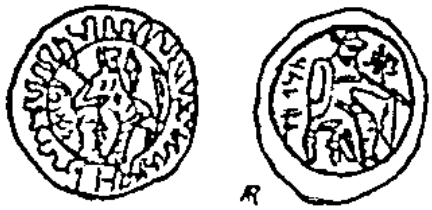


Fig. 23

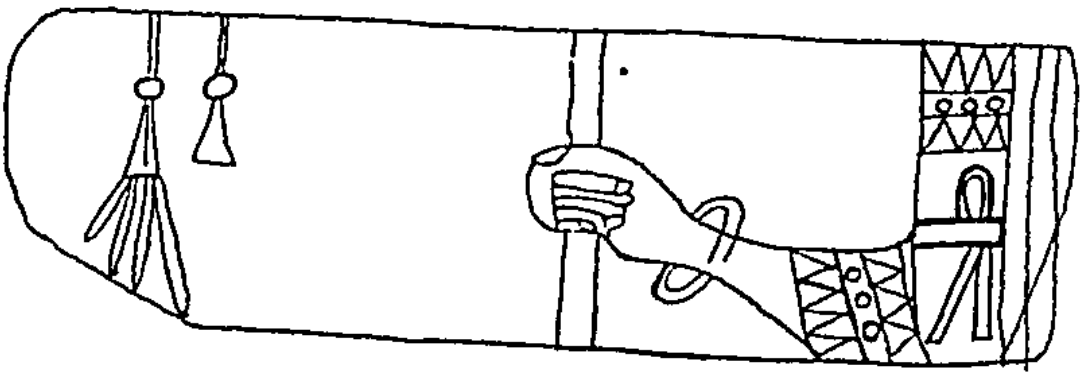


Fig. 23 a



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32

ETHNOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

By Francis Zajti, Lic. Div.

"The question of the Huns in India requires much further study from Indian scholars."

(Dr. Modi, at the Fourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad.)

It is a fact that in India people are differentiated by their respective religious creed. Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Parsism being the principal religions, all followers of Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Krishna etc. were looked upon as Indo-Aryans, all followers of Zarathushtra went among the Persians and the followers of Mohamet were the greatest racial or ethnographical problem of the censors of the Indian population. So came it, that notwithstanding the excellent researches of eminent Indian scholars, to be quoted later, until the very last time, it was the general opinion of Asiatic, European and American scholars, that in India there is an enormous majority of pure Indo-Aryans. And I may add, that except a very few specialists, there is scarcely anybody, who is not convinced, that the Parsis are all of pure Persian blood.

It goes without saying, that the fundamental questions of Indian history cannot be dealt with, before the question of the ethnographical integration of the Indian population is perfectly cleared.

I intend to throw, in this short paper, some light on this important question, quoting the most eminent Indian scholars and adding my own researches.

First of all we must try to distinguish the different strata of the present Indian population and consequently,

we must elucidate the race of the Aborigines or the first known inhabitants of India.

There is no possible doubt that the Aborigines of India were the Scythians. This is by no means a new discovery. Seventy-seven years ago General Briggs in his "Races of India" is already of this opinion: " ... ..all the Aborigines have one common source and their language, their features and their customs point them out as a branch of the great Scythian family, which from time to time emerged from the Himalayan mountains on the east and peopled India before the Western or Aryan race arrived and conquered them."[1]

Or to quote a more recent one, Syad Muhammad Latif, the historian of the Punjab, says: " Who are these aborigines, who were subdued by the Aryan invaders, more than three thousand years ago? They belonged, no doubt, to one common stock, and that stock was of Scythian origin...Long before the Aryans had penetrated into India, the country was inhabited by a very ancient race of people, who in their origin were Turanian or Scythian.....A g o a l a (herdsmen) dynasty, a race of nomads or 'shepherd kings,' held the country before the advent of the Aryan civilization. .The Turanian Hindus became the great temple-builders of India."[2]

The latest survey of India too, as is to be seen in their recently published ethnographical maps,[3] found the oldest stratum of the population to be of Turanian Scytho-Turanian origin and being at least a considerable component of the great majority of the present population.

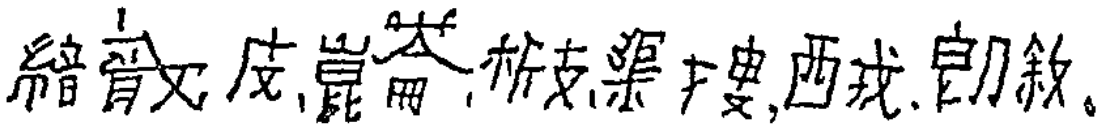
That these Aborigines did not only come from the East but remained in constant relation with the East and above all with the oldest East-Asian civilisation—

1 J.R A S. 1852, p. 2, ps. 13, p 304.

2 History of the Punjab, Calcutta 1891, 19 22.

3 London 1928. (India showing distribution of races).

with the Chinese realm is proved by the oldest geographical book of the world, by the Ju-kung of the Shoo-king, which says:



that is "The woven fells (are coming from) Koon-loon (through) the Sik ki, Koo so, the Western Djongs, this is the series"[1] Koon-loon is identified with the region of the Himalaya and the Hindukush and was inhabited by Turanians just as the Si-ki are the later Sa-kas, the Koo-so are the later ancient Ugors and Western Djongs are the later Heong noos or Huns The Ju-king was originally written about the year 2700 B C. and its Koon-loon are most certainly the Aborigines of India

The fundamental ethnological stratum of India is therefore a Turanian population, some 3000 years B C These Aborigines came very soon under Sumerian influence, as the Indian relics of Sumerian arts and civilisation show.

I refer only to excavations in Mohenjo-Daro, which produced the proofs of this important Sumerian influence on the Indian culture, civilization and art I beg to draw the attention of the Indian scholars on this subject, which awaits yet very efficient researches

In the 13th century B C. a considerable part of the conglomerate of Sumerians, Hittites (Khetas, Khattis or Hattis), whose capital was Boghaz-Kevi (the village in the Pass)[2] in Asia Minor, immigrated into the Transcaspian

1 Stephenson A Statistical atlas of the world Legge, Chinese Classics, Shoo king

2 This is a very interesting name I og means both in the Avesta and the Hungarian a nod a plenty of something Haz is in both a house Kevi is in both stony Boghaz Kevi is therefore Plenty of houses (in a) stony (region)

regions, where they met and joined forces with the Turanian people proper and founded under Feridun the well known Turanian realm Soon after Feridun they dissented and differentiated into Iran and Turan

We often meet in the Avesta with the name "hunu', which was very much discussed, but at present is generally interpreted as the name of a "tribe", the name of a people[1] They are the "Hunus" and "Khyonas" of Firdusi Modern scholars identify them with the white Huns,[2] with the Wusuns[3] and with the Saka Huns the Sakis of the Chinese annals and the Scyths of the western historiographers[4]

That the people of Feridun and of his immediate successors conquered the greater part of North India is generally known

About 1200 B C begins the immigration of the Aryans into India From this time until late to the time of Tamerlane, *i e* the realm of the Great Moghuls, the history of India is interwoven with the struggle for supremacy of the Aryans and the Turanians The Aryans introduced their sacred language the Sanskrit, the Turanians the language of their Magi priesthood the Old Avestan, the language of the Vendidad

In the 9th century B C there is a great new immigration of the Sakas, the people of Budha and in the 2nd century A D the Great-Juetchi, the Arsi of the western authors,[5] conquered from out Bactria the greater part of

1 Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, Avesta English and English Avesta Glossary (1910) pp 186, 254

2 Haug, Essays p 192

Kings mill —Prof Parker identifies the Wusuns with the Hungarians Chinese Recorder (1885) XVI 84

4 Prof Jurchányi A Hun fajta nepek tortenete (History of the Hun peoples) Budapest I 29 I 14

5 Sieg, Ein einheimischer Name für Juetchi Sitz Berichte der Berl. Ak. Wiss 1918, p 664

India. As the Juetchi or Arsi are also of pure Hun blood,[1] this is a new Turanian stratum in the ethnography of India.

General Cunningham is of the opinion that already in the 2nd century B.C. the Abars or Sus, the great Indo-Scythian race, conquered the Punjab and Sind and were later defeated by the Juetchi.[2] But the Abars or Sus were only tribes of the great Juetchi realm, which was divided in different Jabgu states.[3] One of this went under the name of Su and made conquests in India and were consequently united with the central Juetchi power.[4] It is more advisable to deal with this period under the aspect of the Juetchi conquest of India.

Now we come to the most important fact. The Rajputana population is looked upon as pure Indo-Aryan, but this is evidently a mistake. There we find a considerable population of the Mers, Jats and Gujars. Let us see therefore what the most prominent Indian scholars have to say about the origin of this people.

"Another effect of the invasion of the Huns," says Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,[5] "was the foundation of a Gujara kingdom in Central India. The Gujaras are regarded as closely allied to the Huns and founded a considerable kingdom in Rajputana with their capital at Bhimna, a short distance north-west of Mount Abu. These were able to form an imperial kingdom with their capital at Kanauj. They had also a minor kingdom with the capital at Broach. These foreign invaders left various clans and families, particularly in the central region of Northern India, all of which practically became Hinduised in course of time. The rank

1 Turchanyi, Hist of the Hun Peoples I. 86
2 Arch Rep II·23-39
3 The Hou Han shoo annals of China, Ch 118
4 Turchányi, op c, II 108
5 A Short History of India, Bombay Edition.

and file of them became the caste of Gujars who are found all over Hindustan. It is from out of these people, that there sprang the Rajput families of later India."

"The prominent position occupied by Gurjara kingdoms in early mediæval times," says V. A. Smith, "is a recent discovery. The existence of a small Gurjara principality at Bharoch (Broach), and of a larger state in Rajputana, has been known to archæologists for many years, but the recognition of the fact, that Bhoja, and the other kings of the powerful Kanaŭj dynasty in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries were Gurjaras is of very recent date and is not yet general ..... It is so definitely proved that Bhoja (circa 840-90 A.D.), his predecessors and successors, belonged to the Pratihara (Parihār) clan of the Gurjara tribe or caste, and, consequently, that the well-known clan of Parihār Rajputs is a branch of the Gurjara or Gujar stock... .. The Pawār headquarters were at Chandravatī and Achalgarh, near Mount Abu, and in the seventh century the Parihārs ruled a large part of Rajputana from Bhinmal, about fifty miles to the north-west of Mount Abu. About 800 A.D. Nāgabhata, King of the Gurjara country, conquered Kanaŭj, to which city he shifted his capital, and so founded the long line of Kanaŭj kings who ruled there until the capital was taken by Mahmud of Ghazni, at the close of 1018 A.D."[1]

That the Gurjaras form the essential ethnographical element of the Kshatriyas or Rajputs is still more expressly affirmed by the author of the "History of Gujarat," who says :—

"The facts that up to the twelfth century Hunas held a leading place in Gujarat chronicles, and that while in Rajputana and other parts of Northern India the traces of Huns are fairly widespread in Gujarat, they

1 The Early History of India, pp. 377 378.

have almost if not altogether disappeared, support the view that the Huna strain in Kathiavāda is hid under the names Mera, Jethva,[1] and Yhala."[2]

"The leading Gurjaras have dropped their tribe name in becoming Kshatriyas or Rajputs. The ordinary Gurjara they say is the same as the Rebbari; the Bad or High Gujjars to whom Krishna belonged are Rajputs. The Sompuras near Poshkar are of Gurjara descent. The Chochans they say came from Sambhar to Ajmer, (Delhi, Nágor, Jodhpur, Bhadgaon near Bhinmal) and from Bhadgaon to Sirohi .. The Devra Rajputs, whose head is the Sirohi chief... are of Chochan descent. The Jahirdar of Devala knows the name Huna. They are a Rakshasa people, he says. He mentions Honots or Sonots who may be a trace of Hunas, and Hunáls in Kathiāvāda and a Huni sub-division among the Kunbis of Marwar .. It is well-known that many mentions of the Gurjaras and their country in inscriptions and historical works refer to the Chālukya or Solanki kingdom of Anahilavada (A.D. 961-1242) or to its successor the Vāghelā principality (A.D. 1219-1304) ...The Gurjara or Bhinmal empire seems to have broken into several sections of which the three leading portions were the Chauhans of Sambhar, the Paramāras of Mālva and the Solankis of Anahilavada".[3]

This was most clearly stated by Prof. A. Rangaswami Saraswati (Madras) in his paper read in the Fourth Oriental Conference.

"The Gurjaras are supposed to represent the Hun group of tribes or hordes who settled in the Punjab and Rājputānā, related to the Rajputs and so Rajputs also are supposed to be of the Hun stock."[4]

1 "The Jetvas have all appearance of Scythian descent" Col. Tod.

2 Bombay Gazetteer (1896), Vol. I, P.I. pp. 146-147.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 467-469.

4 The Gujaras are the Huns. Allahabad Univers. 1927. (Through Oriental Conference).

Sir R. Bhandarkar expressed the same opinion in his paper "The Gurjaras" (read on the 13th November 1902)·—

"The Gurjaras are undoubtedly to be considered as a foreign nomadic tribe. This, unmistakably points to their Scythian, rather than Aryan, origin...Rajputānā was essentially the country of the Gurjaras, Gujarat came to be called after Gûrjaras."[1]

I beg to quote lastly V. A. Smith·—"One of the thirty-six so called 'royal' Rajput clans actually was given the name of Huna. The opponents of Harsha may be regarded as having been outlying colonies of real Huns, who had settled among the hills on the frontier. The early Gurjaras closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to the white Huns. They founded a considerable kingdom in Rājputānā, the capital of which was Bhinmāl or Srīmāl. The minor Gurjara kingdom of Broach was an offshoot of this kingdom, which conquered Kanauj at the beginning of the ninth century...The Parihars (Gujar-Parihar) and many other famous Rajput clans of the north were developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India, during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gurjars and other castes, a little lower than the Rajputs in the scale of precedence."[2]

There can be scarcely any doubt about the Kshatriyas or Rajputs having been essentially of Hunnic or Turanian blood. That they were mixed very early with the Indo-Aryans is evident. These formed the modern subjects of the Rajas, but many of the Rajas themselves are of the same descent· "The Chauhans of the Rajput states, the most pious of the thirty-six Royal Races of India are, Hara Hunas."[3] The most illustrious repre-

1 Pages 4 & 43.

2 The early History of India Oxford ed 1908, pp 302 303.

3 C.J Tod, Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India, Ed. Oxford, 1920

sentatives of this Hara Hunas rulers are the dynasties of Kotah and Bundi

The Jats are of the same origin, they were originally Huns and belonged consequently to the Turanian race "Scythians and Huns united with Aryans, produced the hardy races of north western Hindostan, such as Jats'[1]

The same is to be told of the Mers or inhabitants of Marvara Although thoroughly mixed with the Aryans they conserved also their racial proprieties They are remnants of the White and Black Huns of Mihirakula This spring, I had the opportunity to visit one tribe of them, who call themselves "Magaras' There I found typical specimens of the White and Black Huns Their language, the 'Magaraka boli' contains a very considerable quantity of ancient Hungarian words Another quantity of words shows a close affinity with Avestan words It is very remarkable, that these words are identical with those, whose identity with ancient Hungarian words was proved by Prof Dr B Munkacsy, the great Hungarian linguist

This seems to confirm the opinion of Major C F MacMunn "The Jat and Gujar are in reality of a Scythian race, with whom some identify the Yatu of history and the Magyars of Eastern Europe"[2]

There now occur two preliminary questions To what Hunnic tribes belong these later Turanian[3] immigrants and when these immigrations happened?

As to the first we had already some answers above We have documentary evidence of the immigration of the Great Juechi or Kushans, of the Little Juechi or Kedaras,

1 St Nihal Singh The Kings and an Allies The Rajas and their India
2 The Armies of India.
3 Prof Turchányi in his quoted work says that as the term 'Aryans' is the denomination of a race and v g Germans a national complex the term Turanian designates the race and the term Hun (Hunnic)' designates the national complex

of the Jue-Jue, of the Khazars or White Huns.[1] After them came the other White Huns of Mihirakula, who settled themselves in Gwalior. The grandiose temples and ruins of Barolli, built once by the people of Mihirakula, and Angatsi, lord of the Hûns,[2] I had the luck to visit this spring, supported by the gracious help of H. H. the Princes of Udaipur and Kotah. These Huns of Barolli and Gwalior are those who came (A.D. 720) to help Chitor against the Arabs.

All these Turanians immigrated in the 4th-8th centuries A.C. These different periods of the new Turanian immigrations show why the new immigrants had so often to fight their own kindred people the Turanians, settled in India many hundred or thousand years before them.

The immigration or better the invasion in India of the Turanians of Mahmud Ghazni, or the conquest of India by the Turanians of Togrulbeg and of the Great Mogul are sufficiently known.

These are in brief the historical facts, which prove the accuracy of the latest English statistical maps of India.[3] Whereas the itinerary of the immigrating or invading Huns is clearly shown in the newest German maps of India.[4]

Having shown the most essential points of the originally pure Turanian ethnological strata of India, we may now proceed to the consideration of the ethnological question of the Parsis.

Just as Hinduism accepted by most of the old Turanian immigrants made them hitherto seem to be Aryans, the Zarathushtrianism or Mazdayasnism of the Parsis made them seem to be of pure Persian origin.

1 Journ. Geo., Vol. IX, P. I. 471

2 Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vols. I III

3 Stieler-sen, A Statistical Atlas of the World, London 1874

4 Typen der Indischen Kultur, von Hermann Goetz. Leipzig 1929 p. 42.

It is an undoubted fact, that the ancestors of the modern Parsis immigrated about the beginning of the 8th century A.C. first to the Gujarat peninsula and later on elsewhere and foremostly to Bombay. They left their ancient seats because of their most cherished treasure, their vehemently threatened Zoroastrian religion. Being bound for centuries by this potent bond and believing Zoroastrianism to be a pure Persian religion, it is no wonder that they consider themselves to be of pure Persian origin.

Now first of all Zoroastrianism is no Persian religion at all. Zoroaster was no Persian. I may quote here the most noted Avestan scholar, Baron C. De Harlez, who says: "We are justified in concluding, that Avestan Mazdaism was neither the religion of the Persian people nor of its rulers...The religion of the Magi was not the religion, which appealed to Persian hearts and it was soon forgotten by the greater part of the nation."[1]

To save the Persian origin of Zarathushtra "there are notable scholars," says H. Oldenberg, "who will put him down so late as the year 600 B.C..... scarcely with any right..... considering to the birth-place and working territory of Zarathushtra it is a certainty, that he was not a Persian."[2]

We may state with absolute certainty that Zarathushtra belonged to the same people whose religion he tried to reform. This original religion was the common religion of the only territorially distinguished Iranians and Turanians. Zarathushtra was a son of this great nation born probably from a Caucasian family of Turanian origin. There is a Parsi tradition which makes him a descendant of Shah Feridun. This should have taught the Parsi historians, that they are wrong, when they hold the history of Persia as being the exclusive history of the Parsis.

Parsis or Zarathushtrians have a much older history. They belong to the ancient people of the Kayanian

1 Introduction to the Avesta, Transl. from the French by P. A. Wadia, Bombay, 1921, pp. 12-16

2 Die Iranische Religion (Die Religionen der Orients) Leipzig, 1913, p. 91.

dynasty. The whole historical contents of the Avesta, of the Yashts, of the Bundehesh and of the Shah Nameh is restricted to the people of the Kayanian dynasty. The geography of the Vendidad knows only North-Iran, Turan and the Caucasian and Transcaspian territories. Kai Kobad and Gushtasp, the great patron of Zarathushtra, were of the Kayanian dynasty. From then to the time of the Achaemenides there is a great hiatus.

Originally all Zarathushtrians and before them all Magians belonged to the great race, differentiated under the sons of Feridun into Turanian and Iranian. The old Zarathushtrians had also in the modern terms "Turanian" blood in their veins.

Zarathushtrianism was made later the official religion of the new Persian realm. It is to be remembered, that this realm also consisted of very different people and mostly of people of Turanian blood. The fact remains clear that the Zarathushtrians are composed of the old Bactrian and Iranian, of the old Turanian, Transcaspian (Old Media, Parthia) and certain Caucasian people and of the real Persians and of the people living in Persia proper.

I wish to draw atttention to these undoubtable facts. They prove clearly, that the modern Parsis also are ethnologically composed of the same elements and that in consequence there is a considerable quantity of Turanian blood in the modern Parsi veins.

This is a fact very much worth considering. This historical brotherhood is apt to bind together more strictly the Parsis of India with their Indian blood-brethren and give a new important right of common leadership to the Parsis, who are most essentially blood-brethren of the majority of the present Indian population.

I may be allowed to invite the Parsi historians to try to elucidate further these ethnological facts of eminently scientific, cultural and literary importance.

WILLIAM ERSKINE'S DISSERTATION ON THE RELIGION, USAGES AND MORALS OF THE PARSIS.

By R. P. Masani, M.A.

Scholarship may have its delights, but it is the lot of the votaries of learning as a class to find their works consigned to book-shelves seldom approached by the readers of their own generation, much less by posterity. William Erskine, to whom the people of India and of the Bombay Presidency in particular are indebted to a considerable extent for the revival of oriental learning during the early days of the nineteenth century, is no exception to the general rule. Who ever heard the name of the once famous orientalist or his erudite writings mentioned even in literary circles until one afternoon in March 1929, seventy-seven years after his death, his bust was unveiled in the vestibule of the rooms of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, the present Governor of Bombay, and a tribute paid to his memory as the first Secretary of the Society?

A Pioneer in the Field of Oriental Learning.

When Erskine arrived in Bombay with that famous jurist and scholar, James Mackintosh, in the year 1804, the Indian population was steeped in ignorance and superstition and the English society despite its pretensions to learning evinced little interest in art or literature. The individuals who constituted that society had left their home at an early age for civil or military service in India, so that few of them had the opportunity to receive classical or scientific education, or possessed leisure for literary pursuits. Mackintosh had, however, come to India determined to kindle the torch of scholarship in the benighted

country. He, therefore, convened on 28th November 1804, a meeting of a few leading men of Bombay to consider the question of forming a society for the promotion of literary activities. There and then the Literary Society of Bombay was inaugurated, with Mackintosh as president and Erskine as secretary. Erskine was then holding the office of sealer and clerk in the Small Causes Court, but he had received university education at Edinburgh and had developed literary tastes during his chequered educational career. He was, therefore, eminently fitted for the secretaryship of the Literary Society. "I had the good fortune," said Mackintosh, "to bring out with me a young Scotch gentleman, Mr. Erskine, who is one of the most amiable, ingenious and accurately informed men in the world." He always called Erskine "my philosophical friend," and in course of time the young friend so highly admired and esteemed became his son-in-law.

Apart from the illuminating papers read by Erskine before the Society, his cultivated tastes and intimate acquaintance with classical and oriental literature enabled him to give to the members of the Society and others that information, advice and encouragement which were essential in those days for the pursuit of studies, particularly for the advancement of oriental learning. Although subsequent researches show that the sources of information availed of by him were inadequate and not much reliable and that the conclusions drawn therefrom were necessarily fallacious and even vexatious, we must not forget how much we owe to him as a pioneer in the field of oriental studies in this land. For the student of Zoroastrian lore, the famous letters that he wrote to John Malcolm about the sacred books and religion of the Parsis and the authenticity of the Desatir have a peculiar interest. These dissertations should have kept his memory green among the Parsis, but the serious errors that crept into his contributions, perhaps also his outspoken and offensive re-

marks about what he wrongly believed to be the moral code of the Parsi community as a whole, account for the oblivion to which his writings have been relegated.

Erskine's Letters to John Malcolm.

John Malcolm, the renowned historian of Persia, having expressed the desire that the age of the Zend-Avesta of the Parsis and of the Desatir should be accurately fixed, Erskine embarked on a survey of those difficult subjects. With the scanty materials that were then available, he arrived at conclusions in many respects flagrantly wrong, but such as they were he believed them to be correct and communicated them in two formidable epistles to Malcolm. In the first letter he dealt exhaustively with the ancient languages of Persia, the comparative value and authenticity of the details of ancient Persian history, the tenets of the Parsis of his age and the Zoroastrian Scriptures on which they were believed to have been founded, and proofs of the antiquity of many of their doctrines and observances.

Speculations concerning the Zend Language.

As regards the origin of the Zend language, Erskine observed :

> " There can be no doubt in what class of languages the Zend is to be ranked. It is altogether Sanscrit. But though many words of the Persian and Pehlevi are evidently derived from a Zend or Sanscrit root, a great proportion of the words in these two languages are not of this description, but appear to be borrowed from some common but different source. A comparison of the specimens in Anquetil du Perron's Zend-Avesta leads to this conclusion. In the last volume of his translation of the sacred volumes of the Parsis, there are two vocabularies; the one Zend and Pehlevi, and the other Pehlevi and Persian. In the Zend and Pehlevi vocabulary, the proportion of Pehlevi words that correspond nearly or altogether with the modern Persian is very great; insomuch as, in some pages, to have the appearance rather of a Persian than of a Pehlevi translation; while in the Pehlevi and Persian vocabulary,

the Pehlevi words that correspond with the modern Persian are very few. The latter, it is probable, was intended as a glossary of uncommon Pehlevi words for the use of persons to whom Persian was familiar, rather than as a complete vocabulary of the Pehlevi tongue, and would consequently comprehend those Pehlevi words only which required explanation to a Persian from their being remote from his native language. In the Zend and Pehlevi vocabulary, the Pehlevi words being used to explain the Zend appear without selection, and consequently we see the Pehlevi language in its natural state, in which it visibly approximates to the Persian, a conclusion that receives confirmation from an analysis of even a single page of the commencement of the *Bundehesh*, which Anquetil has printed in the original tongue as a specimen of the Pehlevi. From its Indian form it seems probable that the Zend was either the Suraseni, or some other cultivated dialect of the Sanscrit, or that it was an Indian dialect spoken by some nation or tribe of Hindu origin, to the east or north-east of Persia, and adopted, perhaps in its natural state, but more probably with some changes, as the sacred language of the country. In that case the Zend liturgy could not have been understood by the ancient Persians any more than by the modern Parsis, but was likely to be only venerated the more on that account."

Before Erskine so renowned an orientalist as William Jones had observed in his *Asiatic Researches* that when he perused the Zend glossary he was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscrit and that even some of their inflexions were formed by the rules of the Sanscrit grammar. Following Jones, John Leyden had after investigation hazarded the conjecture that the Zend language might correspond with the Suraseni dialect of the Sanscrit. As against these opinions Erskine could not ignore the fact that Anquetil du Perron had put forward the theory that the Zend language was spoken in ancient Media and that the Zend and Georgian were kindred tongues. But on the publication of the French savant's works, had not William Jones pronounced the Zend-Avesta to be a mere fabrica-

tion of the Parsi priests of India by whom the simple-minded European student of Avesta had been duped? With so eminent an authority on his side Erskine considered himself on firm ground in challenging the authenticity of the sacred language.[1]

There was another consideration which, thought Erskine, supported his contentions:

"The Zend-Avesta," he observed, "is supposed to have been written in Zend characters, by Zertusht or Zoroaster, at least 500 years before Christ. We do not know that the Pehlevi was a written language till the time of the Sasani kings. Yet the Zend has forty eight characters corresponding with those of the vulgar Indian languages of Sanscrit extraction, and includes twelve vowels; while the Pehlevi, with truly Arabian poverty, has only nineteen characters, without any to express the variety of vowel sounds. As an alphabet borrowed from another is not likely to be more imperfect than that from which it was taken, and especially to such an excessive degree, it is easy to judge that the system of the Pehlevi has not been borrowed from that of the Zend, but that the Zend has been borrowed from its native Sanscrit; the Pehlevi, from its neighbouring Chaldean or Syriac; and that, in Persia, the Pehlevi is the elder of the two. If it is necessary to add anything to this remark, it may be observed, that some of the sounds which the Zend characters represent are not to be found in the Persian or Pehlevi: thus, there are three characters to represent the sound of d; we have the consonants simple and aspirated; and we find nasals, as the ng; and the slightest comparison of the Zend and Sanscrit alphabets evinces that the former owes these, as well as all its other peculiarities, to the latter. The system of the Zend alphabet is Sanscrit, its characters Pehlevi; and an attempt has evidently been made to accommodate the Pehlevi characters to express the new and foreign sounds of the Zend. This alone disguises its origin for a single moment; Anquetil indeed tells us that the Persian writers

1 According to Darmesteter, Jones, then a young Oxonian, had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Thomas Hyde and a few other English scholars: "The Zend-Avesta suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil."

make the Pehlevi go back beyond Zoroaster, and that this uncontradicted testimony should be respectable. The Persian writers to whom he alludes wrote at least 1800 years after Zoroaster; and we may be pardoned for not relying with implicit confidence on the historical criticism of the Musulman antiquaries of Isfahan, and for asking something more than the vague assertion of writers indifferent about the truth or falsehood of the fact and who had no means of knowing what they affirmed."

To sum up, Erskine's opinion was that there were no good grounds for ascribing the Zend-Avesta to Zoroaster. He believed that it was of Indian origin and he saw no reason to give the Zend writings a higher antiquity than "the age of Sassanis". "I incline", he said, "to the reign of Ardeshir Babegan, the restorer of the Persian religion, under whom we are told that the imperfect remains of these holy volumes were collected from the memory of the priests and committed to writing."

Comparative Credibility of the Greek and Persian Historians.

Erskine's conclusions concerning the credibility of the Greek and Persian historians are given below:

"It is making rather too large draughts on our historical good-nature to expect us to resign the contemporary evidence of Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Aristotle, to be guided by historians who lived 2000 years after the events they describe; or even by the venerable Firdausi, who lived only 1500 years after them. That some of the events contained in the history of these dynasties may have happened, I do not dispute: I only affirm that they are not worthy of credit merely because the modern Persian historians relate them. They are not history, though ingenious men, by confirming and propping them up from other quarters, may convert some of them into good and authentic history. Till that is done, they belong to romance. The interval from the conquest of Alexander the Great till the accession of Ardeshir Babegan containing the successors of Alexander, and the whole series of the Ashkani or Arsacidæ, the Parthian kings, though comprehending a period

of upwards of 500 years, is nearly a blank in Persian history. It is comprised by Firdausi in a few lines, which contain a confession of his total ignorance of the events of that long period; after which he proceeds to the history of Sasanis. By the oriental historians the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, or Parthians, is designated as the *Muluk-al-tewâif*, the kingdom of the tribes; and they seem to regard it as an interregnum during which the different tribes and provinces had each its separate government. This view is confirmed by the researches of the Baron de St. Croix, who seems to establish that the exclusive kingdom of the Parthians extended from Mosul to Rei and Isfahan; while many tribes in the centre of the country, Paraitakeni, Uxii, Cossæi, and Elumæi, were never subdued. The Elumæi had always independent kings, and Fars had separate princes, who acknowledged first the Macedonian and afterwards the Parthian monarchs. Indeed, the Parthians appeared to have been a foreign race, who never fully assimilated with the native inhabitants. They were originally Scythians, and always preserved the Scythian manners and mode of warfare. Justin talks of their language as a mixture of the Scythian and Median. They resembled those Tûrki tribes who still compose so great a part of the population of Persia, and maintain their own usages in the plains and deserts that intersect the cultivated country. Literature seems to have made no progress during the ascendancy of this foreign and migratory race; and the greater part of the little that formerly existed was probably lost. All the coins of the race have Greek legends; a proof how low the national literature was at that period. Some Persian writers tell us that even the sacred volumes of Zoroaster, and the *Zend-Avesta* itself, perished during the confusion and ignorance that prevailed in this period of darkness; and that when a family of native princes was restored to Persia, and the foreign Parthian race expelled from the throne, in the total want of any manuscript of the sacred books, the most learned and aged mobeds and priests were assembled from all part of Persia, some accounts say to the number of 40,000, and that from their recitation the Zend-Avesta was recovered and again used in the religious ceremonies of the church. However this may be, it is certain that a religion like that which prevailed in Persia before and afterwards, maintained itself during the Parthian period."

Erskine assigns the suzerainty to the historians of the West, particularly to Herodotus :

"The very first historian of Greece, the venerable Herodotus, in his account of the history, manners, and religion of Persia, many of the dominions of which he visited and viewed with the eyes of a historian and a geographer, has preserved to us a more authentic and a more judicious survey of the ancient state of Persia than we could glean from all the writings of all the oriental historians. His lively portraiture of manners; the caution with which he distinguishes what he had seen from what he had only heard; and the invaluable description of the twenty satrapies of the Persian Empire, a description the accuracy of which has been confirmed by the latest investigations of our most improved geography,[1] support the fame of scrupulous fidelity and curious knowledge, which the strictest scrutiny has left entire to the most amusing of ancient historians. The scanty gleanings of succeeding authors do not enable us to form a complete or connected history of ancient Persia; but the writings of Thucydides, of Xenophon, of Strabo, of Polybius, of Arrian, and of later writers, furnish a touchstone by which the eastern historians may be tried. Appian, Marcellinus, Procopius and a few others of the historians, with the Greek and Syriac ecclesiastical writers, and the Medallists who have illustrated the events of the Ashkani and Sasani races, afford a similar though imperfect means of trying the accuracy of the modern Persian accounts of those remote times. Without some support from these quarters, it is unsafe to repose any confidence in the oriental history even of the ages immediately preceding the Mahomedan invasion."

Light thrown by the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Little did the learned secretary of the Bombay Literary Society dream at the time that during his own life-time the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun by scholars like Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen and Rawlinson would bring together irrefutable evidence concerning the authenticity as well as the antiquity of the Zend books. The ancient Persian inscriptions brought to light a new language the

1 The work referred to was Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*.

study of which proved the similarity between the Avesta and the Achæmenian language. They disclosed the existence of a mighty nation and a glorious line of kings and conquerors, who built up the Achæmenian empire, stopped the inroads of the Central Asian marauders, subdued the Ionian states and the Athenians, sent expeditions to navigate the Indus and to extend their sway over the Punjab, ancient Turan, Egypt, Scythia, Greece and Italy. The inscriptions proved beyond doubt that the religion of Zoroaster was the religion of those valiant monarchs of the inscription period of whom the greatest and the most famous were Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes. In the light of these researches Erskine was led to modify his views before his death in 1852.

Dr. Modi's Review of Iranian Papers read before the B. B. R. A. Society.

Although the echoes of the old controversy concerning the genuineness of the Avesta were heard for a long time thereafter, the questions regarding the origin and antiquity of the Zend writings were practically regarded as a dead issue in the latter half of the last century. Today it would be sheer waste of time to refer to it, but for the antiquarian and the student of history a survey of the different stages of the investigations and discussions is of absorbing interest. We find a resumé of such discussions in the volume compiled by Dr. Modi when, on the occasion of the centenary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, he was asked to review the papers and notes on Iranian subjects read before the Society between the years 1804 and 1904. During that period more than a dozen papers had been read before the Society dealing directly or indirectly with the genuineness and the age of the Parsi scriptures. In reviewing each of these papers Dr. Modi has examined the subject in all its bearings. In fact, before he undertook the survey, he

Asia Minor, who invaded Egypt, Greece and Scythia and that they were intentionally exalted to the dignity of kings by the Greek authors "It may then be conjectured," he suggested, "that these invasions were never led by a Persian king in person and that even the invading armies were merely composed of troops levied in the dependent states, and that but a very small part of them on any occasion ever consisted of Persian soldiers. . The celebrated invasions of Xerxes may therefore have been only an expedition similar to that of Dates and Artaphanes, but in much greater numbers, and not improbably reinforced by troops detached from Persia proper, the whole commanded by some chief of such rank and importance as to induce the Greeks to honour him with the name of king."

As Dr. Modi points out, when Kennedy was thus speculating, "the cuneiform inscriptions had not seen the full blaze of the day-light of researches" Grotofend had just begun the work, but shortly afterwards the inscriptions showed that Xerxes and Darius Hystaspes were not mere Persian generals exalted to the dignity of kings but were real kings of kings (Khshâyathia Khshâyathiyânâm—Behistun I-1) who had conquered a great part of the then civilized world. He also called attention to Mr. Pallonji Burjorji Desai's article in the K R. Cama Memorial Volume on the "Ostracism of the Achæmenides from the Pahlavi Works and the Shah-nameh," in which the Parsi historian attributes the omission to "the ignorance of later writers". Dr. Modi, however, is cautious enough to add: "This subject is still one of those in the history of Persia, which are not satisfactorily settled. I am, however, inclined to think, that the Achæmenides referred to by the classical authors and by the inscriptions, and the Kiânians referred to by Firdousi, were contemporary dynasties, the former ruling in the west of Persia, and the latter in the east in Bactria."

A Defence of Firdousi.

There was, indeed, no justification for the western scholars of those days to place all the works of the Persian historians in the category of a romance and it is interesting to notice that Kennedy had the courage to stand up for the Persian authors. In his aforesaid paper he expressed the opinion that Greek writers including Herodotus had been led away to a certain extent by the love of their country which made them give glowing pictures of Greek victories and Persian defects. The Shah-nameh of Firdousi should, at least, have been exempt from the reproach of being a pure romance, for in the introduction to the world-renowned epic the poet says: "I will narrate what has already been narrated. What I narrate has been completely narrated...There was a book of ancient times, which contained many episodes. It was scattered in the hands of different priests. Every learned man possessed a fragment of it. There was a Pehelwan of the family of the Dehkans. He was brave, noble, wise and generous. He was fond of collecting materials for the history of ancient times. So he called aged Mobeds from all parts of the country and collected the historical works....When that great man heard from them the narratives, he laid on them the foundation of a great book. Thus the work became a memoir in the world and the high and low praised him."

in some places are borrowed from the *Aiyádgár-i-Zarirân.*"

In his review of Kennedy's paper Dr. Modi maintains that Firdousi has taken no liberty, none as regards the field of action, none as regards the names of the actors. He points out that the Pahlavi treatises, the *Karnameh-i-Ardeshir Babegán* and the *Aiyádgár-i-Zarirán*, show that the Persian poet had authentic materials for his work and, as an additional testimony, he quotes the following sentence from the preface to the fourth volume of M. Mohl, the French editor and translator of the Shah-nameh :

"Plus on étudiera l'œuvre de Firdousi, plus on se convaincéra, je crois, qu'il n'a rien inventé, et qu'il s'est contenté de revêtir de son brillant coloris les traditions qui formaient l'histoire populaire de la Perse."

A Defence of Herodotus.

While vindicating the authenticity of Firdousi's account, Dr. Modi also defends Herodotus. In reviewing another paper read before the Society on 30th June 1818 by C. Bellino on the Progress made in deciphering Cuneiform Inscriptions, Dr. Modi refers to writers like Kennedy who doubted the complimentary accounts given by Herodotus of the Persian kings and of the manners and customs of the people. These doubts were soon dispelled, as we have seen, by the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions. Dr. Modi gives one interesting illustration. Herodotus had stated that King Darius had completed the canal which connected the Red Sea with the Mediterranean and which had been dug some time before by Necho. European scholars were not inclined to accept the statement, but the discovery of the Persepolitan Column known as the "Column of Chalouf" showed that Herodotus was right and that the canal of Darius ran well nigh parallel to the modern Suez Canal for half its way. Rawlinson has given a short inscription of Darius found on a stone discovered at Suez.

Rask's Reply to Erskine.

Erskine's letter to Malcolm on the sacred books and religion of the Parsis was read before the Society on 27th April 1819.[1] It provoked a spirited rejoinder from Emmanuel Rask, the gifted philologist who had the honour of being a precursor of Grimm and Burnouf. Rask, says Max Muller in his *Chips from a German Workshop*, "was the first who, with the materials collected by du Perron and himself, analysed the language of the Avesta scientifically. He proved

1. That Zend was not a corrupted Sanscrit, as supposed by W. Erskine but that it differed from it as Greek, Latin or Lithunian differed from one another and from Sanscrit.

2. That the modern Persian was really derived from Zend as Italian was from Latin; and

3. That the Avesta, or works of Zoroaster, must have been reduced to writing at least previously to Alexander's conquest. The opinion that the Zend was an artificial language (an opinion held by men of great eminence in Oriental Philology, beginning with Sir W. Jones) is passed over by Rask as not deserving of refutation."

The Philological Labours of Burnouf.

Then came Burnouf. With the help of a Sanscrit translation of the Yasna made by Neriosengh in accordance with the old Pahlavi versions and of comparative grammar that had just been founded by Bopp, he succeeded in tracing the general outlines of the Zend lexicon and fixing its grammatical forms. He also gave the first correct notions of a comparative mythology of the Avesta and Veda. At the same time the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered by Burnouf in Paris, by Lassen in Bonn, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson in Persia. These revealed the existence, during the era of the first Achæmenian kings, of a language closely connected with that of the Avesta, and removed all doubts as to the authenticity of the Zend

books. "It would have required more than an ordinary amount of scepticism," says James Darmesteter in his Introduction to Vol. IV of the Sacred Books of the East, "to look still upon the Zend as an artificial language of foreign importation, without root in the land where it was written, and in the conscience of the people for whom it was written, at the moment when a twin language, bearing a striking likeness to it in nearly every feature, was suddenly making itself heard from the mouth of Darius, and speaking from the very tomb of the first Achæmenian king. That unexpected voice silenced all controversies, and the last echoes of the loud discussion which had been opened in 1771 died unheeded." He adds in a footnote: "The attacks of John Romer ('Zend: Is it an original language?' London 1855) called forth a refutation only in Bombay (Dhanjibhai Framji, 'On the Origin and Authenticity of the Aryan Family of Languages, the Zend-Avesta and the Húzvaresh', 1861).

Romer Revives the Controversy.

Evidently Darmesteter was not aware of the echoes of the controversy heard once more in the rooms of the Society. On 20th January 1853 was read a paper by John Romer, former President of the Society, on "Brief Notices of Persian and of the language called Zend". In this paper Romer tried to prove that the connection of the Persian language with the other old languages of Iran (*viz.*, Zend, the language of Achæmenian inscriptions, the Sassanian Pahlavi of the inscriptions of Hâjiâbâd and other places, the Pahlavi of books, the Pazend and the language of the Desatir) was "exceedingly remote and insignificant and by no means of the character long alleged by the able and zealous orientalists of the continent". One of the reasons advanced by him for doubting the genuineness of the Zend was the assumed silence of Firdousi and Tabari as regards the Zend-

Avesta. Dr. Modi, however, points out that far from being silent on this point Firdousi refers to Zend-Avesta more than once and carries back its existence to the time of Feridun. Similarly, he refers to the passages in Tabari where he speaks of Zoroaster taking the Zend-Avesta to the court of King Gushtâsp. Dr. Modi also calls attention to K. R. Cama's *Jartoshti Abhyâs* (Zoroastrian Studies) in which the lay Dastur of the Parsis, (as Darmesteter used to style Cama) had refuted the views of Romer and also of Kennedy on the subject of the Zend language. Romer had expressed his regret that " Dr. Wilson, remembering Kennedy's filiation of certain languages from Babylonian or Sanscrit, to the exclusion of Persian, did not abide by and work out his earliest impressions as to whence the fabricators of Zend drew materials for their work", and had expressed the hope that the learned divine would undertake the task of a careful re-examination of the points which had satisfied him as to the genuineness of the Zend. To this Dr. Wilson's reply was that his views of the Zend remained unchanged and were " founded, not only on the analogies which it bears to most of the languages of the Indo-Germanic family, both near and remote, but also on various, though brief, geographical allusions which it contains and on certain analogies, and at the same time antagonisms, to the oldest forms of Hinduism, which it expresses ".

Rawlinson in Bombay.

In April 1855 Sir Henry Rawlinson gave before the Society a lecture on the " Results of Recent Discovery in Assyria and Babylonia". The great importance attached to his discoveries by devout Christians was thus expressed by Dr. Wilson : " The great fact that they went so far as they did to corroborate and illustrate the Hebrew scriptures, tended much to the confirmation and extended

appreciation of those historical records, which, originally written, by the pen of inspiration, were so dear to all our hearts" "The Parsis attached the same importance', says Dr Modi in his review, "to Rawlinson s discoveries from their point of view The discoveries bring to vivid light the history of their Achæmenian kings, and supply materials to judge from them, in addition to the writings of Herodotus and other classical writers"

THE LAST WORD—GELDNER'S ARTICLE

In October 1855 was read another paper "On the Avesta and the Zend and Pehlevi languages' by Prof Spiegel The Professor's view summed up the prevalent views of his school to the effect that the Avesta must have been written down at a comparatively late period, after the invasion of Alexander Commenting on the paper after the lapse of fifty years, Dr Modi gives the latest consensus of opinion on the subject as embodied in Prof Geldner s article on the "Language and Literature of Persia in the edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica "We know, says Dr Modi, "that scholars like the late M Harlez and M Darmesteter have differed from Dr Geldner s views, but Geldner's are the generally accepted views, which have found a supporter in another well known German scholar, Dr Geiger Writing twenty five years later, we find that Dr Modi's words still hold good The following quotation from Geldner, will, therefore, form the most fitting epilogue to this discourse on the antiquity and authenticity of the sacred language of the Parsis —

> 'Not only amongst Iranian languages but amongst all the languages of the Indo European group Zend takes one of the very highest places in importance for the comparative philologist In age it almost rivals Sanscrit in primitiveness it surpasses that language in many points it is inferior only in respect of its less extensive literature The view which became current through Anquetil du Perron that the Avesta is through out the work of Zoroaster the founder of the religion has

long been abandoned as untenable. But the opposite view, that not a single word in the book can lay claim to the authorship of Zoroaster, also appears, on closer study, too sweeping. In the Avesta two stages of the language are plainly distinguishable . . . . . The older is represented in but the small part of the whole work, the so-called Gâthâs or songs . . . . These Gâthâs are what they claim to be, and what they are honoured in the whole Avesta as being,—the actual productions of the prophet himself or of his time. They bear in themselves irrefutable proofs of their authenticity, bringing us face to face not with the Zoroaster of the legends but with a real person, announcing a new doctrine and way of salvation, no supernatural Being assured of victory, but a mere man, struggling with human conflicts of every sort, in the midst of a society of fellow-believers yet in its earliest infancy. It is almost impossible that a much later period could have produced such unpretentious and almost depreciatory representations of the deeds and personality of the prophet. If, then, the Gâthâs reach back to the time of Zoroaster, and he himself, according to the most probable estimate, lived as early as the fourteenth century B.C., the oldest component parts of the Avesta are hardly inferior in age to the oldest Vedic hymns."[1]

Erskine's Picture of the Religious and Social Life of the Parsis.

The most interesting section of Erskine's letter to Malcolm is that in which he gives a picture of the religious and social life of the Parsis. Circumscribed as was his knowledge of the language and history of the community, we find him nevertheless entering into details of the "Khurda Avesta", the "Vendidâd", the "Vespered", the "Yeshts", the "Veraf-Nameh", the "Bundehesh", etc. There he shows remarkable knowledge of the sources of information then extant. The survey of the sacred books is necessarily incomplete and inaccurate in many respects, but the labour spent on the work, the zeal and skill with which he has tried to unravel the mysteries of the then little-known religion, and his close

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, XI ed., Vol. XXI, p. 246 b.

acquaintance with the minutiæ of the doctrine and belief of the Parsis, their ideas of the cosmogony, their daily observances and rituals, the species of their sacred fire, their prayers and modes of worship, the various classes of their priests, their marriage customs, etc., command our admiration. The picture of Parsi life presented by him is in no way a faithful representation of the original. In regard to the description and explanation of certain religious practices, and traits of character of the community, the European orientalist has been guilty of Himalayan mistakes.

Erskine appears to have come across some very bad sheep in the Zoroastrian fold, and to have generalised from the examples of a few ignorant and unprincipled persons about the low ethical standard of the community. There is no deliberate intention to misrepresent, for he unreservedly acknowledges and appreciates several of the good traits in the character of the community. But his is a case of an arm chair philosopher and scholar whose opinions are vitiated partly owing to want of correct information and partly owing to the keenness of a scholar to find a concrete illustration of the theory that a religion not properly understood and prayers recited in a dead language much less understood cannot be expected to exercise any wholesome influence on the conduct of life. This is all that can be said in extenuation of the false picture given by him of the social life of the community, false in many important details and constituting a grave libel of the Zoroastrians as a race.

It was an irony of fate that the philosopher officer of the East India Company, who evinced little sense of responsibility in discussing the morals of the Parsi community, when a lower standard of principle prevailed even in the English society of Bombay, was shortly afterwards himself dismissed for charges of fraud

"THE MOST IMPROVABLE CASTE IN INDIA"

The prejudiced scholar's summing up was, however, flattering to the followers of the Zoroastrian faith and proved strangely prophetic He regarded the community as "the most improvable caste in India" "Religion and customs supposed to be connected with religion,' he observed, "are the great obstacles to the improvement of the Orientals, whether Mussulmans or Hindus From such restraints the Parsis are remarkably free, they are in every respect much like Europeans than any other class of natives in Southern Asia, and, being less restrained by ancient and acknowledged law, are more prepared to adopt any change of which they see the benefit They do not attend to learning of any kind, but take them all in all, they are probably the most active and intelligent class of natives in India."

THE GATHAS AND THE AVESTA

By Ervad M. P. Madan.

It is a fashion among a certain school of scholars to assert that the Gathas are the oldest of the Zoroastrian Scriptures, and the other Avesta were composed in far later times; and also that these later Avesta (which for convenience I shall hereafter refer to as "the Avesta") differ in spirit from the Gáthas. Both these assertions are far-fetched. It could not be that the Zoroastrians had no formulæ of prayers to offer until the Avesta were composed in far later times. The Confession of the Faith (the formula of prayer while putting on the Kusti or the sacred girdle), the recital of which was and has been compulsory for every day and for every *gāh*, must have come down from the hoary past although, as is well-known, this formula is not to be found in the Gathas, but forms a part of the Avesta. The Gathas are the philosophic expositions of our religion: they are not prayers in the real sense of the word prayer; and they are not intended to be recited by the laity every day and in all *gāhs*. If then one believes in the statement that the Avesta were composed after the holy Prophet Zarathushtra in far later times, then it would follow that until the time of their composition, there were no formulæ or prayers for the benefit of the Zoroastrians who wanted to perform their duty towards their Creator and His creations, unless we are prepared to believe that they had formulæ or prayers which were suppressed in order to enforce the ideas of far later times which clashed with the spirit of the Gathas of Zarathushtra. Such a conclusion is evidently ridiculous, because if the composers of the Avesta meant to change the spirit of the Gathas, they would not have allowed the

Gathas to remain intact without recourse to interpolations and changes to reconcile them to their own compositions

The Avesta are supposed to be composed in far later times on the ground that the Gathas are composed in an archaic and a rather difficult language, whereas the language of the former is much simpler This ground is not of much value For a parallel we may point out that several philosophical and scientific works are even in our own times composed in an archaic and rather difficult language, not easily understandable by people who have not dived deeply into those subjects Queerly enough the great French scholar Darmesteter propounded the opposite theory that the so called later Avesta were composed earlier and the Gathas were revised and recomposed in the Christian era in imitation of neo Platonism The theory was immediately and rightly rejected unanimously and in private correspondance the savant himself afterwards admitted that his theory was misunderstood However this exploded theory proves that a literature in an archaic and difficult language need not necessarily be classed as older than a literature in a simpler language

The difference in the dialects of a language is no sure criterion for arriving at any definite conclusion as to their ages It very often depends upon, among other causes, climatic conditions and low and high grounds etc A Gujarati poet has well said that a language differs in a dialect every few miles For instance the predominant language of Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Bombay City, etc, is Gujarati, yet everywhere we find difference in the dialect It is also well known that the Gujarati language of some centuries ago was simpler than the jargon which is now being created and used by the so called *Sāhitya*, who actually coin and introduce entirely new words from

the Sanskrit language and use them instead of the prevailing simpler words of several centuries old. It will thus be seen that writings which contain natural and simpler words and those which contain artificial or more difficult words cannot necessarily indicate different ages.

That the Avesta are not far later than the Gathas but are rather almost contemporaneous with them can be seen from the fact that they do not contain any reference to the historical incidents and historical personages of the times later than the Pishdadian and Kiyanian periods. The Farvardin Yasht, for instance, commemorates ideal personages and gives a pretty long list of them, who all belonged to the period antecedent to the Achæmenian period. So in all probability this Yasht belonged to earlier times. On the other hand, in the Pahlavi and Pāzand prayers we do find the names of the personages of the Sassanian times, because they were composed in the Sassanian period. Similarly, if the Avesta were composed in far later times one would expect to find in them mention of personages and historical events of those times.

A more important question to be examined is whether the Avesta differ in any degree from the Gathas in spirit. A closer and more rational examination will answer the question in the negative. Those who see in the Avesta a different spirit from that of the Gathas assert that what are abstract principles in the Gathas are changed into so many independent gods in the later Avesta. Their assertion is hasty. They do not stop to consider that the Gathas are philosophical dissertations meant for the learned, whereas the Avesta are metaphorical poetry meant for the ordinary people. It is a trite saying that metaphorical language is in the very blood of the Iranians. Even now an Iranian while writing an ordinary letter thinks it vulgar not to use one or two metaphorical expressions.

The Avesta mention several *Yazatas*, some of whom are to be seen with our physical eye and some with our mental eye (Gaethya Yazata, Mainyava Yazata) Yazata means "one worthy of praise or reverence" Those who see in the Avesta a different spirit from that of the Gathas assume that the Yazatas are deities or separate godheads, and that the Gathas do not mention the Yazatas For this assumption they rely on the fact that the Yazatas are personified and are requested to grant boons This is a very hasty and erroneous assumption on their part In the first place some Yazatas are mentioned in the Gathas also and are also personified, and they and all Yazatas generally are there named Ahuraonho, meaning vice regents or satraps of Ahura Mazda The greater Yazatas (or the Archangels) and Sraosha who can be seen with the mental eye only are referred to as personified beings and are addressed for boons, and among the terrestrial Yazatas or those seen with our physical eyes, Fire is also mentioned as a Yazata through whom boons are requested Again in the Gathas themselves those whom the purists recognise as abstract principles are shown to hold conversations with Ahura Mazda, Geush Urvan and also with Zarathushtra the latter asking for boons through these abstract principles and calling them to his aid Zarathushtra addresses Sraosha and Fire as his friends and messengers from Ahura Mazda We do not find the names of all the other Yazatas in the Gathas because the Gathas that are now extant are not complete and we find there the names of those only that were necessary for the dissertations of the prophet, and moreover as said above all yazatas are generally invoked there as Ahuraonho

Further, in the Avesta all the Yazatas—the greater ones also—are specially mentioned as creatures of God Ahura Mazda In the Ahura Mazda Yasht, for example, Ahura Mazda speaks of the different archangels

as *mana dāmi* (My creations); and in the beginning of every Yasht, Ahura Madza announces that the particular Yazata for whom the Yasht is compiled was created by Him for the good of mankind and the universe. They are personified but they are not called deities or gods. A typical example we find in the Haoma Yasht. There Zarathushtra seeing the Haoma plant addresses it in these words: "O man! who art thou? In this physical world I find you to be best, beautiful and of eternal life," and Haoma answers: "I am he who wards off diseases: *squeeze me for drinking* and chant my praises." In another place it is mentioned that those who thus squeezed it and drank the squeezed liquor and chanted its praises were blessed with the best of health and progeny. In the same way in the Ābān Yasht, Ābān is depicted as a mother who gives milk and blood to mankind and animals and juice to trees and helps them to grow, and for thus serving the creatures and creation of Ahura Mazda, Ābān is also called *Ahurāni* meaning mother of the creatures and creations of Ahura Mazda, just as Mithra is called Ahura. And the poet in ecstasy describes how beautiful the mother looks like. This description given by the poet has been misunderstood by foreigners who have been led astray, in as much as they confused the idols of the Aphrodite with this fancied description.

It is stated on the authority of a Greek writer that Artaxerxes Mnemon was an ardent promoter of the worship of Ābān on the ground that he "first made the statues of Venus-Anāhita in Babylon, Suza, and Ecbatana, and taught her worship to the Persians, the Bactrians and the people of Damas and Sardes". This seems to be a misconception of actual facts. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon, mention is made of *Anahata*, which word we are told to accept as a corrupt form of Ardvisūra. This is certainly a tall order. In the inscrip-

tions the actual words used are "Auramazdā anahata uta Mithra màm pâtuv" which means "May Ahuramazda, anahata as well as Mithra protect me". Here anahata is evidently an adjective qualifying Ahura Mazda, otherwise the conjunction *uta* ("as well as") would have been placed before *anahata* also, if *anahata* was a proper name of a different Yazata. It is an admitted fact that Mazdayasnian Iranians never worshipped idols and that some of the Achæmenian kings when they conquered idolatrous countries actually broke some of their cherished idols. No doubt we find several foreign gods sculptured on rocks etc. with the inscriptions of the Iranian kings and also without the inscriptions. It is thereby intended to convey a double meaning: the sculptures mean (1) that those kings conquered the countries represented by the different sculptured gods, and (2) that those gods were powerless against them. In one of the sculptures a foreign god erroneously supposed by some to be the form of a Fravashi is shown with the figure of Darius who is praying before fire, which evidently seems to mean that the god stands in the service of Darius. In one of the sculptures we even find a king shewn as slaying a so-called god.

Quoting passages from the Ābān Yasht and the Rām Yasht, in which Ahura Mazda seems to request the yazatas for a particular boon, the purists conclude that in those Yashts the Yazatas Ābān and Rām are shown as superior to Ahura Mazda and further that those Yashts were composed in far later times when the spirit of the Gathas was forgotten! That this certainly is a hasty conclusion can be easily shown. In both the Yashts in the very beginning it is asserted that they are the creations of Ahura Mazda and created by Him (*Mazda-dhâta*) for the benefit of the universe and that they are worthy of great praise. In the first chapter of the Ābān Yasht, para 1, Ahura Mazda declares Ābān to be *Ahura-tkaeshō (obeying the*

laws of Ahura), and in para 6, He mentions that *He brought her* (Ardvisura or Abān) here in this world for the prosperity of the house, the borough, the town and the country, to keep them and to maintain them. In chapter XXI, para 85, it is stated that "Ahura Mazda the merciful *ordered*" (nivaedhayata) Ābān thus" etc. and in para 89, Ābān addressing Zarathushtra says, "Ahura Mazda *has established me (mām dathat)*". In para 59, Zarathushtra inquires of Ābān how to worship her, so that Ahura Mazda "*may make thee run down*" (*kerenaot tachare*) to the earth. In the Râm Yasht, para 44, the Yazata says:— "*For the Creator Ahura Mazda (Dathusho Ahurāi Mazdāi)* I work *(vereżyāmi)* for the furtherance of the good objects of the Amesha Spentas."

If we remember these assertions when judging about the paras in the same Yashts wherein Ahura Mazda seems to be asking for certain boons, the meaning immediately becomes clear. Here the request is only a term of courtesy and is really a command from Ahura Mazda. In several Yashts Ahura Mazda speaking of certain Yazatas, such as *Mithra*, says that He has created them and exalted them to the same rank with Him for man to worship them. Accordingly Mithra being ennobled with the title of Ahura is generally called Mithra-Ahura (Mithra the Lord). In these Yashts Ahura Mazda, specifically requires men to worship both Ābān and Rām. Those who consider it strange must remember the belief in the Christian and some other monotheistic religions that God after creating man asked His archangels to salute him as His best creation : all except Azâzil did as God had asked them to do. In this matter the Zarathushtrian belief is distinctly better. Man is not God's best creation; he is mortal and not faultless, whereas those of His creations, whom Ahura Mazda personally honours and requires men to salute and worship, are immortal and faultless and capable of doing immense benefit to mankind. Water and

air are as life itself to man, without them he cannot live. Ahura Mazda Himself saluted Ābān and Rām and requires men to salute and worship them for these their excellent properties. He shows man the way to their proper worship. As said above when we remember that the compositions of the Yashts are poetic and metaphorical nothing will appear in them that may be termed unusual or derogatory to Ahura Mazda. At the same time we must remember that even Zarathushtra in the Gathas invokes the Archangels and the Fire and Sraosha. Zarathushtra, for instance, in the Ahunavaiti Gatha chapter seven (Yasna Ha 34) verse 3, *offers Myazda to* Ahura *and Asha the archangel.* In the Ushtavaiti Gatha chapter one (Yasna Ha 43) verse 9, Zarathushtra promises that he will carry *offerings* with reverence *to His fire* Again in the Ahunavaiti Gatha chapter six (Yasna Ha 33) verse 11, Zarathushtra invokes *in addition* to Ahura Mazda, Armaiti, Asha, Vohumano and Khashthra, that they all hear his prayers and show mercy to him. In the same Gatha chapter 3 (Yasna Ha 30) verse 4, *Ahurāonho* (the different Yazatas) are invoked for help. In short all these paragraphs prove that there is no difference in the spirit of the Gathas and the other Avesta and they were almost contemporaneous. The best refutation of the theory that the Avesta were different in spirit from the Gathas and that they were composed in the Sassanian times is furnished by the Pazand prayers. These were all composed in the Sassanian times, and they are all monotheistic. If as is alleged the Sassanian Dasturs changed the spirit of the Avesta from that of the Gathas and made them polytheistic, their Pazand compositions would not have been monotheistic. The Avesta and the Gathic language were unknown to the people of the Sassanian times and for their benefit the Dasturs composed those Pazand prayers, and if they really believed in polytheism their Pazand compositions must show polythe-

dans des conditions plus difficiles à préciser, des exemples peu clairs étymologiquement: phl. *āh-ōk*, pers. *āh-ō* "péché" (cf. av. *āhita-*); *ārz-ū* (?) "vœu" (cf. Horn, *l.c.* p. 185); *dār-ū* "remède" (mais av. *dāru-*?), et qui admettent les deux rimes. Pour phl. *bān-ūk* "maîtresse", l'hypothèse d'une finale empruntée à **vaδūk* (Tedesco, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, t. XXVI, 1925, p. 65-66) est douteuse.

Il reste une dernière catégorie de noms, beaucoup plus large que ne l'ont établie Noldeke (*Pers. Stud.* II, p. 26 et suiv.) et Horn, celle des diminutifs et hypocoristiques en *-ō*, dont le timbre vocalique final est assuré, dans plusieurs cas, par les Farhang.[1] Le seul adjectif qui, à notre connaissance, en relève est *nēk-ō* "joli", de *nēk*, phl. *nēɪak*. Cette catégorie comprend essentiellement des noms :

a) de parenté: *dāδ-ō* "petit père"; *pusār-ō* "petit garçon"; *duxtar-ō* "petite fille" (analogique du précédent); *kāk-ō* "oncle maternel"; *xāl-ō* "id" (ar. *xāl*); *'amm-ō* "oncle paternel" (ar. *'amm*); *brād-ō* "frère germain";

b) de parties du corps : *gul-ō* "gorge", de **grd-*, cf. sogd. *γarδāk* "cou" de **gard-*, et sl. *gŭrdlo* "gosier".

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f) de petits objets: *māk-ō* "navette", phl. *mak ōk*, pr. arm. *mak-oyk* "petit bateau"; *tak-ōk* "coupe", empr. *t'ak-oyk*; *yār-ō* "pilon", à côté de *yār*, *yāvar*; *gēs-ō* "aiguille", phl. *gēs*, av. *gaēsa-*; *dēz-ō* "petit pot", de *dēz*;

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LES DIMINUTIFS PERSANS EN -Ō.

PAR E BENVENISTE

Les mots persans élargis en -*ō* (*ū*), qui font l'objet dans l'étude de Horn (*Grundr der iran Phil* I, 2, pp 184 186) d'un examen plus détaillé que concluant, se laissent grouper et interpréter, dans leur majorité, en familles distinctes, malgré le trouble qu'apportent les influences analogiques et l incertitude des rimes

Une premiere série de mots en *u*, phl -*ūk* dérive d anciens thèmes en *u* et n'a rien de spécifiquement perse à phl *zānūk*, pers *zānū* répond sogd *zānūk*, etc Horn a montré (*K Z*, XXXV, p 175) que dans la vieille poésie persane ces mots riment assez souvent en *ō*, et qu'on a *bāzū* et *bāzō* (av *bāzu*), *jāδū* et *jāδō* (av *yātu*), *āhu* et *āhō* (av *āsu-*), *Hindu* et *Hindō* (av *hindu*), etc Il en résulte—ce que Horn n a pas discerné—, que *ō* est dû ici à une extension secondaire, que la rime est à cet égard négligeable, et ne saurait prévaloir contre l'étymologie On est encore moins fondé à rétablir *ōk* pour -*ūk* en moyen iranien Cette faute initiale d interpréter par *ōk* le phl -*ūk* des anciens thèmes en -*u* conduit Horn à une erreur sur les emprunts arméniens du type de *bazuk*, qui attestent phl *ūk* (arm *uk*), et non -*ōk* (arm -*oyk*), comme les emprunts afghans (Cf Hubschmann, *K Z*, XXXVI, p 153)

En revanche, un petit groupe de mots présente *ō*(*k*) de **avaka* phl *āsr ōk*, mot savant emprunté, av *āθraca*, phl *nēr ōk* "force", pers *ner ō*, av *nairyava*, phl *mēn ōk* "esprit", pers *mēn ō*, *min ō*, av *mainyaca* Il faut se garder d y joindre, comme l'a fait Horn, phl *xustōk*, pers *xustō* (non *xustū*) "qui avoue", tiré de **xᵛa stav* (arm *xostovan*), et dont le suffixe est simplement **aka* Peuvent également s'y rattacher, mais

dans des conditions plus difficiles à préciser, des exemples peu clairs étymologiquement: phl. *āh-ōk*, pers. *āh-ō* "péché" (cf. av. *āhita-*); *ārz-ū* (?) "vœu" (cf. Horn, *l.c.* p. 185); *dār-ū* "remède" (mais av. *dārau-*?), et qui admettent les deux rimes. Pour phl. *bān-ūk* "maîtresse", l'hypothèse d'une finale empruntée à **vaδūk* (Tedesco, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, t. XXVI, 1925, p. 65-66) est douteuse.

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măšk-ō "petite outre", de *mašk*; *rug-ō* "chiffon"; *muśk-ō*, nom dépréciatif du "temple d'idoles", etc.

En outre, *-ō* a un emploi d'hypocoristique sur les domaines persan et kurde: *Ḥassō* de *Ḥassān*, *Mustō* de *Muṣṭafā*, *Mahō* de *Mähmad*, etc. (cf. Noldeke, *Pers. Stud.* I, p. 397-398 et n. 1).

De cette énumération ressortent l'ancienneté du suffixe et la constance de sa valeur. Il convient donc d'écarter, comme trop peu significatif, un **-avaka-* qui n'aurait pour lui que la phonétique. Le sens conduit à dériver immédiatement pers. *-ō*, phl. *-ōk*, du suffixe d'hypocoristiques v. p. *-auka* que Justi (*Namenbuch*, p. 525) a mal dégagé des noms perses attestés directement ou en transcription. Les exemples nets sont: *Vahaukā*, à propos duquel Bartholomae (col. 1395) a justement rappelé pers. (*pusar*) *ō*, gr. *Artōkēs* = **Artauka*,; accad. *Dayaukku*, gr. **Dāiokēs* > *Dēïokēs* = **Dahyauka*; gr. *Dadoukhos* = **Daδvauka-*; accad. *Hardukka*, gr. *Artukas*, *Artoukhas* = **Harδauka-*; gr. *Pharnoukhos* = **Farnauka*; gr. *Sandōkēs*, *Sandaukēs* = **Sandauka*, qui n'a rien de commun avec le dieu cilicien Sandon (Justi) et ne peut être tiré de **Spanta-wāka* (Marquart, *Untersuch. zur Gesch. von Eran*, I, p. 41, n. 177). C'est donc par son origine et son emploi présent un suffixe proprement perse, à la différence des formations de diminutifs en *-ăk* généralisés dans la presque totalité des parlers actuels. Il est probable que l'extension de **-auka* s'est faite àpartir des thèmes en *-u*. Mais quelles qu'elles soient, ces formations ont toutes une origine expressive: il suffit de remarquer,—ce qu'on ne semble pas avoir fait—, que le *-ăk* des diminutifs persans ne peut reposer que sur une finale à gutturale géminée. De pareils indices, rares et trop peu considérés, sont seuls à nous renseigner sur les procédés familiers de langues dont nous n'avons qu'une image littéraire.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND BABYLONIA IN EARLY TIMES.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce.

In the eighteenth century when Sir William Jones and his colleagues first revealed the treasures of early Indian literature and philosophy to the scholars of Europe the background of European history and civilisation which it had been the fashion to discover in Egypt or Palestine now came to be shifted further to the East. It was in India that the new school found the origin of culture; a fabulous antiquity was assigned to the literature of India, and the religion, culture and arts of Europe were traced back to the banks of the Indus and Ganges. Sir William Jones was followed by Bopp and the creation of scientific philology; in scientific circles Sanskrit was exalted into the premier language of the Indo-European family, while in semi-scientific writers it took the place previously occupied by Hebrew as the primeval language of mankind. Along with this naturally went an attempt to find legends or traditions in Sanskrit literature corresponding with the narratives of the Book of Genesis; an Indian Adam was soon discovered as well as an Indian Noah.

But with the increase of knowledge came scepticism and reaction. It came to be realised that Sanskrit literature did not possess the antiquity supposed to belong to it and even the hymns of the Ṛig-Veda were held by certain scholars to be not older than the twelfth century B.C. Even, too, in the domain of comparative philology, Sanskrit was deposed from its high position and no longer ranked as the older or best preserved of the family of languages to which it belonged.

The criticism, however, was mainly of a literary character. Like the excess of credulity which had preceded it, it was

subjective rather than objective. It rested upon tangible facts which could be tested by the methods of modern scientific research. Indian archaeology moreover was still in its infancy, and before the rise of Buddhism or the conquests of Alexander the archaeological history of the country was unknown.

The last few years have brought with them a revolution. In North-Western India scientific excavation has taken us back to the third millennium before our era, while archaeological discoveries in the Nearer East have thrown light also on the Farther East We are beginning to know something with scientific certainty at last about the earlier history of India and its civilisation. At Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo-Daro, 400 miles distant, excavation has revealed pre-Buddhistic strata of civilisation which prove that there was intercourse, trading and otherwise, between North-Western India and the civilisations of the Tigris and Euphrates as far back as 2300 B.C.

Hundreds of clay sealings and stone seals have been discovered with figures of bulls and the like and accompanied by inscriptions in a pictographic script. The sealings are similar in character to sealings found at Susa in Elam, which are also inscribed with pictographic characters, and some of the Indian sealings have been found in Babylonia itself. A very interesting one was found at Kish, while another with the "Brahmanical bull" and an Indian inscription was discovered at Yokha, the ancient Umma, in Southern Babylonia. At Lagas, hard by, one of the Indian seals was disinterred and is now in the Louvre. At the back of the sealing from Yokha are the marks of some linen or cotton material, showing that it must have been attached to a bale of merchandise or something similar.

But there must have been more than mere trading intercourse between India and the Babylonia of the age

of the Third Dynasty of Ur (B.C. 2300). Architectural details have been pointed out which imply the influence of Babylonian and Susian civilisation upon that of India, and even inlaid work in ivory and mother-of-pearl resembling that of early Babylonia has been met with. Still more important is the testimony of the pottery. The pottery of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro resembles the so-called "painted pottery" of the first two settlements at Susa as well as of the earliest Sumerian cities in Babylonia and is further related to the pottery of the æneolithic period discovered by Pumpelly at Anau near the Caspian and to early pottery of the same class found in Syria and Eastern Asia Minor. Even in North-Western China Andesson has excavated pottery of the same type and belonging to the same æneolithic age.

All this shows that in the epoch when copper was first beginning to be used more or less active trade was being carried on from one extremity of Asia to the other, and that the trade was especially active between North-Western India and the Euphrates valley. The trade included gold, silver and copper as well as lapis lazuli, vast quantities of which were employed in Babylonia as far back as 4000-3000 B.C., as the recent excavations at Ur and Kish have proved. The silver came from the Taurus mines of Asia Minor, and a considerable part of the copper from the same source, while the lapis lazuli was imported from the Pamirs. The Pamirs lie on the route from India and thus indicate the line of trade.

A discovery made nearly a century ago on the hills near Herat enables us to follow the line a little further. Among the objects discovered was a Babylonian seal-cylinder of black stone (probably hæmatite) with three lines of inscription in cuneiform characters of the age of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2300 B.C.). The seal was subsequently lost, but fortunately not before Major Pottinger

(plant)" and borrowed from the Sanskrit language. Subsequently King published an inscription of Sennacherib in which the Assyrian king states that he planted some "wool-bearing plants" in his botanical garden at Nineveh. But the knowledge of them could not be traced further back than the age of Sennacherib, and the date of the stratum of remains in which the teak was found at Ur was unfortunately unkown. Now, however, we know that there is no reason why both teak and cotton should not have been introduced into Babylonia along with the clay sealings of Mohenjo-Daro.

But it is not only from North-Western India that the fresh light has come. The Hittite cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghaz Keui, the Hittite capital in eastern Asia Minor, have revealed an even more interesting fact and enabled us to fix approximately the age of the Aryan settlement in India. We have learnt from them that (1) in the kingdom of Mitanni or northern Mesopotamia there was a Sanskrit-speaking population in the 15th and 14th centuries before our era, and (2) in Asia Minor also there were tribes specially occupied with the breeding and training of horses who spoke, not an Indo-European dialect allied to Sanskrit, but Sanskrit itself. In other words, the ancestors of the men who celebrated their conquest of the Dravidian natives in the hymns of the Veda could not have entered India until after the 14th century B.C. The old trade route or routes from the west to east must still have been in use.

In the Mitannian documents by the side of invocations to the native and Babylonian deities there are also invocations to Indra, Varuna and the Nāsatyas. In the libraries of Boghaz Keui one of the literary works was a long treatise in several tablets or books on horse-breeding and horse-racing, and the technical terms employed in it which include the numerals, are all Sanskrit. Thus

had published an excellent copy of it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (XI, pp. 316, *sqq*). The inscription consists largely of ideographs which show that it follows the usual formula of a Babylonian seal and reads: (1) AN NIN-ZI-*in* (2) *Sulammebel* (3) *Khitigar* ARAD-*na*, "To the god (or goddess) Nin-zi (Mistress of Life) Sulammebel (3) son of Khiti, his (or her) servant." The language is unknown and it is possible that *Khiti-gar* in the second line may be a title rather than a patronymic. But the patronymic is the more usual designation of the owner of a seal.

Indications of early contact between India and Babylonia had already been pointed out. The Babylonian *mana* had been found in the Ṛig-Veda and the legend of the Deluge as described in the Laws of Manu is evidently based on the Babylonian story. In Max Muller's translation it reads as follows:—"A deluge will sweep all creatures away .. ..Build a vessel and worship me. When the waters rise enter the vessel and I will save thee.....When the deluge came he had entered the vessel.. Manu fastened the cable to the horn of the fish, by which means the latter made it pass over the mountains of the North. The fish said: 'I have saved thee; fasten the vessel to a tree that the water may not sweep it away while thou art in the mountain, and in proportion as the waters decrease thou shalt descend.' Manu descended with the waters, and this is what is called the Descent of Manu on the mountains of the North. The deluge had carried away all creatures." Apart from the interposition of the fish, the account might have been taken literally from a Babylonian document. Taylor discovered Indian teak at Ur, and as far back as 1887 in my *Hibbert Lectures* (p. 138) I noted that *sindhu* (*sindu*) was the name given to an ideographic compound which literally signifies "wool-bearing stalk" and must therefore denote the cotton plant, *sindhu* "being the Indian

(plant)" and borrowed from the Sanskrit language. Subsequently King published an inscription of Sennacherib in which the Assyrian king states that he planted some "wool-bearing plants" in his botanical garden at Nineveh. But the knowledge of them could not be traced further back than the age of Sennacherib, and the date of the stratum of remains in which the teak was found at Ur was unfortunately unkown. Now, however, we know that there is no reason why both teak and cotton should not have been introduced into Babylonia along with the clay sealings of Mohenjo-Daro.

But it is not only from North-Western India that the fresh light has come. The Hittite cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghaz Keui, the Hittite capital in eastern Asia Minor, have revealed an even more interesting fact and enabled us to fix approximately the age of the Aryan settlement in India. We have learnt from them that (1) in the kingdom of Mitanni or northern Mesopotamia there was a Sanskrit-speaking population in the 15th and 14th centuries before our era, and (2) in Asia Minor also there were tribes specially occupied with the breeding and training of horses who spoke, not an Indo-European dialect allied to Sanskrit, but Sanskrit itself. In other words, the ancestors of the men who celebrated their conquest of the Dravidian natives in the hymns of the Veda could not have entered India until after the 14th century B.C. The old trade route or routes from the west to east must still have been in use.

In the Mitannian documents by the side of invocations to the native and Babylonian deities there are also invocations to Indra, Varuna and the Nāsatyas. In the libraries of Boghaz Keui one of the literary works was a long treatise in several tablets or books on horse-breeding and horse-racing, and the technical terms employed in it which include the numerals, are all Sanskrit. Thus

aika is "one", *panza* "five", *satta* "seven", *nāwa* "nine", *wartanna* "a turn" The Sanskrit speaking Aryans of India had not yet left Mesopotamia and Asia Minor

The fact has an important bearing on comparative philology It has long been recognised that the ancestors of the Greeks, once in touch with the people of Asia Minor, borrowed a considerable part of their vocabulary from the inhabitants of that country, we now know that among the inhabitants were Sanskrit-speaking tribes On the other hand there would have been also borrowings and linguistic influence on the Sanskrit side, and we must consequently expect to find traces in Sanskrit not only of such kindred Indo European languages as were spoken in Asia Minor but also of other languages like Hittite (or Mitannian) which were used there The scientific analysis of Sanskrit is not such a simple matter as it has hitherto seemed to be

There is much work, therefore, awaiting Indian scholars in the future Not the least is the decipherment of the pictographic inscriptions and the determination of the racial origin of the people to whom the early culture of North Western India belonged. Were they Dravidian or pre-Dravidian ? The future only can decide

ARJUNAMIŚRA

By Dr. V. S. Sukthankar,

A commentator of the Mahābhārata who has suffered undeserved neglect at the hands of scholars and publishers alike is Arjunamiśra. Not only is Arjuna's commentary better than that of Nilakaṇṭha, his text also is superior, in many respects, to that used or fixed by the Western commentator. And yet Arjuna's Dīpikā has never been published in its entirety[1] and, being difficult of access, is seldom consulted by scholars. Holtzmann has devoted a paragraph to him in his compendious work *Das Mahābhārata*, vol. 3, pp. 67 ff., but Winternitz does not mention him even once in the 130 pages he devotes to the Mahābhārata in his *Geschichte*. He is referred to *en passant* by Brockhaus, *ZDMG*. 6. 528; by Telang, *Bhagavadgītā* Translation; by Rajendralala Mitra, *Notices*, vol. 5 and 6; and in some other manuscripts catalogues.

The version of Arjunamiśra, as I pointed out in the Foreword (p. V) to the first fascicule of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata (1927), is closely allied to the Bengali version. The simple reason for this affinity, not known to me then, is apparently that Arjunamiśra was a native of Bengal, to judge from the extracts from the colophons of his commentary recently published by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Sastri in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 5 (1928).

The few facts about Arjunamiśra and his commentary that I have been able to glean from the various available sources may be briefly summarized thus. The name of his commentary is variously given as (Mahā-)Bhāratārtha-

1 The commentary on the Virāṭaparvan and the Udyogaparvan has been published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay

(pra)dīpikā and Bhāratasaṁgrahadīpikā. The commentaries on the different Parvans have been handed down singly or in groups of a few Parvans at a time. Complete manuscripts of the commentary exist in Bengal, but even there they are not common. The manuscripts, which are written in Bengali and Devanāgarı characters, bear various dates in the seventeenth or later centuries: the earliest hitherto reported date is Saṁvat 1676 (ca. A.D. 1620).

Arjunamiśra, who styles himself Bhāratācārya in the colophons of the manuscripts of his commentary, was the son of Īśāna, who was a "reciter" (*pāṭhaka* or *pāṭhakarāja*) of the Mahābhārata and who appears to have, like his son, borne the title Bhāratācārya. Arjuna is cited, by name, by Nılakaṇṭha once in his commentary on the Mahābhārata (*ad* 3. 291. 70) and is, therefore, certainly anterior to Nılakantha, who belongs to the third quarter of the seventeenth century.[1] He in turn mentions among his predecessors the commentators Devabodha, Vimalabodha, Śāṇdılya, Sarvajña-Nārāyana, and he appears to have based his scholium closely on that of Devabodha. He wrote also a commentary on the well-known Vedic hymn Puruṣasūkta, to which he himself refers in the Dīpikā on Mbh. 14. 25. 26. Telang (*op. cit.* p. 204) surmises that he is posterior to Śaṃkara, and Holtzmann assigns him to the thirteenth or fourteenth century: both without adducing any cogent reasons for their assumptions. Arjuna regarded and has treated the Harivaṃśa as an integral part of the Great Epic, elaborately defending this position: his 'commentary,' therefore, embraces the supplement Harivaṃśa also.

Arjunamiśra lived in North India, in a town or village on the banks of the Ganges and, according to his own statement, compiled the great commentary on the Mahābhārata under the patronage of one Satyakhāna.

1 Printz, *KZ*, 44.70 ff

Relying on one Bengal Asiatic Society's manuscript examined by him, Haraprasada Sastri asserts that Arjuna was a Vārendra Brahman of North Bengal. The Mahamahopadhyaya may indeed be right in this, but I am not wholly convinced. I find it a suspicious circumstance that this word Vārendra occurs only in one place in *one* manuscript (No. 3422), while it is conspicuous by its absence in the others which contain a similar colophon. There is, however, another word which is often repeated in these colophons but not discussed by the Mahamahopadhyaya and which I think also contains a place-name. The word is spelt in the colophons variously as Campāheṭ-(ṭ)iya, Campāheṭhi, Campiheṭika. It is used there as an attribute of *kula*. I take the reference to mean that Arjunamiśra's family (*kula*) belonged to a town or village, called Campaheṭ(ṭ)i. Could this place be identified with certainty, we should have a very definite clue as to Arjunamiśra's provenance. I am tempted to identify it with Campahāti mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1885) as a "small village ... 15 miles south-west of Calcutta, in the district of the Twenty-four Parganás, Bengal"; but owing partly to the erratic manner in which proper names are spelt in the Imperial Gazetteer and partly to the lack of sufficient data as to the situation of the place in question, the identification proposed above is necessarily uncertain.

Following the example of my predecessors, I have utilized Devanāgarī manuscripts of the commentary of Arjunamiśra and treated his version as a sub-division of the Devanāgarī version. The two Devanāgarī manuscripts I am using for my edition of the Ādiparvan are extremely corrupt. In fact all the manuscripts I have consulted—and they are all Nāgarī manuscripts—have been surprisingly corrupt. Not only that, the text they contain is obviously contaminated from the vulgate text, as evidenced

by the glaring discrepancies that exist between the readings of the text and the *lemmata* in the commentary. This corruption of the Devanāgarı manuscripts I could not understand at first, but is, I cannot but think now, due to their being copies of Bengali originals. It would, therefore, be expedient to secure and use, whenever possible, good old Bengali manuscripts of Arjunamiśra's commentary, treating his version as an offshoot of the Bengali version. Arjunamiśra certainly seems to belong to the Eastern school of Mahābhārata commentators.

INDIANIZATION OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY

By Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D.

The Indo-Aryans, whether they constitute the oldest race on this planet or not, surely developed a great civilization at some unknown antiquity. Theirs might be called the earliest civilization in the known annals of mankind. The achievements of the Aryan race on the continent of India in the realms of physical sciences, mental and moral philosophy, in the fields of fine and mechanical arts, in architecture, or in the spheres of the industries of war and peace, are too numerous to be mentioned here. In those early days, thought, invention and discoveries must have travelled slowly from nation to nation, still there can be no doubt that these became cosmopolitan or international property in course of time. An exact parallel of this phenomenon is to be found in the rapid spread of renaissance, reformation and the use of fire-arms in the mediæval world. In the earliest times the spread of Indian, Assyrian and Chinese civilizations, among the various peoples of the earth, was a natural phenomenon. There is nothing unusual in the assertion that the relations between the Persians, Egyptians, Greeks and Indians must have fructified in the transmission of Indian thought through several channels to the Greek Isles and many other countries. Several scholars have shown numerous evidences of the Indian influence on Greek thought, literature, language, manners, customs and political institutions, but others vigorously reject every idea of the Indianization of the Hellenic culture.

It is proposed to throw light on this discussion by concentrating our attention on similar theories to be met with in Indian and Greek philosophy, and then to show

Indian Roots of Pythagoreanism

Further, the close similarity of Pythagoreanism with the Hindu philosophy in the worship of God as Tatragamation; the doctrines of five elements, the immortality and transmigration of souls, tripartite soul, the communion with God, the miraculous powers of the soul, and of the esoteric circle of the initiated; the belief of Pythagoreans in periodic cycle and the kinship of all living creatures, their love of mysticism, asceticism and spiritualism; their pantheistic tendencies; their belief in magic; abstinence from animal diet except when the animals were sacrificed to the gods; the regular performance of Homa; the Pythagorean theorem in particular, and, in general, mathematics, medicine and music, these analogies should lead one to the same conclusion.

Hence Dr. Garbe positively asserts that there seems to be no doubt about the dependence of Pythagoras upon Indian philosophy and science; and all the more so, as the Greeks themselves considered his doctrines as foreign.[1]

Indian Origin of Orphicism.

Again, the cult of Orphicism with its Hindu doctrines of ecstasy, asceticism, soul-culture and abstention from animal food, its systems of purifications and sacraments for the redemption of the soul, its belief in a written revelation, its organisation of initiated "communities" or religious fraternities, its faith in the happier lot of the purified and the initiated, and, lastly, its creed of the "wheel of birth," of the transmigration of souls or the reincarnation, rather imprisonment, of souls in animal and vegitable forms—these facts show at least some influence of Indian philosophy on the Greek mind.[2]

1. The Philosophy of Ancient India, p 39.

2 Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, by Jane Harrison, Chapters 9-12.

the priority of the Indian achievements to those of the Greek.

The speculations of the Vedic and Upanishadic writers are antecedent to all attempts of the Greek mind to dive deep into the mysteries of the world around. According to some Indian scholars, the Vedas faithfully enshrine the thoughts expressed by sages in the dim and distant dawn of human history. If we deny a very hoary past to the early Hindu literature, this much is certain that the thoughts on the eternal riddles of the world were agitating the Indian mind at least one thousand years before Christ The commercial intercourse between Persia, Assyria, Egypt, Phœnicia and India has been fully established to have existed from that period. The similarity of Zoroastrianism to the Atharvan religion of the Indians, the worship of the four Vedic gods such as Agni, Mitra, Indra, Asvins in Assyria, and the Greek tradition of the travel of Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and other philosophers into the Oriental countries, and of their acquaintance with Arabs, Chaldeans, Hebrews, Galatians, and Indians, in a word, with all the inspired peoples of the East—all these should lead us to the conclusion that the Greek mind was more or less influenced by Indian philosophy.[1]

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1 Cf. 1 L Von Schroeder's views in his "Pythagoras und die Inder" 2 Pythagoras by Eduard Scheure Eng. Trans. published by Rider and Co. London 3 A History of Greek Philosophy by M. P. Nilsson 4 Colebrooke's Misc, Vol. I, pp 436 37. 5 B St Hillaire—Premier Memoire sur le Saukhya

It has been recorded in Frag XLIII of M' Crindle's Ancient India that philosophy, then, with all its blessed advantages to man flourished long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its hierophants were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmaneans who were the philosophers of the Baktrians and the Kets, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judæa, and among the Indians, the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations (p 104)

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1. The Philosophy of Ancient India, p 39.

2 Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, by Jane Harrison, Chapters 9 12

How this unrecognised but vital influence permeated all later thought, has been brought out by Mr. Burnet who has truly remarked that " the Orphic religion was mainly the faith of obscure people. We do not know the names of its preachers and missionaries.....In this way Orphicism has profoundly affected all subsequent religions and philosophies, and not least those which seem, at first sight, to be furthest removed from it."[1]

Similar Systems of Indian and Greek Philosophy

The Greek theories of pantheism, hedonism, and mysticism are profoundly similar to those enunciated in India. The identity of divine pantheons, of religious beliefs and practices, and especially of language is no less perplexing. The Indian and Greek systems of philosophy built upon these bases have remarkable resemblance. Sometimes they are exact reflexions of each other.

The teachings of Xenophanes, Parmenides and other Eleatics seem to be parodies of the Upanishadic verses.

The views of Heraclitus, Anaximander, Empedocles, Democritus, Epicurus, Plato and Neo-Platonists, present many striking analogies with the Sànkhyan doctrine.

Moreover, in Indian philosophy as afterwards in the Greek, air, fire, water, ether, night, soul, force, and mind were severally accepted as primordial Principia out of which the world was thought to have been evolved. Hence in the opinion of Dr. Garbe, it is indeed impossible to doubt Indian influence upon the doctrines of Gnostics and Neo-Platonists.

Hindu Discoveries

The Hindus were the earliest precursors of the European scientists and philosophers in anticipating and formulating important theories bearing directly or indirectly upon the central doctrine of evolution. The list

1 Burnet's Greek Philosophy, Part I, p 32

of such discoveries will show that their scientific contributions were not insignificant.

1. The Atomic Theory.
2. Ether as the *prima materia*.
3. The Ether Theory of Light.
4. The Law of Evolution.
5. Spontaneous Evolution of the Cosmos.
6. The Law of *Nihil ex nihilo*.
7. Nebular Theory.
8. Emanation Theory.
9. The Law of the Constancy of Matter.
10. The Law of the Conservation of Energy.
11. The Theory of the Dematerialization of Matter.
12. The Theory of the Unification of Energy.
13. The doctrine of the unity and convertibility of human energy and natural forces.
14. The Procreatrix of the Cosmos is energy and not Matter.
15. Matter is a form of Energy.
16. The Theory of Abiogenesis.
17. The Theory of Biogenesis.
18. Soul—a physiological product.
19. Mind a—material evolution.
20. Consciousness—a material evolution.
21. Sense organs are phenomenal.
22. Physical origin of life.
23. The Theory of Epigenesis.
24. The theory of cosmozoa.
25. Corpuscular theory.
26. Life and Consciousness in plants.
27. Fertilization of plants by insects.
28. Circulation of blood.
29. Circulation of the sap in trees.
30. Cell Theory.
31. The theory of the control of sex.

32. Laws of Eugenics.
33. Laws of Heredity.
34. Effects of exogamy and endogamy.
35. Physical interpretation of character.
36. Relation of food and mind
37. Theories of the origin of colour.
38. Factors of the variation of species.
39. Theory of progressive social evolution.
40. Theory of social retrogression.
41. The law of the survival of the fittest.
42. The state as a necessary evil.
43. The state as a necessary good.
44. The state, a divine institution.
45. The Hobbesian theory of warfare.
46. Theory of Social Contract [1]

Some of these theories can be traced in one form or another in Greek philosophy. Hence there are striking parallelisms in all the important spheres of philosophic thought of the Indians and Hellenes. This profound similarity of Greek and Indian speculations on cosmogony and other problems of life, has led many to the conclusion that Greek thought is the inspired child of Indian philosophy.

Greek Philosophy not an Autochthon

Many of us are not still prepared to subscribe to the pregnant remarks of Chamberlain on the vital influence of Indian thought and culture on those of Greece:—

"That Indian thought has exercised an influence of quite a determinative character upon Greek philosophy is now a settled fact; our Hellenists and philosophers have, it is true, long combated this with the violent obstinacy of prejudiced scholars; everything was supposed to have originated in Hellas as *autochthon*; at most the Egyptians

1. Each one of these theories has been described by the writer in his work entitled 'Hindu Philosophers on Evolution'.

and the Semites were allowed to have exercised a moulding influence—whereby philosophy would in truth have had little to gain; the more modern Indologists, however, have confirmed the conjectures of the oldest, particularly of that genius, Sir William Jones."

It is a pity that in spite of the numerous similarities discerned in the mental and moral evolution of the Indian and Greek Aryans, their unity and inter-dependence should be constantly denied. Even in the face of a formidable list of analogous Indo-Greek speculations, the evolution of the Greeks is treated as a unique phenomenon divinely isolated from all the external influences. The theory of the diffusion of culture is religiously discarded in the face of the accumulated evidence of the ancient and modern worlds. The dogma that the Greek genius did not receive inspiration from the more ancient cultures of the Minoans, Mycenaens, Egyptians and Indians, cannot be sustained before the tribunal of history, philology and comparative philosophy. It has been truly observed by Nilsson, one of the most learned and sagacious exponents of the ancient Greek life and thought, that "for the pure, the unmixed offspring of the Aryan intellect we must look elsewhere than to Greece, perhaps to the less varied, the less artistic, the less beautiful literature of ancient India and the Scandinavian North." [1]

According to others, no positive proofs of the process of infiltration and inter-penetration are yet available. It is true that even twenty-two centuries before our time, Greek writers like Philo the Pythagorean, Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, and Megasthenes noticed the earlier birth of Indian philosophy, but did not acknowledge any influence of the same on their Greek thought. Three different works quote Megasthenes on the point:—

1. A History of Greek Religion. Cf. L. R. Farnell's "Highest Aspects of Greek Religion"; Works of Sir W. Jones, I. pp. 20, 125 127, 360, 361.

"All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients (Greeks) is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brachmanes, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews." [1]

Parallelism in Thought.

Just as many philosophers arrived at the same conclusions at different times and probably at the same time in different parts of the continent of India, so it is probable that thinkers in other lands as Egypt, Persia, Greece, etc., might have independently moved in the same groves. Parallelism in thought is not an exception but the rule. It is also possible that sparks of Indian speculation carried from India by missionaries and merchants to Babylonia, Syria, Alexandria, Nineveh, served to light up the imagination of philosophers of those lands. But this is merely a surmise. We must wait for more light on the origins, mutual relations and influences of ancient cultures. The researches of Egyptologists, Assyriologists, Indologists will sooner or later unravel mysteries of this important controversy. For the present, it cannot be disputed that in India philosophic speculations began several centuries prior to those in Ionia, that Indian seers and thinkers were the predecessors of the Greek philosophers and anticipators of the many solutions of the eternal riddles of life. The reader can now realize the sweeping nature of the remarks of Sir Henry Maine who said that "To one small people.....it was given to create the principle of Progress. That people was the Greek. Except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin."

We shall not be guilty of going to the other extreme of declaring India to be the cultural sun whence light radiated to all the quarters of the globe, but so much is

1. M'Crindle's Ancient India, p. 103

certain that speculative philosophy and scientific research began to flourish in India several hundred years before they saw the light of day in the land of the Hellenes.

During this period of decline and degeneration many of us fight shy of the sublime contention of the primeval law-giver Manu who millenniums before our age claimed for India what Maine has done for Ionia by ordaining

"Let all men on earth learn their duties, laws, and customs from Brahmans born in India."

We are diffident in reminding the reader of the great historic truth expressed by one of the greatest Chinese travellers of old that India was so called because it was Indu—the moon, while all other countries of our planet were dim like stars.

Value of Indian Philosophy to the West

So much is now certain that several centuries prior to the dawn of philosophic speculation in Greece and millenniums before the scientific discoveries of the modern age, Indian thinkers anticipated a few very important theories and truths. Consequently, we must accord a proper place to Indian philosophers in the history of philosophy and science. 'Back to Aristotle and Plato' has been the oft-repeated cry. The Egyptologists and Assyriologists have now claimed that the roots of Western philosophy and culture are to be sought on the bank of the Nile and Euphrates To arrive at the real truth, the West will have to travel farther to the banks of the Indus and the Ganges. The time should not be far off when, in order to have a vision of the dawn of philosophy and science, the cry of 'Back to India' should become popular in the West.

It has seemed not altogether useless in view of the fact that his translation of part of the Avesta appeared in the Sacred Books of the East and was followed by a further book the Five Zarathushtrian Gathas, to examine briefly Mills' treatment of Yasna 53 in the light of later researches, in particular of the work of Bartholomae whose Altiranisches Worterbuch, indispensable to every student of Avestan, supplies the case on which his translation rests.

As briefly as possible I have endeavoured to point out where Mills' renderings are untenable. All who wish to gain a detailed knowledge of the matters mentioned will find full references to the literature in Bartholomae's dictionary. But no one can examine Mills' work in the "Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas" without being at once surprised by the treatment of the language. No one could make such a suggestion as 'páti-ásta' p. 609 as if it could mean 'householder', a form of compound totally opposedto Indo-Iranian idiom; or the suggestion that 'vaēšō' might be connected with Vedic bhisā.

The renderings in Latin and English are likewise not good. No free translation, if it is to be a translation at all, could depart so widely not only from the original text but even from a professedly literal Latin version. Passages are inserted without warrant from the original, expressions in the original are omitted or confused.

Much has been accomplished by the German Iranianists, in particular, and the middle Iranian texts from Central Asia promise the accomplishment of much more.

The following notes are based almost exclusively on the works of Bartholomae.

Yasna 53:

1. vahištā ištiš srāvī Zaraθustrahē
   Spitāmahyā yēzī hōi dāt āyaptā

aŝāt haĉā Ahurō Mazdā yavōi vispāi ā hvanhəvīm
yaēĉā hōi dabən saŝkənĉā daēnayē vanhuyā uxδā
ŝyaoθanāĉā.

The best possession is known to be Zaraθuštra Spitama's, that to him Ahura Mazdah will give through Aŝa the glories of blessed life for ever, and to those who practise and learn the words and actions of his Good Religion.

ištiš 'possession'. The Pahlavi version varies in its treatment of this word. It transcribes the word as išt and mostly explains it by x^{v}āstak 'possession', but also by x^{v}āhišn 'desire' (as in this place), x^{v}āst or x^{v}āhēt. The word is a derivative of aēs- 'to be master of'. It is a not uncommon word, as in Y49^{12} hyat vō ištā vahištəm 'what is best in your possession' and Y46^{10} yaθrā vanhōuš manaŋhō ištā xšaθrəm 'where the kingdom is in the possession of Good Thought'.

srāvī 3 Sg. Aor. Pass. 'is heard, is known (to be)'. The same verbal form is found twice more in the Gathas Y43^{11} vāĉī 'he was named'. Y32^{14} mraoī 'it was said' with short ā. Other examples occur in the later Avesta (Reichelt, Aw. Elementarbuch, p. 120).

Mills has endeavoured to follow the Pahlavi by translating 'his best wish has been heard, the prayer of Zartushtar'. But 'best wish' is not 'prayer'. The Sanskrit

version, though giving समीहे 'I desire', separates the vahištā from išti̇š seeing in vahištā 'the other world'. Neither Pahlavi nor Sanskrit understood srāvi.

yēzī distinct from later Avestan yezi 'if', a distinction apparently recognised also by the Pahlavi which renders in six cases by ān, kē or ka, twice by hakar 𐭠𐭪 but always hakar 𐭠𐭪 for yezi. Here yēzī introduces the noun-clause. Mills' 'si [vel ut]' is not justified but he renders correctly 'that'.

dā*t* injunctive in future sense as referring to the future and eternal blessings āyaptā hva*n*həvīm.

ašā*t* haćā, in according with aša, through aša. "From Righteousness moved" misses the point.

āyaptā: Mills' "attainments of effort" is a vague meaningless phrase, proposita feliciter attacta is little better. The Sanskrit gives variously samṛddhatvam, aiśvaryam, āḍhyatā, sampattiḥ: blessings, glories. It is here explained by the appositional hva*n*həvīm blessed life.

"To him, the great Spitama" is not in the original where 'Zaraθuštra Spitama' is given quite simply in naming himself.

yavōi vīspāi ā is strangely omitted from the English version.

yaēćā hōi dabən "Grant him them who deceived him" is an attempt to make yaēćā 'and them who' a second object to dā*t*, and hōi an object of dabən in the dative: dab- in the sense of deceive takes an accusative object regularly. But dabən should mean 'practise' coupled here with 'learn', hence either dab- practise is a separate verb or dadən is to be read with that meaning.

saškənćā, 'and they learn' (past tense of habitual action). In form saškən is perf. pret. (pluperfect) of sak- to have understanding, Sanskrit śaknoti he is able,

reduplicated saška- with secondary endings. Mills attempts to take the word as a noun without explaining the form: discipulos (que). He finds the -čā inconvenient and ignores it in his translation. This same mistake explains his "Good Faith's true learners" and his taking uxδā šyaoθanāčā as instrumentals instead of accusatives with daēnayå vaŋhuyå. But dabən saškənčā 'they practise and learn' makes good sense, explains the verbal forms and does no violence to the construction. Why Mills should object to accusatives at the end of a sentence while accepting instrumentals, is not clear. Neither the Pahlavi nor the Sanskrit versions justify his 'learners'.

2. aṯčā hōi sčantū manaŋhā uxδāiš šyaoθanāišcā
xšnūm Mazdå vahmāi ā fraorəṯ yasnąsčā
kavačā Vištāspo Zaraθuštriš Spitāmō Fərašaoštrasčā
dåŋhō ərəzūs paθō yąm daēnąm Ahurō saošyantō dadāṯ.

Then let them seek with thoughts, words and actions his pleasure, gladly for Mazdah's praise, and seek his worship, even the Kavi Vištāspa and Zaraθuštra's son the Spitāma and Frašaoštra, making straight the paths for the Religion of the Saošyant which Ahura ordained.

sčantu. The Pahlavi renderer thought to see in this word the same root sak- to learn, not knowing the forms which hak- must have in the reduced grade namely sk- or sč-. Aryan (that is Indian and Iranian) s initial became h before vowel but remained before consonant. Hence hak- alternative with sk- to follow.

xšnūm hak- 'to seek the pleasure of' occurs also in Y48[12]. It is here joined with yasnąsčā.

fraorəṯ also Y30[5] from fra-vṛt 'with preference' hence 'gladly'.

Mills: conficiunto [et doctrina restituunto] for sčantū

becomes "may they render" in the English. Neither assigns any definite meaning to the original. [et doctrina restituunto] appears to be an attempt to follow the Pahlavi but is an impossible sense for a word which he then explains by 'render'.

"Pure rites to adore him" for vahmāi ā fraore*t* yasnąsčā is not only 'free' but does not correspond at all to the Avestan. "Zartushtar's true princes" is preposterous and is not to be got from Zaraθuštriš. Nor is Frašaoštra a member of the Spitama family, but of the Hvōgva, if "Frashaoshtra, the Spitaman" means this.

dā̊nhō ərəzūs paθō 'making straight the paths'. dā- combines the meanings of the two roots dhā- and da-, here 'make' suits better than 'give'.

dā̊nhō is nom. pl. of an adjective dā-.

yąm daēnąm Ahurō saošyantō dada*t* 'for the Religion of the Deliverer which Ahura established', standing for daēnayāi saošyantō yąm Ahurō dadā*t* with the noun attracted into the relative clause.

Y46⁴ has a similar idea: hvō təng frōgā̊ paθmōng hučistōiš čarat (he shall go before and prepare the ways of the good Doctrine).

Mills: Straight paths they bestowing, and the Faith of the Prophet which Ahura will give is decidedly obscure and will not yield any satisfactory sense. How could they, Vistāspa and Frašaoštra give "the Faith of the Prophet" the Faith "which Ahura will give"? Nor does his grammatical explanation of yąm as (quam) [et eam] [quam] convince, especially his insertion of [et] to which nothing corresponds in the original.

3. təmčā tū Pouručistā Haēča*t*.-aspānā
Spitāmī yezivī dugədrąm Zaraθuštrahē
vanhəuš paityāstım mananhō ašahyā Mazdā̊sča taibyō
dā*t* sarəm.

aθā hōm fərašvā θwā xraŋwā : spəništā ārmatōiš hudānvarəšva.

And him indeed O Pouručista, descendant of Haēčataspa and of Spitama, youngest of Zaraθuštra's daughters, he hath appointed as one to enjoin on thee fellowship with Good Thought, with Aša and Mazdah. So take counsel with thy own understanding : as one of good insight practise the most holy works of Ārmaiti.

tū particle of emphasis Vedic tú (though it may always be considered a vocative, 'thou!')

paityāstim.....dāt sarəm, 'he has appointed as one to enjoin fellowship with'.

paityāstim is paiti-ā-d-ti-, root dā- in reduced grade, hence meaning "repetition, stimulating by repetition". Y35[9] paityāstārəm 'stimulator'.

sarəm acc. sg. depends on the verbal noun paityāstim. The Pahlavi renderer mistook the word for the Pahlavi sar 'head' and glossed sarəm by sardārih. But the meaning 'union, fellowship' can be clearly seen from the passages in which sar- occurs *cf.* Y40[3] with Y41[6]. The cognate verb sar-, only in the Gathas Y49[5], 32[3], 51[4] 'to unite with' is connected with Greek κέραμαι.

paityāstim (he reads paityāstōm) suggests surprising derivations to Mills (p. 609) from yat- (in spite of the long ā) or ah- with the meaning 'striver' or 'assister', or "páti + ásta = householder?" or "āstəm = house-holder?" In his Latin version auxilium afferentem, in the English 'friend'.

sarəm is translated by principem [vel tutelam] which becomes "as help" in the English, in an attempt to make something of the Pahlavi sardārih.

'spəništā Ārmatōiš,' Mills: 'with piety bounteous' is taken as an epithet of xraθwā 'wisdom', with the natu-

ral result of obscurity. Nor can varəšvā well stand without object, for which hudānū will certainly not serve. hudānu- 'of good insight' is applicable only to persons: 'res sapientes' is meaningless.

"Of prudence wise worker" shirks the difficulty and ignores the construction.

4. tōm zī və spərədā nivarānī yā fəδrōi vīdaṯ
paiθyaēčā vāstryaēibyō aṯčā xᵛaētaovē
ašāunī ašavabyō mananhō vanhəuš xᵛənvaṯ hanhuš mōm
bəəduš

Mazdā dadāṯ Ahurō daēnayāi vanhuyāi yavōi vispai ā.

Earnestly will I lead her to the faith, that she may serve her father and her husband, the husbandmen and the nobles, as an adherent of Aša serving adherents of Aša. The glorious heritage of Good Thought... .....shall Mazdah Ahura give to her good self for ever.

spərədā nivarānī 'I will convert her, with zeal'.

spərəd- as a noun fem., Sanskrit (Vedic) spṛ́dh- 'contention'. Other MSS. give spərədānī varānī 'I strive for, I choose' but two such verbs should be connected with -čā, as in verse 1. The meaning is decidedly inferior.

vīdāṯ 'she may serve'. The same words also in Y51⁶.

Mills: quo patris me obtineat explained to mean quoniam a patre donante me obtineat 'since he receives me from my father', is against the fəδrōi dat. of the best MSS. and requires 'me' of which the original has no trace. vaēd- with dat. in meaning of 'serve' suits well for the five datives. Especially it saves the -čā of paiθyaēčā which inconveniences Mills' translation where it is omitted.

'ašāunī righteous woman' nom sg. fem. in agreement with yā here fem., not instr. sg.

mə̄m bə̄əduš and the other manuscript variants remain uncertain. Mills gives various guesses on p. 611 which merely show how little certain he considered the Gathic text and language. Comparisons such as bə̄ṯ with Vedic bā́ṭ are worthless. "And mine be the insight" is impossible: mə̄ for 'mine' could not stand first in a clause. (See however Kent, Language IV. 2. 1928.)

və̄ Gathic dative of 2 pl. pron. used as a particle, as elsewhere in the later Avesta. Mills' vestrum or vos or your (offered bridegroom) (p. 610) naturally does not appear in his English version.

daēnayāi vaŋhuyāi 'to her good self'. Mills: "for the good Faith's advancing" ignores the meaning of 'conscience' or 'self' which daēnā has, particularly clear in the plural, as in daēnābiš in verse 5; nor can such a meaning be got out of the dative alone, while it leaves dadāṯ without an object. The construction is Ahurō haŋhuš dadāṯ 'Ahura shall give the heritage to her good self'.

The whole of the 'free translation' is incoherent, the changes of thought abrupt and obscure. The 'poetical repetition' 'poetic diction and Iranian usage' spoken of on p. 610 are certainly no justification, nor is there any proof that we have a "graphic response of the bride".

5. sāxᵛə̄nī vazyamnābyō kainibyō mraomī
xšmaibyāćā vaδəmnō mə̄nćā ī mązdazdūm
vaēdōdūm daēnābiš abyastā ahūm yə̄ vaŋhə̄uš mananhō
aŝā və̄ anyō ainīm vīvə̄nhatū taṯ zī hōi huŝə̄nəm aŋhaṯ.

Teachings I address to maidens marrying and to you, giving counsel. Lay them to heart, and know them in your selves in earnest attention to the life of Good Thought. Let each of you seek to excel the other in Aša, for that will be a prize for him.

vaδəmnō 'giving counsel'. The variant vaēδəmnō is

surely less satisfactory "knowing them" even if we under stand 'having special knowledge'. vaδəmnō with reference to 'counsel' assures the value of the 'Teachings'.

mōncā ī mązdazdūm. There are two words which have influenced each other: (1) mand- 'to hold in the memory' cognate with Greek μαθεῖν 'learn' pres. mān .dad- Y28⁴, 53⁵, (2) maz-dā, mąz-dā 'to hold in the memory' , Y45¹9³¹. The separation into two parts natural in the second verb maz-dā- which is compound was extended also to the uncompounded mand-. Mills rejects the correct meaning and suggests mān in the sense of mąm 'me' in which case ī is inconvenient and mązdazdūm is translated "heed ye my sayings". 'me' has therefore to mean 'my sayings'.

daēnābīš 'in your own selves'. Mills 'laws', praeceptа religiosa attempts to connect it with daēnā 'The Religion' but the plural cannot be applied to this religion, nor does dāenā in that sense occur in the plural. "Religious precepts or laws" is a guess which the existence of dātā- 'law' makes improbable. The meaning 'self' singular and plural is frequent.

abyastā is abi-yas-ti- root yat 'striving for' abyastā loc. sg. 'in earnest striving for'. Mills supposes it could be a pres. stem athematic of which no trace is to be found in this verb though three presents yata- yataya- and yātayā- occur.

"By these laws which I utter strive and obtain ye" is grammatically impossible and in its freedom ignores the original vaēdōdūm, inserts 'which I utter' and 'obtain'.

vivā*n*hatū van- 'to overcome'; desiderative, 'strive to surpass', not 'cherish' which no word van- means. 'So the home shall be blessed' omits to translate 'hōi' that is, 'to the one who excels', and consequently gives a mistaken impression—felicitas in vita conjugali 'happiness in married life' is inconsistent with hōi = 'to him' *not* 'to any

one of you'.

hušə̄nəm 'good recompense, prize' root han- to gain, Sanskrit san-. Mills wishes to derive it from the root šay- 'to dwell' but hušayana- is the derivative where, as in other words of this root, the diphthong is retained. A suffix -ana is therefore impossible in hušə̄nəm.

6. iθā-ī haiθyā narō aθā jə̄nayō
drūjō hačā rāθəmō yə̄mə spašuθā frāidīm

[drūjō] āyēsē [hōiš piθ ā] tanvō parā vayū : bərədubyō duš-xᵛarəθə̄m nąsaṫ xᵛāθrəm

dregvōdəbyō də̄jṫ-arətaēibyō anāiš ā manahīm ahūm mərəngəduyē.

So is it truly ye men, so is it ye women. Whatever happiness you look for in union with the Druj shall be taken away from your persons. To the companions of the Druj shall be ill food, crying woe; bliss shall flee from the despisers of Right. In that way you destroy for yourself the spiritual life.

haiθyā instr. sg. as an adverb 'in truth'. ī a particle of emphasis.

drūjō hačā rāθəmōi (written rāθəmō before the following y-) loc. sg. 'in connection, dependence on the Druj'.

yə̄mə frāidīm 'whatever advantage'.

spašuθā, the form is wrong, the pres. stem should be either spašnu- or perhaps spašya-. A similar case arises 48¹ ąsašutā.

The third line is corrupt, by omitting drūjō and the unintelligible hōiš piθā the metre is restored and āyēsē tanvō parā can be translated "it shall be taken away from their person". This is obviously conjectural.

Mills takes ī for nominative plural, but only oblique cases of this enclitic pronoun occur (Reichelt, Aw. Elem, p. 209).

His translation: 'Thus real are these things' is therefore impossible.

On p. 613 he refers rāθəmō to ratha "a waggoner, a guide" but gives no explanation of the form. He renders "giving progress".

His treatment of yōmə̄ is unacceptable. yə̄ = yō is quite different from mē, moi for which mə̄ could not be written. "I guard over my (faithful)" cannot be extracted from the Avestan.

The difficult third line becomes "the Druj's foul hatreds I pray from the body" and is rightly marked with queries in the Latin version. āyēsē certainly does not mean "I exorcise".

vayū. bərəd- 'raising the cry of woe!' The form is against translating with a pass. part. "borne of vayu" if indeed that could have any meaning.

dušxᵛarəθəm nąsat xᵛāθrəm drəgvodəbyō "ill food to the evil, bliss shall flee". So also the Pahlavi reads. Mills: "her shame marreth honour" is guesswork. xᵛāθra- 'well-being' is a frequent word in Gathas and elsewhere, for which the Pahlavi gives xᵛārīh and the Sanskrit šubham. dušxᵛarəⁿa- also in Y31[20] is rendered by the Pahlavi dušxᵛarišn 'ill food' a sense which fits both passages

nąsat is a reduplicated preterite of nas- to vanish perf. nənās- alternating with nąs- from na-ns- as in Y32[15] and 53[1].

dəjŋt-arəta- 'vanquishing, violating righteousness'. Mills expresses both drəgvōdəbyō and dəjŋt-arətaēibyō by his "to those deeply evil", an unsatisfactory brevity.

manahm ahūm is not as Mills translates "mental life" but the spiritual life in contrast with the corporeal on the earth. *cf.* Y43[3] ahyā *a*nhəuš astvatō mana*n*haēčā.

7. at̆čā və̄ miždəm a*n*hat ahyā magahyā
yavat āžuš zrazdištō būnōi haxtayā

distinct from parā meaning 'before'. Mills gives "the fierce passion.....there before creepeth downwards" with "before" in spite of the Latin ultraque. His commentary gives a further suggestion "above and below": he was evidently unable to decide. 'Before' 'beyond' or 'above' does not give any clear sense hence the obscurity of his English rendering.

anqsat parā as in verse 6 nqsat represents a reduplicated preterite na-ns-at of nas- 'to vanish'. Mills' remarks p. 615 about the nasal in the aorist are beside the mark.

ivīzayaθā magəm təm "separate from the covenant" expressing an hypothesis which is answered by at: 'if you abandon the covenant, then .. ..' ivīzayaθā is vī with the root hā(y)- 'to leave'. Mills guesses "ye bring forth" without attempting to explain the use of vī- in such a compound. His remark on p. 615 "having an eye to the sexual allusions, and to the marriage occasion," indicates his method of discovering a meaning which gives no sense in Latin and English versions alike.

vayōi 'a cry of woe!' in the later Avesta used also of a wolf's howl: at və vayōi anhaitī apəmom vačō "then your word at the last shall be woe!"

Mills was unable to decide whether it was an address to Vayu one of the Daevas or a cry of triumph or a cry of despair: he gives each translation in turn. "Ye cry it in triumph" is an expansion to which nothing corresponds in the text.

8. anāiš ā dužvarəšnanhō dafšnyā həntū
zahyāčā vīspąnhō xraosentąm upā

huxšaθrāiš jəmarąm xrūnərąmčā rāmąmčā āiš dadātū
šyeitibyō vīžibyō

iratū iš dvafšō hvō dərəzā mərəiθyāoš mazištō mošučā
astū.

So let the evil-doers be deceived, and let them all howl abandoned to ruin. Through good rulers let him bring wounding and bloodshed, and peace from them upon the happy villages. Let him, the greatest, bring pain upon them with the bond of death. And soon let it be.

anāiš ā as in verse 6 'in this way' an adverbial use of the instr. Mills ab illis disregards ā which could not be taken with an instr. of the agent and is also ignored in the English rendering. "In their dishonour" is padding without anything corresponding in the text.

zahya- the Pahlavi version was led to translate žanišnōmand by the apparently identical first letter but Avestan keeps the gutturals and labiovelars of Indo-European distinct hence gan- 'to strike' Greek φόνος but zan- 'to be born' Greek γόνος. zahya- could not be connected with gan- 'to strike'. Mills has followed the Pahlavi with "to be crushed, exstinguendi". The verb zah- occurs in Y60⁷ in the sense 'to abandon' and is cognate with Sanskrit jasate.

xraosəntąm upā 'let them howl'. Mills' "shrieking" is quite suitable but "in anger" unjustified expansion, giving indeed a wrong idea—they howl because they are abandoned to ruin.

jə̄narąm xrūnərąmčā rāmąmčā: the Pahlavi rightly takes these as three nouns though misled by another supposed resemblance to render jə̄narąm by jēh u mar. vixrūnīh for xrūnərąm and ārmēštīh akārīh for rāmąmčā recognise both words as abstract nouns: "wounding and bloodshed, and peace" as a result. Mills' "the slayer to settlements cruel let our champion deliver" is wide even when compared with his Latin rendering. It is hardly paraphrase and agrees with no word of the original.

šyeitibyō vīžibyō 'to the happy villages'. šyeiti-

is pres. pt. fem. of the not uncommon verb šyā- 'to rejoice'. The Pahlavi supposed it to be connected with šay- 'to dwell' but this root could not give such a form as a noun. We should also have looked for a connecting -čā which the Pahlavi in fact inserts: o mānišn u vis. Mills followed the Pahlavi in his Latin version but the English rendering omits it.

dvafšō 'pain, torment' *cf.* dvafša- Y44[14]. The Pahlavi seems to have confused the word with dafšnya- as in line 1 and the verb dab- 'to deceive', ignoring the initial dv- which completely severs it from such words. Mills followed the idea of the Pahlavi but was forced to give "deceivers" in the English to make sense, his Latin version could not justify such translation.

īratū ar- 'to set in motion', here thematic pres. stem iyar- reduced grade īr-.

īratū iš dvafšō 'let him bring grief upon them'. Mills' rendering "let him rout the deceivers" gives an impossible sense to iratū and confounds iš and dvafšō, in spite of his Latin illos fallaciam which is far from meaning "the deceivers".

It is difficult owing to the obscurity of the English to decide what was intended by "through death's chain the greatest".

9. dužvarənāiš vaēšō rāšti tōi narəpīš arəjiš
aēšasā dējit-arətā pəšō-tanvō
kū ašavā ahūrō yə iš jyātəuš hēmiθyāt vasə-itōišcā.
at Mazdā tavā xšaθrəm yā ərəžəjyōi dāhī drigaovē vahyō.

To men of evil creed belongs the place of corruption. They who seek to diminish the worthy and despise righteousness, forfeiting their body, where is the righteous lord who will rob them of life and freedom? And thine, Mazdah, is the kingdom whereby thou givest the better portion to the right-living poor man.

which in turn governs the accusative arəǰıš. The Pahlavi has nirfsēnēnd " they diminish ". Mills' remarks on aēšasā p. 619 need not be considered.

dəǰıt-arəta- is the same word as in verse 6 'despising righteousness'.

The rest of the verse is clear.

hāmiθyāt is hām. miθyāt from maēθ- 'to send out' probably connected with the Latin mittere with which it agrees in meaning.

vahyō 'that is better, the better portion'.

The form of the gen. sg. of Zaraθuštra in verses 1 and 3 namely Zaraθuštrahē instead of Zaraθuštrahyā can be explained by the consideration of the mode of writing originally employed to record the Avesta. All known Iranian alphabets, excluding of course the cuneiform syllabary of the Achaemenian inscriptions, are of Semitic origin, that of Muhammadan times from the Arabs, all the others from the Syrians. The earliest known Pahlavi document dated B.C. 12 found at Avroman is in an old Aramaic alphabet, the middle Persian manuscripts from Turfan both western and eastern are likewise in Syrian alphabets. The Sasanian inscriptions in two scripts are equally Semitic and from them the book Pahlavi is derived. These alphabets all express the consonants but have insufficient means to indicate the vowels. Certain consonants y v, were employed to suggest the vowel although imperfectly since long and short were not always distinguished. As these letters were optional, we meet with full or defective writing. In the case of Zaraθuštrahe the termination -hē would be represented by hy.

Now -hya would be written either -hy' or -hy, -hy would thus have both the values -hē and -hya. We are therefore justified in reading Zaraθuštrahyā in accordance with the usual Gathic usage.

ایران را چرا باید دوست داشت

By M. A. Forooghi.

این ایّام بسیاری از اصول و نوامیس که در نظر مردم همواره مسلّم و مقدّس بود از مسلّمیت و قدس افتاده است یالا اقل مثل سابق محلّ اتفاق نیست برای بعضی در آن باب تردید و تشکیک حاصل شده و جماعتی مخالف و منکر آن گردیده اند

از جمله آن اصول حبّ وطن و علاقه ملّیت است که منکر آن شده و در صددند با حساسات بین الملل تبدیل نمایند

در نظر من علاقهٔ ملّیت با احساسات بین المللی و وطن پرستی با حبّ نوع بشر منافات ندارد و به آسانی جمع میشود

اگر مهر من نسبت به وطن تنها از آن سبب باشد که خود از آن مرز و بوم هستم و بخواهم این عنوان را وسیلهٔ مغایرت خویش و بیگانه قرار داده و از اختلاف و نفاق بین مردم برای خود استفاده کنم این وطن پرستی نیست خودپرستی است و مانند تعصّب دینی آن جماعت از ارباب ادیان که اختلاف دین و مذهب و نفاق بین مردم را وسیلهٔ منافع و اعتبارات شخصی و فرقهٔ قرار میدادند مذموم است و باید مردود باشد

ولیکن یک وطن پرستی بیغرضانه هم هست که هر فردی چون پروردهٔ آب و خاکی است بواسطهٔ نعمتها و تمتعاتی که از وطن و ابنای وطن دریافت کرده نسبت بآنها در خود حق شناسی احساس میکند چنانکه فرزند نسبت بپدر و مادرمهر میورزد این حبّ وطن مستحسن است بلکه هر فردی بآن مکلّف میباشد الاّ اینکه میتوان متذکر شد که این وطن پرستی

با حبّ کلیهٔ نوع بشر منافات ندارد و انسان همچنانکه در درجهٔ اوّل رهین منّت پدر و مادر و در درجهٔ دوّم مدیون ابناء وطن است در درجهٔ سوّم ذمّه اش مشغول کلیه نوع بشر میباشد و همه را باید دوست بدارد و خیر و سعادت همه را باید بخواهد که خیر و سعادت خود او و قوم او هم در آنست بعبارة اخری این قسم وطن پرستی جزء تعاون وهم بستگی کلّ نوع بشر است

از این گذشته یك منشاء و مأخذ دیگر نیز برای وطن پرستی هست که در نظر من از منشاء سابق الذکر هم محکم تر و معقول تر میباشد و آن وطن پرستی کسی است که وطن و ابناء وطن خود را لایق مهر و قابل محبّت میداند از جهت قدر و منزلتی که در واقع دارند مانند دوستی کسی نسبت بشخص دیگر نه از جهت خویش و قرابت یا مهربانی و ملاطفتی که بین آنها بوده بلکه بسبب منزلتی که بواسطهٔ قدر و قیمت واقعی در نظر یکدیگر حاصل نموده اند

به عقیدهٔ من بویژه این نوع محبّت است که بقول معروف بنای آن خالی از خلل است امروز دانشمندان و صاحب نظران دنیا متفق اند بر اینکه کلیّه موجودات و نوع بشر در طریق ترقّی قدم میزنند و متوجّه کمال و طالب وصول بآن میباشند و اگر یك وظیفهٔ معنوی برای مردم فرداً یا جمعاً قائل باشیم چنانکه نمیتوانیم قائل نباشیم آن وظیفه این است که در وصول نوع بشر بمدارج عالیهٔ کمال شرکت و مدد نمایند

هر قوم و جماعتی مانند هر فردی که این وظیفه را ادا کند عزیز و قابل احترام و محبّت است و هرچه بهتر و بیشتر از عهدهٔ آن برآید گرامی تر است و علاقه بوجود و بقای او بیشتر باید داشت و هرچه یك قوم در ادای این وظیفه کوتاهی کند البتّه عزّتش کمتر و علاقه بوجود و بقای او ضعیف تر خواهد بود مگر اینکه این کوتاهی تقصیر او

نبوده و عوائق و موانع او را از کار باز داشته باشد و در آنصورت وظیفهٔ هرکس است که آن عوائق را حتّی الامکان مرتفع سازد و عنصر نی ثمر را در مجمع انسانیّت مثمر نماید

غرض اینکه هرکس عضو هیئت و جماعتی باشد که وظیفهٔ انسانیّت خود را چنانکه بیان کردم ادا نموده است حق دارد هیئت و جماعت خود را دوست بدارد و در عین اینکه البتّه نباید منکر وجود سایر اقوام و ملل باشد علاقهٔ او نسبت به قوم و ملّت خویش علاقهٔ معقول و مستحسن است

حال تصوّر میکنم هرکس باحوال ایرانیان درست معرفت یابد تصدیق خواهد کرد که این قوم در وظیفهٔ خود در عالم انسانیّت کوتاهی نکرده بلکه نسبت به بسیاری از اقوام دیگر در راه وظیفه شناسی پیشقدم است و مداومتش در این راه نیز از اکثر ملل بیشتر بوده است

هرچند برای ملّت ایرانی باقتضای طبیعت روزگار متأسفانه دوره های تنزّل و انحطاط نیز پیش آمده که در آن دوره ها از ابراز استعداد و مایهٔ خدا داد ممنوع و محروم گردیده است و لیکن ظلمت آن ایّام همه وقت عارضی و قهری و موقّتی بوده و با این همه هیچ گاه تند باد حوادث که بر ایران و مردم آن هجوم آورده چراغ معرفت را در آن مملکت و آتش ذوق و شور را در دل ایرانیان بکلّی خاموش ننموده و بقول خواجه حافظ شیرازی

لرزان بدبر معانم عزیز میدارند که آتشی که نمیرد همیشه در دل ماست

قوم ایرانی هر وقت شوکت و سیادت داشته قدرت خود را برای استقرار امنیّت و آسایش و رفاه مردم بکار برده اقوام زیر دست خویش را بملاطفت و رافت اداره کرده مزاحم آداب و رسوم و زبان و خصوصیّات

قومیّت آنها نشده هرگز بهمدم و تخریب آبادیها و قتل عام نفوس نپرداخته و با آنکه از طرف دشمنان مکرّر بیلیّات نهب و حرق و قتل و چپاول گرفار گردیده هنگام قدرت در صدد تلافی برنیآمده است

کیش باستانی ما ویرانی و درندگی را مانندبیماری و تاریکی از آثار شیطان و اهریمن خوانده و ایجاد و سایل آبادی و روشنائی و تندرستی را مایهٔ تقرّب یزدان دانسته است

در تمام دورهٔ سه هزار سالهٔ تاریخ ما از صاحبان شوکت آنها که ایرانی حقیقی بوده اند نام خود را بعملیّاتی مانند فجایع آشوریان و بابلیان و چنگیزیان و تیموریان و امثال آنها ننگین و ملوّث ننموده اند آزار و اذیت و قتل و غارت و ویرانی و تعصّب جاهلانه در مملکت ایران کمتر وقتی از خود ایرانیان ناشی شده و غالباً عمل خارجیان یا از تأثیر و نفوذ ایشان بوده است ایرانیها مثل یونانیان و رومیان زیر دستان خود را بنده و عبید نساخته و زحمات زندگانی خویش را بدوش آنها بار نکرده و بزرگان و سلاطین ایرانی هیچوقت مانند رومیان برای تفنّن و تفرّج خاطر اسرا را با یکدیگر یا با شیر و ببر و پلنگ بجنگ نینداخته اند دولتهای ایرانی هرگز مانند اسپانیولیها طرد و تبعید چند صد هزار نفر مردم بی آزار را بجرم اختلاف دین و مذهب روا نداشته بلکه خارجیان را بمملکت خود دعوت نموده اند رفتار سلاطین صفویه با ارامنه نمونهٔ از این شیوه وطریقه است و دست یافتن کورس شاهنشاه ایران بر بابل بشارت آزادی قوم یهود از اسارت هفتاد ساله بوده است هر یك از ادوار شوکت و سلطنت ایرانی را که بنگریم می بینیم در آن دوره آثار و خصایص انسانیّت از علم و حکمت و شعر و ادب و زراعت و تجارت و صناعت و کلیّهٔ لوازم مدنیّت رونق و رواج داشته است ایرانیها خود رأساً بآن امور اشتغال میورزیدند و بیگانگان را هم در این راه تشویق و ترغیب

و تقویت و حمایت مینمودند و داراها و اردشیرهای ما دانشمندان و حکمای یونان وغیره را بدربار خود دعوت میکردند و فلاسفه و علمائی که از وطن خود طرد و تبعید میگردیدند در نزد اکاسره بمهربانی پذیرفته شده و در دارالعلم های ما بمطالعات و عملیات علمی اشتغال میورزیدند

متأسفانه دست جفاکاران آثار و نتایج زحمات اجداد مارا محووخراب نموده و چون میخواهیم بی به چگونگی آنها ببریم بوسایل غیر مستقیم باید متوسل شویم اما آیا کلمات حکیمانهٔ که از بزرگان و پادشاهان ما منقول است دلیل بر بزرگواری وبلند نظری آنان نیست آیا اهتمامی که برای دست یافتن بر خزائن حکمت و معرفت مانند کتاب کلیله و دمنه و امثال آن داشتند علامت دانش پروری ایشان نتواند بود آیا آثار صنعتی که در خرابه های قصور آنها دیده میشود دلالت نامه بر هنر پروری و ذوق فطری ایشان ندارد ؟

بزرگ منشی و استعداد و دانشمندی ایرانیان چنان بوده که همه اقوام و ملل که با آنها سروکار داشته اند حتی دشمنان ایشان از آنها بخوبی یاد میکرده اند و همه وقت نام ایرانی در اذهان و خواطر مردم شهامت و ملاطفت وذوق و شور و طرافت و حکمت و عرفان بیاد میاورده است هرگاه بگفته های بزرگان دنیا از هر قوم و مملکت و هر دوره و زمان رجوع شود و از دوست و دشمن از یونانی و رومی و عرب و یهود و هنود گرفته تا اقوام عدیدهٔ اروپائی و از هردوت و گزنوفون و افلاطون تا لترو منستکیو واریست رنان و مستشرقین گذشته و معاصر اگر در کلماتشان تتبع بعمل آید دفاتر چند میتوان ترتیب داد از آنچه در حق ایرانیان گفته و بصراحت یا کنایه وعامداً یا من غیر قصد مستقیم یا غیر مستقیم آنان را ستایش نموده اند

از طرف دیگر هر وقت سیادت از ایرانی سلب شده و غلبهٔ اقوام

خارجي ذوق سليم و طبع رقيق ايرانى را محجوب كرده عالم انسانيّت در اين قسمت دنيا كه ما هستيم تنزّل و انحطاط يافته است وليكن در آن مواقع نير مايه و استعداد ايرانى تاثير خود را بخشيده و اقوام وحشى و بى تربيت را كه بزور كثرت جمعيّت و يا برحسب پيش آمدهاى خاص بر مملكت ايران چيره شده اند در اندك زمانى برحسب استعداد آنان بيش يا كم داخل در عالم تمدّن و تربيت كرده است

رونق كليّهٔ لوازم تمدّن و تربيت در زمان خلفاى عبّاسى كه يكى از دوره‌هاى درخشان تاريخ عالم انسانيّت بشمار ميرود بهترين شاهد اين مدّعاست چه همه كس تصديق دارد كه جلوهٔ خوشى كه مسلمين در آن دوره در علم و حكمت و سياست و صنعت وغيرها كرده اند جزو اعظم آن بهمّت ايرانيان و از اثر وجود ايشان بوده است قريحه و استعداد ايرانيان در ابراز افكار عالي و بديع و ايجاد آثار صنعتى ظريف و لطيف چنان سرشار و زاينده بوده كه انسداد مجارى عادى از آن جلوگيرى ننموده و خود مجارى براى ظهور و بروز احداث كرده است اگر نمايهٔ طبيعى فكر خود را بصورت حكمت و فلسفه نميتوانسته است جلوه دهد بعنوان دين و مذهب در آورده و اگر ممنوع بوده است كه ذوق صنعتى خود را به نقّاشى و مجسّمه سازى ظاهر كند به خوشنويسى و تذهيب و منبّت كارى و ساير تزئينات و تنزّهات جلوه داده است

نفوذ علمى و ادبى و صنعتى ايران در ممالك محاوره از آفتاب روشن تر و با اينكه در اين صد سال اخير در بر انداختن آن اهتمام بعمل آورده اند هنوز آثارش پديدار است چنانكه ميتوان گفت از دير زمان در آسياى غربى و مركزى ايرانى يگانه عامل تربيت و تمدّن و ايران مركز و كانون تابش انوار معرفت بوده است

از اين گذشته از ايرانيان هر وقت فردى يا جماعتى اوضاع وطن را

مساعد احوال خود ندیده و جبراً یا اختیاراً بممالک دیگر مهاجرت کرده اند همواره نام ایرانی را بآبرومندی حفظ نموده حامل علم و صنعت و عامل آبادی و ثروت بوده اند چنانکه میتوان گفت در همه ممالك مجاور ایران آثار تمدن و آبادی کلاً یا بفضاً از نتایج وجود ایرانیان است مردم ممالك وسیعهٔ هندوستان اگر انصاف دهند میتوانند بهترین شاهد این مدعا باشند که تاثیرات ایرانیان اسلامی در آن مملکت آشکار است و قابل انکار نیست مقام ایرانیهای باستانی نیز در هندوستان حاجت بشرح و بیان ندارد که جماعت پارسیان که باز ماندگان آن قوم شریف اند امروز در آن سر زمین چه مقام ارجمند در همه رشته هاي خصایص انسانیّت دارند و چگونه نام ایرانی را درمیان اقوام و فرق بشمار آن دیار محترم نگاه داشته و مایهٔ سر افرازی ما میباشند

ازذکر این جملات مقصود در جر خوانی نیست بلکه غرض اینست به عقیدهٔ من ایرانی از آن اقوام است که استعداد ادای وظایف انسانیّت را دارد چنانکه امروز هم با آنکه تازه از یک دوره های تاریکی تاریخ ایران بیرون آمده ایم معهذا آثار استعداد ایرانی ظاهر است و میتوان امیدوار بود که بار یا کاروان ترقی نوع بشر همقدم شود و در اینموقع که بنظر میرسد که تمدّن های مختلف شرق و غرب بیکدیگر برخورده و باهم اختلاط و امتزاج یافته و یك یا چند تمدّن تازه باید ایجاد گردد ذوق و هوش و فکر ایرانی هم مثل ایّام گذشته یك عنصر مفید با قیمت واقع شود

پس ما ایرانیها حق داریم که وطن پرست و ملّت دوست باشیم چنانکه از خارجیان نیز هرکس دوست باحوال این قوم برخورده تصدیق کرده است که وجودش درعالم انسانیّت مفید بوده و هست و نسبت بملّت و مملکت ما اظهار مهر و ملاطفت نموده و ما قدر آن مهربانیها را

می شناسیم و منظور میداریم

آخرین عقیدهٔ که میخواهم اظهار کنم این است که چون وطن پرستی و ملّت دوستی البتّه لوازمی دارد که هر کس باید بقدر قوّه بآن قیام نماید در نظر من نخستین آن لوازم اینست که شخص در ادای آن وظایف انسانیّت که موجب عزّت و حرمت ملّتش میشود کوتاهی ننماید و اگر استعدادش در انجام این وظیفه سرشار نباشد لا اقل در تجلیل و تکریم کسانیکه استعداد را داشته و بکار انداخته اند بکوشد که بمصداق از ایشان نیستی میکو از ایشان عمل کرده باشد

پس این حقیر که استعدادم در ادای وظیفهٔ نخستین ضعیف است قیام بلوازم وظیفهٔ دوّم را اختیار کرده و تجلیل جناب شمس العماء دکتر جیوانجی جمشید مودی را که یکی از بهترین نمونه های طبع بلند و همّت عالی ایرانی است تکلیف مهم دانسته از روی جان و دل در مساعی دوستان و ارادت کیشان ایشان در اینباب شرکت میکنم و با شرمساری از تهی دستی خود این چند سطر را برای این منظور هدیهٔ نا قابل بسوی آن عالی محفل روانه می سازم شاید که نظر بحسن ارادتم پذیرفته شود

ZARATHUSHTRA AND THE AHUNAVAIRYA PRAYER

By Dastur Cursetji Erachji Pavry.

We are told in Yasna (19.1-5) that the Ahunavairya Prayer had been proclaimed by God before the manifestation of the Universe, and yet the Avesta supplies us with no further evidence on the matter than this, nor could there be any reason for the supposition that the Ahunavairya Prayer had ever come into the knowledge and use of the Poriodakeshis, or that it had been propagated in the world by any personage previous to Zarathushtra. On the contrary, the authorities that could be cited with regard to its use, actually go against any such assumption. I shall here endeavour to show, on the authority of the Avesta itself, to whom was mankind primarily indebted for the promulgation of the teaching underlying the Ahunavairya Prayer.

In the Hom Yasht, to begin with, we are told:—

> O Zarathushtra! thou renowned in Irānvej, thou, first of all, sang and repeated the Ahunavairya, proclaimed (to be sung) four times. Thou covered under earth all the evil ones, that had been running over the world in the form of human beings previous to It.[1]

The words which attract our particular attention in the passage quoted are *paoiryo*, 'first of all', and *para ahmāt*, 'before this'. It was then Zarathushtra who first of all announced to the world the virtues underlying the Ahunavairya Prayer, and thereby struck at the very root of the powers of evil that had been triumphant before.

1 Ys. 9. 14-15.

We are told, furthermore, in the Jamiād Yasht that :—

> "The holy Zarathushtra alone (*acvo*) sang the Ahunavairya, proclaimed (to be sung) four times, and covered under earth all the cursed and despised evil ones".[1]

The word that is all important here, is *acvo*, 'alone'. Zarathushtra alone, by his teaching of the Ahunavairya Prayer, instituted into the world the purest worship of the One God, *Ahura Mazdā*, disclosed and demonstrated the unfitness of the so-called *daevas* for any worship, and with a strong hand suppressed idol-worship and its evil effects.

The Ashi Yasht introduces us to an allegorical interview between Ashi and Zarathushtra. Ashi questions :—

> Who art thou, that rememberest me, because whose word (*vāchim*) I hear the sweetest of all ?[2]

Zarathushtra replies in self-introduction :—

> I am he, the first man (*paoiryo mashyāko*), that proclaimed righteousness (*asha*) to the world, and over whose birth nature had rejoiced.[3]

Now, with regard to the consequences, that attended upon the birth of the Prophet and upon the far-reaching effects of his teachings, we find it stated, that Ahriman, the source of all Evils, fled away from the surface of the Earth, openly confessing :—

> All the Yazatas together could not drive me away, while Zarathushtra alone (*acvo zarathushtro*) has succeeded in getting rid of me in spite of myself. Zarathushtra beats me hard with the

1 Yt. 19 81.
2 Yt. 17·17.
3 Yt 17·18

weapon of the Ahunavairya (*ahunavairyo... snaithisha*), as if with a large stone, and burns me to ashes by declaring Asha Vahishta (*i.e.* the Ashem Vohu Prayer) just as a furnace melts metals. Spitama Zarathushtra alone (*aevo... spitāmo zarathushtro*) is the man that totally routs me from the Earth.[1]

One can easily see from this, that Zarathushtra was the first (*paoiryo*) and the only (*aevo*) person, who promulgated the teaching of the Ahunavairya. We have noticed how effective and how successful his teaching of the Ahunavairya has been. The work, that tried and baffled the earnest endeavours of the Yazatas themselves, was first of all successfully brought about by Zarathushtra alone by his teaching of the sublime truths underlying the Ahunavairya.

We learn from the Fravardin Yasht[2] that Zarathushtra was the first lover (*paoirya hanghanusha*) of the Divine Word (*ukhdha*), that is, the Divine Message of the Ahunavairya, of its hearing and learning (*scraoshem,*) and of its guidance and propagation (*khshathrem*). The Fravardin Yasht calls Zarathushtra the first Initiate (*paoirya fravaedha*), and since he tenders his loyal dedication equally to the guidance and propagation (*khshathrem*) of God's Word, as manifested in the Ahunavairya, it calls him the first Master (*paoirya fravaedhayamna*). There can be no more convincing proof than this to show that Zarathushtra, according to the teaching of the Avesta, was God's first Initiate into the mysteries of the Divine Word of the Ahunavairya, and also the first Master and Guide, as well as the first Lover of the Holy Gospel of the Ahunavairya.

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1 Yt. 17 19,20. 2 Yt 13 88.

The Fravardin Yasht then goes on to relate the achievements accomplished by Zarathushtra's Holy Mission on earth, and states that Zarathushtra was the first (*paoiryo*) to put an end to the rule of the evil ones, that he was the first (*paoiryo*) to realise Truth in all its fulness and to proclaim himself a worshipper of One God, Ahura Mazdā, as opposed to the worship of the various Deities then in vogue, and to do away with all forms of idol-worship.[1] He was the first (*paoiryo*) to announce (*aokhta*) and propagate (*framraot*) the Word (*vāchim*) of the Mazdā-worshipping Religion, as opposed to the Deva-worshipping Religion, and he was the first (*paoiryo*) to denounce in the world of men all evil laws as unworthy of worship and adoration.[2]

The above references in the Fravardin Yasht lay repeated stress upon the word *paoiryo*. They tell us how Zarathushtra boldly exposed and firmly suppressed the outrages of the evil ones, who were a terror to the world, and who conspired to foster vice and misery among humanity. He was the first to liberate the earth from the tyranny of the wicked ones, to undermine and eradicate all kinds of idol-worship, and to teach by his precepts and example the Divine Law, that inculcates the pure worship of the One God. Zarathushtra was the first, we are told, to pronounce God's Holy Word, and show the Path of Asha to mankind.

The Yasna (19·1-4), speaks of an interview in which Zarathushtra asks God :—

> Which 'word' was it that Thou hast pronounced about me?

God replies to Zarathushtra :—

> The 'word' that I had pronounced about thee

1 Yt. 13 89. 2 Yt. 13 90.

was this *Bagha* of the Ahunavairya.

The wordings about me and about thee in the passage cited above are very significant. They show that Zarathushtra was God's first Initiate into the mysteries of the Ahunavairya. Had any other person received the initiation before Zarathushtra, the enquiry in the interview should not have expressed itself in the words 'about me', but should have been worded 'besides me', and so the response should have been not 'about thee', but 'besides thee'. The contention, here maintained, receives further confirmation from the wording of a similar interview between God and Zarathushtra, related in the Vandidād (chapter 2), and bearing upon the topic of the preaching of the Religion of Mazdā. It alludes to King Yima Khshaeta as having received God's inspiration prior to Zarathushtra to propagate the Religion. So Zarathushtra in his questioning justly chooses the wording *anyo mana*, 'besides me,' and *paoiryo*, 'first of all', and God aptly follows it up with the reply *anyo thwat*, 'besides thee'.

Turning once more to the Yasna (19.20), we note below the catechismal passages bearing on our subject :—

> God declared (the Supreme Word). To whom did He declare it? To the Holy One (that is, Zarathushtra) of the spiritual and temporal worlds. (In) what (dignity) did He declare the Supreme Word? As the Most Supreme Monarch. To whom? To the Holy, Supreme and Loyal One (that is, Zarathushtra).

The word *fravāka*, 'Supreme Word, or Formula', of which the above catechismal commentary treats, signifies the Ahunavairya Prayer. God's name is directly mentioned, in the quotation under review, as the revealer of the Divine Formula. And though no direct mention is made therein as to the party to whom this revelation is made, yet we have sufficient evidence to believe that the allusions and adjectives used make a distinct reference to

Zarathushtra as the recipient of the revelation.

In the Vandidād (chapter 19) we are told that Ahriman raises up a grim enemy by the name of Buiti against the new Religion, and incites the devil to destroy Zarathushtra's noble faith in its very inception. Zarathushtra, we are informed, sings the Ahunavairya and puts the devil to flight.[1] Thereupon another demon Akamana rushes forth to destroy Zarathushtra, and questions the truth of the new Religion. Zarathushtra sings again triumphantly the Ahunavairya, we are told, and substantiates the verity of God's Religion and of the Path of Asha.[2] This allegorical account of the Vandidād offers us a vivid picture of the dissensions and discords created by the wicked opponents of Zarathushtra, and informs us that Zarathushtra employs not the carnal weapons of war, but the powerful and effective weapon of the Ahunavairya in vindication of his sacred Religion, and that by his teaching of the Ahunavairya proves God alone to be worthy of worship, denouncing thereby the very principle of demon worship, and thus bringing about complete discomfiture of his rivals.

We learn from the Avesta, that previous to Zarathushtra, three great rulers and teachers of mankind had been gifted with the Divine Inspiration to undertake the propagation of the Mazdā-worshipping Religion. These are Yima Khshaeta, Hōm Frāshmi, and Gaya Merethna. We are told in the Vandidād (chapter 2), that in reply to God's offer to Yima Khshaeta to engage in the establishment of the Religion, Yima Khshaeta openly avows his utter incapacity to undertake so mighty a mission.[3] We are told in the Hom Yasht, furthermore, that even before Yima Khshaeta, an illustrious prophet, by the name of Hōm Frāshmi, had received God's Message to spread the Mazdā-worshipping Reli-

1 Vd 19 1 2. 2 Vd 19 10. 3 Vd 2·1,2

INDO-IRANIAN IDEAS OF IMPURITY

By Principal Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya

In every religion there are taboos and moral injunctions against certain kinds of impurity. We have in the sacred laws of the Hindus injunctions against certain impurities, as we find like injunctions in Avestic literature. In some cases the underlying ideas are too exactly similar as would point to a common source somewhere in the history of these two sister cultures.

The central idea regarding pure and impure things prevalent among the Iranians is that the fundamental and first principles, *i.e.* fire, air, water and earth must be kept pure and guarded against all sorts of impurities for, such is the belief of these people that by their defilement everything on earth becomes impure. So their every endeavour goes to keep these first principles always pure and free from impurity.

In the Hindu scriptures, too, we come across similar injunctions against fire and water but not so strict as in the former case.[1]

In the Iranian scriptures death is held to be the chief source of impurity and so is the birth of a child. In the sacred texts of the Hindus, too, we find similar ideas. Here, too, death and the birth of a child are regarded as sources of impurity (*aśauca*).

Among the Iranians, as to a certain extent amongst the Indians, we find the idea that whatever comes out of the body is as much impure as a dead body. So

1 *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* 71. 32 37 : One must not throw any impure substances into the fire, nor blood nor poison, into the water. He must not step over a fire, nor warm his feet upon it. *Cf.* Manu IV. 53 54.

breath is held to be impure and for this reason breath cannot be blown into to light a fire. In the sacred texts of the Hindus we come across similar injunctions.[1] Both these scriptures regard pairings of nails and shavings of hair as impure. The Iranians believe that unless properly guarded by incantations these become the weapons of the demons.

All indispositions according to them are the work of the demons, and so when one becomes indisposed he is regarded as impure. Women during menstruation are held to be highly impure and menstruation itself is regarded as the work of the demons, particularly if it continues for a longer time than is usual. There appear great similarities as to the duties prescribed for menstruating women, between the sacred scriptures of the Indians and the Iranians. We shall here discuss these similarities which would certainly show the original unity of these two cultures.

As has been mentioned, menstruation, particularly untimely or prolonged, is regarded as the work of the devil (Vend. I.19; 16.11). In the Vedic literature also it is regarded as sin incarnate. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (2·5·1) we find a story where it is stated that Indra killed one Tvastṛ, a Brahmin priest, and gave one-third of the sin he acquired to women in exchange for some boons. This sin of killing a Brahmin appears in women in the form of menstruation.[2]

Both these people hold that menstruating women are highly impure. In the texts here referred to the following

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1 Manu, IV. 9 53. "*Nāgnim mukhenopadhameť*'

This is a very old custom, and even in these days is prevalent among certain tribes in Persia For this reason Iranian priests even to day use a mouth veil (*paitidāna* or *paitām*). For similar customs in other parts of the world see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p 240-41, III p 136.

2 Brahmahatyāyai hyeṣā varmam pratimuñcyāste.'

—*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* II. 5 1.6.

points particularly deserve our attention :—

(1) Menstruating women are not only not to touch the fire but for them it is improper to go near it or even to look at it (Vend. 16.2.3; Sad Dar 68.1; Shāyast Lā-Shāyast 3.27.) We have similar ideas in the Hindu Scriptures but to a moderate extent, there they are forbidden to touch the fire (*Vasiṣṭha-smṛti* 5.7 *Nāgnim spṛṣet.*)

(2) In the Iranian scriptures we have the same injunctions against water (Sad Dar 68.2.3, Shāyast La-Shāyast 3.33). In the sacred texts of the Hindus, too, we have the same idea (cf. " *Nāpsu snayat,* see *Vasiṣṭha* 5.7 ; *Baudhāyana Grhyasūtra* 1.7.26).[1]

(3) Both the Iranians and the Indians hold that menstruating women should not look at the sun or other planetary bodies (*cf.* Shāyast Lā-Shāyast 3.19, and *Vasiṣṭha.* 5.7 " *Na grahān nirikṣeta*").[2]

(4) Among the Parsis for menstruating women it is forbidden to speak with any holy or pure person, as such talk defiles the person spoken to (Sad Dar 68.4.14 ; Shāyast Lā-Shāyast 3.29). In the *Taittiriya Samhitā* II. 5.1.5 we read " *Malavadvāsasā na samvadet* ", that is, one should not speak to a woman with stained garments.[3] By 'a woman with stained garments (*Malavadvāsas*), the author refers to a menstruating woman.

(5) The Iranians hold that such women should take their meals out of pots made either of iron or zinc or some such common metal (Vend. 16.6, Shāyast Lā-Shāyast 3.34). The Vedic Aryans had the same ideas, as

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1 For similar ideas among the aborigines, *cf Golden Bough,* Part VII, Vol. I, p 77.

2 This idea is prevalent among many other nations *Golden Bough,* Vol I, Part VII, pp. 35 ff.

3 See also *Baudhāyana Grhyasutra* I 7.22 ff , *Visnu* 71 58 , and *Manu* IV 57.

can be ascertained from the following aphorism in the *Vasiṣṭha-Dharmaśastra* 5.8 :

"*Lohitayasena vā.*"

Here it is definitely stated that the pot should be made of either copper or iron.[1]

(6) It goes without saying that cooking by women in that state is strictly forbidden, for, food prepared by them is held to be highly impure. In the Iranian scriptures (Shāyast Lā-Shāyast, 3.12) it is stated that food within a distance of three paces from such women is contaminated. The Indians definitely state that such food is impure and so cannot be taken (*Tait. Saṃ.* II, 5.1.6; *Vas.* V. 10; *Baudh.* I, 7.22; *Gautama* 17.10; *Manu* IV. 208.)[2]

(7) In one place (Sad Dar, 68.7) we come across the injunction that two such women should not dine or sleep together. The second reading of the same text gives that even their limbs should not be touched. The Hindu prototype of this rule is found in *Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti* IX. 381-82, *Atri-samhitā* 279-284, and *Smriti-samuccaya* p. 22, where it is said that two women in their menses should not touch one another.

Then, by ordaining penances for a man, who stops the menstruation of a woman or through lust touches a

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1 The word *lohitāyasa* used here may mean a pot made of copper (*lohita*), or a pot made of iron (*āyasa*), as said above But it may also mean a pot made of copper. Agreeing with the Avesta one should take the former meaning.

It may be observed that according to *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* quoted above, *Baudhyana-Gṛhyasūtra* 1 7. 34-35, and the source of both of them *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* 2.5.17, the injunction here is with regard to *drink* (*pana*, '*pibet*') It appears from it that the barley-drink referred to in the Avesta (Vend. XVI.7) is meant also in these Indian texts.

It is said in the Avesta (Vend. XVI.6, VII. 75) that a menstruating woman can use a vessel made of any common metal, but not an earthen one, for, according to the Iranians, if once defiled it cannot again be made clean (Vend. VII. 73 seq) Indians, however, believe that an earthen pot, though defiled, becomes clean again if it is burnt (*Śaṅkha smṛti* 16.1 = *Smṛtisamuccaya*, p 389). Therefore an earthen vessel can be used

2 This custom is prevalent among the natives of East Africa and New Guinea and other countries. *Golden Bough*, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 80-84

menstruating woman once or twice or thrice or even four times, the Iranian scriptures (Vend 16) show how improper these things were held to be In the Hindu scriptures, too, we come across such ideas many times [1]

It is well known that the Hindus believe that mere touch makes things impure. But among the Iranians this belief is carried to an extreme (Vend 5 27 38, Shayast La-Shāyast II, 59 ff). Direct touch defiles, but even indirect touch defiles For example, if a man touches another, who has touched a dead body, not only the first to touch becomes impure but also the one who touches that impure man Sometimes we find instances of successive defilement in the case of tenth or even twelfth person This law of such successive defilement holds good for menstruating women also (Shayast II 61) But according to the sacred law of the Hindus, such successive defilement is carried only to the second person (see *Manu* V, 85 , *Gautama sūtra* V, 29)

For a detailed description of this idea the reader is referred to, the second and third chapters of the Shāyast La Shāyast (SBE, Vol V, pp 245 6) Here we do not quote the laws *in extenso*, as what has been said before is enough to show the fundamental unity of the ideas, obtaining in such matters, prevalent among the Iranians and the Indo Aryans alike

1 See *Taittiriya Samhita* II 5 1 6 , *Manu* XI, 174

THE LAW OF CONTRACTS IN ANCIENT IRAN.

By J. C. Tarapore, M.A., LL.B.

> The movement of progressive societies has been a movement from Status to Contract.
>
> *Maine.*

Contracts as we know them in our everyday life were almost entirely absent in primitive society when the individual had no separate rights apart from the family or clan and hence could not enter into any contractual relations with others. But as soon as settled life comes into being and people get attached to their homes the conception of contract must appear before them in one form or another. Very slowly man learns to put reliance on another man's word. In the early legendary tales of some countries we find that a man of cunning is held up for our admiration. "In the Homeric literature, for instance, the deceitful cunning of Ulysses appears as a virtue of the same rank with the prudence of Nestor, the constancy of Hector, and the gallantry of Achilles."[1] It is hence not surprising that amongst the Greeks and Romans it took centuries for the conception of contract to materialise and then too it was very much enshrouded in certain formalities to be gone through by the contracting parties before the contract could be regarded as one enforcible in a court of law.

The ancient Iranians on the other hand were noted for their love of truth. This trait in their character was admired by the Greek writers of those days who came in contact with them. Herodotus, for instance, expressly states that the Persians think nothing so shameful as a

1 Maine, Ancient Law, Chapter IX.

lie.[1] With this rigid adherence to truth it is but natural that the Iranians should have early defined and classified different types of contracts and also elaborated the mode of enforcing them.

The term used in the Avesta for a contract, *Mithra*, is very significant. Originally Mithra was the angel presiding over light, the *Mihir Yasht*, one of the longest in the Yasht literature, being devoted to its extollation. The *yazata* also presides over friendship and love and is one of the Judges at the Chinvat Bridge where the souls of the dead come for judgment over the deeds done during the life on this earth.

After this *yazata* we find a covenant or agreement itself called *mithra*. Mithra representing light penetrates the whole world, sees all things, with "one thousand ears and ten thousand eyes" and is hence properly assigned the function of being the guardian and protector of all contracts and covenants. It is again Mithra who punishes persons who break their word and commit a breach of their contract. A man who breaks his covenant becomes a betrayer of the great *yazata* himself, and as a *mithro-druj* he brings on himself the fire and vengeance of Mithra. "The *mithro-druj* brings death unto the whole country, injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers could do."[2] The consequences of breaking a contract which the *mithro-druj* invites on himself are dire and dreadful, for Mithra in his rage takes away the power of his arms and legs, the light of his eyes and the hearing from his ears.[3]

A contract again did not affect the contracting parties only, but its effects were judged in accordance to its nature and the relationship between the contracting parties. A covenant made between two friends was regarded as twenty-fold in value. It became thirty-fold

1 Herodotus, I, §138. 2 Yasht X., §2. 3 *Ibid.*, §23.

when made between two men of the same guild, fifty-fold between husband and wife, ninety-fold between two brothers and hundred-fold between father and son.[1] The value becomes thousand-fold between two nations and ten thousand-fold when made in connection with the Mazda-worshipping religion.[2] The high value attached to the covenants between nations shows the importance assigned to international treaties and the recognition given to *jus gentium* so well elaborated by the Roman jurists in their system of law.

It is perhaps on account of such importance assigned to contracts that the *mithro-druj* was hated and shunned by the Iranians. "Sad is the abode unpeopled with children where abide the *mithro-drujs* and the fiendish killer of faithful men. The grazing cow goes a sad dangerous way, driven along the vales of the *mithro-drujs*, they stand along the road letting tears flow down their cheeks."[3] Breach of contract was again regarded a serious crime against the whole society to be classed along with larceny and robbery, and hence the *mithro-druj* and the *mithro-zya* (those who injure Mithra) are named in Yasna LXI., 3 along with thieves and robbers. Thus the ancient Iranians early recognised the importance of faithfully observing their covenants and contracts, and the danger to the whole society arising out of their breach. They then realised that, as a people, contracts amongst them should be regarded sacred and inviolable. Montesquieu, the celebrated French philosopher and historian, (1689-1755), in his *Lettres Persanes*, describes the Troglodytes as a people who systematically violated their contracts, and so perished utterly.[4] The ancient Iranians

1 Yasht X., § 116 2 *Ibid*, § 117. 3 *Ibid*, § 38.

4 *Vide* Maine, Ancient Law, IX. Maine, however, expresses his opinion that this was an erroneous view adopted by Montesquieu as "the Troglodytes flourished and founded powerful states with very small attention to the obligation of Contract."

needed no such lesson for their faithful observance of all contracts and covenants.

Ancient Greek writers beginning with Herodotus and Xenophon have all admired the great respect to truth given by the ancient Iranians and the hatred shown towards deceit in any form by them. Herodotus even mentions that the Persians regarded "telling lies as the most disgraceful vice, and of owing money as the next for the reason chief among many others that a man who is in debt will inevitably fall into some falsehood."[1] Xenophon notes that the Persians whole-heartedly taught their children to speak the truth,..and to be free from deceit and greediness,[2] so that trained in these habits they might grow to be more well-behaved citizens. Truth-telling was regarded as a subject of study.[3] All these passages, as well as the Avestic classification of contracts and the elaborate rules laid down in the *Vendidâd* for assessing the damages arising from breach of contract, go to establish the error committed by Rousseau in his Dissertation on the effects of Art and Science upon Morals. This was the first of his great works which attracted attention of the people of his times and one in which he states his opinions subsequently adopted by his sect. The veracity and good faith attributed to the ancient Persians are here repeatedly pointed out as traits of primitive innocence which have been gradually obliterated by civilization. Maine in his *Ancient Law* well demonstrates the fallacy of this statement. Rousseau wanted to impress his readers that the times in which the ancient Persians lived were so primitive and they were so much unadvanced in civilization that guile was not known to them and it was hence no virtue among them to find

1 Herodotus I., §183. 2 Xenophon, Institutio, Cyri, 6, 33.

3 Nicolaus of Damascus, Customs of Different Peoples See also Plato (Pseudo Plato), Alcibiades I., 121f. "the most just man teaches the boys to be truthful throughout their life."

people strictly carrying out their word and observing good faith in all their dealings. This was an assumption based on incomplete data, without a proper study of the customs of the ancient Iranians.

The Roman jurists classified their contracts into four divisions in accordance with the method employed in arriving at the agreement between the parties, *viz.*, the Verbal, the Literal, the Real, and the Consensual. Thus the different classes were named from the formalities which were required to be gone through over and above the agreement. In Verbal contracts certain words were required to be used and in the Literal an entry in a ledger or table-book had the effect of concluding the contract. The same was the result in the case of the Real contract when the Res or thing which was the subject matter of the contract was delivered. The last class of Consensual contracts included contracts like those of agency, partnership, sale, and letting or hiring and in which no formalities were required to be proved.

In the *Vendidâd* contracts were classified into six types. The first two classes were called the word-contract and the hand-contract. The former was a covenant in which the contracting parties arrived at an agreement by word of mouth. The next variety of contract was concluded by the striking of the hands by the parties concerned. The other four classes were known by the amount of the property involved, *viz.*, a sheep-contract, an ox-contract, a man-contract, and lastly a field-contract.[1] As shown by the Pahlavi commentators, the value of each of these contracts was fixed in the terms of money then used by the people. For this purpose a sheep was assessed at three 'stir', an ox at 12 'stir', a man at 500 'stir' and a field at upwards of 500 'stir'.[2]

1 Vendidâd, IV., §2.

2 Prof. Darmesteter in his footnote to Vendidâd, IV., § 2, explains that a 'stir' was equal in value to four 'dirhems'.

If any party to a contract could not fulfil the same, the party had to pay as compensation or damages the value of the article mentioned in the next class. If a word-contract was cancelled the man causing the breach had to pay the damages of a hand-contract, and if a hand-contract was cancelled those of a sheep-contract and so on.[1]

Again the *Vendidâd* makes it further difficult for a man to break his contract by laying down the principle of the joint responsibility of the family. The question is asked of Ahura Mazda "If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin?" Ahura Mazda answers "His sin makes the Nabânazdishtas answerable for 300 years."[2] For a hand-contract the period becomes 600 years, and then by stages of 100 years for the other classes of contracts it rises finally to 1000 years for a field-contract. The Pahlavi commentators try to explain this responsibility by saying that the Nabânazdishtas or next-of-kins have to fear from the breach for the period mentioned in the Avesta text. The liability is again further sought to be limited by these commentators as "only the son born after the breach is liable for it, the righteous are not liable for it; when the father dies, the son, if righteous, has nothing to fear from it." When we come to the Ravâyats we find another interpretation put on the original Avesta text. The Nabânazdishtas are wholly given up, and we are told that the period mentioned in the *Vendidâd* is the period for which the offender's soul shall abide in hell for his sin of having broken the contract.[3]

It was not regarded enough that a man who committed a breach of his contract should be made to pay damages to the other contracting party. The act was considered to be a wrong to the whole society and penalty

1 Vendidâd IV., §§3-4. 2 *Ibid*, §5. 3 Gr. Rav, 94.

was levied for the crime. The penalty laid down in the *Vendidâd* is scourging with stripes starting with 300 stripes for breaking a word-contract, and by degrees rising to 1000 stripes for a field contract.[1] The scale so laid down appears to be harsh and even barbarous at first sight. But we must remember that scourging was the punishment inflicted in early times amongst all people and if the codes of laws prevailing in Greece, Rome or any other country of the same age as the *Vendidâd* were now extant we would have as surely found this mode of punishment mentioned there. Again the Pahlavi commentators to the *Vendidâd* furnish us with the important information that at an early date this form of corporal punishment was converted into monetary penalties or fines. Three hundred stripes were for this purpose assessed at 1800 dirhems. The commentary appended to *Vendidâd*, Fragrad XIV., §2, is very significant "If he can afford it he will atone in the manner stated in the Avesta; if he cannot afford it, it will be sufficient to perform a complete *Yazashna* (ceremonial)." This passage indicates how the various penalties were exacted in accordance with the capacity of the wrong-doer, a principle recognised in all civilized societies giving considerable latitude to the presiding magistrate or judge to award a sentence after looking to all the circumstances of the case.

In conclusion the following passage from the Mihir Yasht[2] well shows that in ancient Persia contracts were enforced without any distinction :—

"Break not the contract, O Spitama ! neither the one thou hast entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one thou hadst entered into with a righteous one of thy own faith, for a contract is same for both the wicked or the righteous."

1 Vendidad IV., §§11-15. 2 Yasht X., §2.

THE UNPUBLISHED TRANSLATION OF THE UPANISHADS BY PRINCE DARA SHIKOH.

By Mahesh Prasad.

Just as a large number of Sanskrit works have been translated into English in the recent time, similarly they were rendered into Persian when it was most widely read and understood in the East. Among them are 50 Upanishads, many of which occupy a recognised position in Sanskrit literature and philosophy. The enlightened Prince Mohammed Dara Shikoh is known to all. It was due to his creditable effort that an adequate rendering of the 50 Upanishads was accomplished in Persian under the title of 'Sirr-ae-Akbar' سرّ اکبر, *i.e*, The Great Secret. But it is a matter of great pity that as he was not fortunate enough for the throne, in the same way the lot of his meritorious Upanishads cannot be said a good one, because a number of Persian renderings have been published, but the Persian Upanishads, as far as my knowledge is concerned, are still unpublished. However, it is a matter of great satisfaction that a good many MSS. of this work are found in the East and West, and it is not less widely known all over the world than any other important work. Further, it is to be observed that it was the worth and popularity of the work that prompted many people for transcribing it. I should, therefore, first of all like to give some description of the several MSS. which I have closely examined.

The Manuscripts.

(i) It is the oldest MS. which I could secure upto this time. It dates 14th Ziqad, 1150 A.H., *i.e.*, 1738 A.D. It is written on old paper used during those days. It consists of 936 pages of small size, each of which contains about 15 lines. It is so neatly written that one cannot

help praising the penmanship of the copyist. As to the copyist, simply so much can be derived from the MS. itself that his name was Dargahi Mal. He was a resident of Amroha, a town in the Moradabad district, but he was a Peshkar (clerk) in Sambhal (a town in the same district), and the task was accomplished in Delhi.

This copy is in the collection of L. Sri Ram's Section of the Benares Hindu University Library, P. G. 58 a.

(ii) This copy is in the possession of Munshi Jai Krishnaji and his son Mr. Devinarayan, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, in Mohalla Sakchi Vinayak of Benares City. It itself indicates that it was transcribed by several gentlemen and I am told that the task was undertaken by the ancestors of the owners in various times. It bears no date of its accomplishment. But it was borrowed by a gentleman for perusal from Munshi Gopal Krishnaji, grandfather of Munshi Jai Krishnaji, and the borrower gives the date of borrowing 1884 Sumbat of Vikramaditya, *i.e.*, 1827 A.D. This gives an adequate idea that its age exceeds 100 years.

It is also a volume of a small size consisting of 623 pages and about 17 lines in a page. It is also legibly and decently written.

(iii) It dates 11th March, 1859 A.D. It is decently transcribed on white paper covering 398 pages of big size, each page occupying only 15 lines. The name of the copyist is not mentioned in the copy.

It is begun with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. This makes us believe that it was copied by some Mohammedan gentleman, because the copies written by Hindus are begun with سری گنیش آیہ or with similar words.

This copy is also in the collection of L. Sri Ram's Section of the Benares Hindu University Library, P.G. 58.

(iv) It is written by a Mohammedan gentleman named Ashraf Ali of Mohalla Pathani Tola, Police Station Adampur, Benares City, at the instance of Rai Sankatha Prasad Sahib, a Rais of Benares proper. The task came to an end on 16th June, 1875 A.D. The original text on which it is based was written in Delhi in the year 1144 A.H., *i.e.*, 1732 A.D.

This copy is of medium size and there are 356 pages in it, each page containing about 15 lines. The script used in it is also a decent one.

This copy is deposited in the Carmichael Library of Benares City. P. 2029.

(v) It is written by B. Uma Shankar Sahai alias Shankar Sahai Kayestha Saxena, resident of Jehanabad in Pilibhit district (U.P.). I am told by his son-in-law B. Khanchand Sahib (the owner of the said copy) that he (B. Uma Shankar Sahai) in his life-time furnished five copies of the Upanishads, and it was the third one which I could secure for inspection by the courtesy of B. Khanchand Sahib who now lives at Allahabad, as his son Mr. Dhirendra Varma is a Lecturer in the Allahabad University.

The penmanship of this copy is exceptionally good and it can safely be said that it is the best one in neatness among the copies which I could examine. The date of its finishing is the 1st August 1884 A.D. This copy is composed of 362 pages of a big size having about 19 lines per page.

All the MSS. differ more or less in reading. These minute differences seem to be due to the oversight of the copyists. But by consulting or scrutinising all of them one can have a definite idea of satisfactory or correct reading.

Its Contents.

All the MSS. generally contain an introduction, a

glossary of Sanskrit words with their equivalents in Persian, the Persian rendering of 50 Upanishads with an end referring to something about the completion of the Persian rendering. Since the introduction is a very valuable part of the whole work, I take it first.

(a) *The Introduction.*

The beginning of all the MSS. varies from one another. For instance :—

(i) श्रीगणेशायनम

هوالظاهر والبطن ـ

نقطهٔ ماهیت جوهر قدیم ـ

حمد ذاتی که نقطهٔ بای بسم الله درجمیع کتب سماوي از اسرار قدیم اوست و اسم آوم (آم) که ام الکتاب درقرآن مجید اشاره باسم اعظم او وجمیع ملائك و کتب سماوی انبیا و اولیا و همه مندرج درین اسم است

(ii) هوالمنی

ست نام کرتاپورکهه حی ـ

حمد ذاتی را که رین در بین او لال است ـ

(iii) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ـ

حمد ذاتی که نقطهٔ بای بسم الله در جمیع کتب سماوی از اسرار قدیم اوست و الحمد الیهم که ام الکتاب است در قرآن مجید اشاره باسم اعظم اوست و جمیع ملائك و کتب سماوی و انبیا و اولیا همه مندرج است ـ

(iv) یا فتاح

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ـ

حمد ذاتی که نقطه بای بسم الله درجمیع کتب سماوی از اسرار قدیم اوست و اللهم که ام لکتاب در قرآن مجید اشاره باسم اعظم اوست و جمیع ملائك و کتب سماوی و انبیاء و اولیا مندرج درین

Surely such variations are due to the taste of the different copyists. Nothing can be said what were the exact words in the orignal of Dara, but it appears from (i), (iii) and (iv) that Dara's original copy must have contained nearly the very words which are in them. Thus we are forced to admit that it did not have such opening as most of the books written by Muslims usually have, *i.e.*; it did not possess the praises of God (Allah) and of the Prophet (Mohammed).

The next remarkable thing is that in the introduction the enlightened Prince has described himself very humbly in the third person singular which is one of the chief characteristics of the Muslim writers. He then tells us briefly about his journey to Kashmir in 1250 A.H. (1640 A.D) and about the circumstances under which he seems first to have heard of the Upanishads there.

Further he says that he carefully studied the Quran and found that there were mysteries unsolved in it. Then in pursuit of the secret of Monism (Tauhid) he studied the Books of Moses, the Gospels and the Psalms. But even then he found that they were devoid of the detailed knowledge of the Secret of Monism.

اما بعد چون فقیر .بی اندوه محمد دارا شکوه در سنه هزار و پنجاه هجری (۱۰۵۰) که بکشمیر جنّت نظیر رفته بود بجاذبه عنایت الهی و فضل نا متناهی سعادت ارادت اکمل کاملان زبده عارفان استاد استادان پیر پیران پیشوای پیشوایان موحد حقائق آگاه حضرت ملاشاه سلّمه الله دریافت چون ذوق دیدن عارفان هر طایفه و شنیدن سخنان بلند توحید بهمرسیده بود و اکثر کتب تصوّف بنظر در آورده و رساله ها تصنیف کرده بود تشنگی طلب که بحریست .بی نهایت دم بدم زیاده میشد و مسئله های دقیق بخاطر میرسید که حلّ آن جز کلام الهی و .بی استادی ذات متناهی امکان نداشت و چون قرآن عظیم و فرقان کریم اکثر

مرموز است و امروز دانندهٔ این رمز کمیاب خواست که جمیع کتب سماوی را بنظر در آرد تا از همان کلام الهی که خود تفسیر خود است اگر در کتابی مجمل باشد در کتابی دیگر بتفصیل یافته شود و ازان تفصیل آن اصل دانسته گردد و نظر بر توریت و انجیل و زبور و دیگر صحف انداخت اما بیان توحید در آن هم مجمل و مرموز بود و از ترجمه های سهلی که اهل غرض کرده بودند مطلوب معلوم نگردید ـ

At last he turns to the Hindu doctrine and therein he finds the Secrets of Monism manifested thoroughly. Subsequently, he admits the weight and superiority of Hindu culture as well as the priority of the revelation of the four Vedas. Then he takes the Upanishads as the essence of the Vedas. He finds them to be the treasure of Divine Secrets suited to the needs of the seeker of Divine Wisdom and mysteries. He attempts their Persian rendering by the assistance of a band of learned scholars (the Pandits and Sanyasis of Benares), in 1067 A.H. and gives them the name 'Sirr-ae-Akbar, سرّ اکبر (The Great Secret), because he regards the Upanishads as Divine Secrets, not open to all—

چون درین ایام بلده بنارس که دارالعلم این قوم است تعلق باین حق جوی داشت پندتان و سنیاسیان را که سرآمد وقت و بید و اپنکهت دان بودند جمع ساخته خود آن خلاصهٔ توحید را که اُپنکهت یعنی اسرار پوشیدنی و منتهای مطلب جمیع اولیای الله است در سنه یکهزار و شصت وهفت هجری (۱۰۶۷) بپارسیانه ترجمه نمود ـ

Later on he quotes from the Quran in his support, which runs as follows :—

اِنّهُ لَقُرآنٌ کَریم فی کتابٍ مکنونٍ لایَمسّه الاّ المطهّرون تنزیل من ربّ العلمین ـ

(سورة الواقعه ۵۶: ۷۸ تا ۸۱)

" Indeed it is an honoured Quran in a book that is hidden. None shall touch it, but the purified ones. It is a revelation by the Lord of the worlds." (Chapter LVI: 78-81.)

Upon this Quranic text, he comments thus :—

یعنی قران کریم درکتابی است که آن کتاب پنهان است و او را درك نمی کنند مگر دلی که مطهر باشد نازل شده از پروردگار عالمیان ـ شخص و معلوم می شود که این آیت در حق زبور و توریت و انجیل نیست و از لفظ تنزیل چنین طاهر میگردد که در حق لوح محفوظ هم نیست و چون اینکهت که سر پوشیدنی است اصل این کتاب است و آیت های قران مجید بعینه در آن یافته می شود پس تحقیق کتاب مکنون این کتاب قدیم باشد و ازین این فقیررا بادانستها داسته و تا فهمیدها فهمیده شد.

The purport of this extract is that these Quranic texts are not in favour of the Psalms, the Books of Moses and the Gospels. The word 'tanzil' (revelation) shows that the texts are also not intended for the Lauh-ae-Mahfuz[1] (The Protected Tablet). As the Upanishad is to be kept hidden and the very texts or versions of the Quran are found in it, the Quranic texts are particularly for the Upanishad and it is this for which the words کتب مکنون (Kitabim Maknunin, *i.e.*, a book that is hidden) have occurred in the Quran.

(b) *The Glossary.*

In this section there are about 100 words in Sanskrit with their Persian equivalents (in Persian character) such as :

Persian.	Sanskrit.
عالم ذات	برهم لوك (ब्रह्म लोक)
سدرة المنتهی که مقام جبرئیل است	برهما لوك (ब्रह्मा लोक)

1 The tablet on which, according to Mohammedan belief, the transactions of mankind have been written by God from eternity.

Persian.	Sanskrit.
جبرئیل[۴]	(ब्रह्मा) برهما
میکائیل[۴]	(विष्णु) بشن
اسرافیل[۴]	(महादेव) مها دیو
ما بین شرق و شمال	(ईशान) ایشان
ما بین شمال و مغرب	(वायव्य) بایب
آفتابی که در دوازده برج سیر میکند	(आदित्य) آدت
حبس نفس	(प्राणायाम) پرانا یام
ضبط حواس بیرونی	(यम) یم
ریاضت	(तपस्या) تپسیا
سنیاس	(सन्यास) سنیاس
دهیان	(ध्यान) دهیان
علم	(विद्या) ودّیا
جهل و نادانی	(अविद्या) اودّیا
عارف	(ज्ञानी) گیانی
رهان هنسی	(हंस) هنسوت

Since such Sanskrit words have been freely used in the Persian rendering, the Glossary is a key note for the study of the Upanishads

(c) *The Persian Text.*

The Persian text consists of 50 Upanishads which are related to various Vedas, viz.,

3 Upanishads taken from Rig Veda.
12 Upanishads taken from Yajur Veda.
1 Upanishad taken from Sam Veda.
31 Upanishads taken from Atharva Veda.

It is obvious that it is not an easy undertaking to read the Sanskrit words in Persian script, therefore, I

am unable to give the names of all the Persian Upanishads. Still I give below the names which I have been successful in tracing out uptil now. They are 45 out of 50 names :—

Rig Veda

1. कौषीतकि उपनिषद्
2. बाष्कल उपनिषद्
3. ऐतरेयोपनिषद्

Yajur Veda

1. मैत्रेयी उपनिषद्
2. बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
3. ईशावास्योपनिषद्
4. भृगुवल्ली उपनिषद्
5. आनन्दवल्ली उपनिषद्
6. महानारायणोपनिषद्
7. पुरुषसूक्तोपनिषद्
8. शिवसंकल्पोपनिषद्
9. शतरुद्रीयोपनिषद्
10. श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्
11. छागलेयोपनिषद्
12. ?

Sām Veda

1. छान्दोग्योपनिषद्

Atharva Veda

1. महोपनिषद्
2. योगशिखोपनिषद्
3. ब्रह्मविद्या—उपनिषद्
4. तेजोविन्दु उपनिषद्
5. ध्यानविन्दु उपनिषद्
6. अमृतविन्दु उपनिषद्
7. गर्भोपनिषद्
8. मुण्डकोपनिषद्
9. योगतत्त्वोपनिषद्
10. कठवल्ली उपनिषद्
11. अमृतनादोपनिषद्
12. तारकोपनिषद्
13. सर्वोपनिषद्
14. आत्मप्रबोधोपनिषद्
15. कैवल्योपनिषद्
16. माण्डुक्योपनिषद्
17. आत्मा—उपनिषद्
18. अथर्वशिखोपनिषद्
19. प्रश्नोपनिषद्
20. केतोपनिषद्
21. आरण्यकोपनिषद्
22. जावालोपनिषद्
23. नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनन्युपनिषद्
24. क्षुरिकोपनिषद्
25. परमहंसोपनिषद्
26. पैङ्गलोपनिषद्
27. अथर्वशिरोपनिषद्
28. यौनकोपनिषद्
29. हंसनादोपनिषद्
30. आर्षेयोपनिषद्
31. ?
32. ?
33. ?
34. ?

The various collections of the Sanskrit Upanishads differ much in number and there is a lot of difference of opinion about the compilation and date of certain Upanishads. But it is an admitted fact that there are a limited number of Upanishads which are especially noted for their antiquity and high philosophy. Their number does not exceed 12 and they are like :—

ईशावास्योपनिषद्, केनोपनिषद्, मुण्डकोपनिषद्,
माण्डूक्योपनिषद् ऐतरेयोपनिषद्, छान्दोग्योपनिषद्,
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, and श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्.

This list, when compared with that of the Persian Upanishads, shows that none of the important Upanishads in Sanskrit was left uninterpreted into Persian.

Now, it ought to be clear that the order of the Persian Upanishads is not the same in all the MSS. mentioned above :—

The first MS. begins with कौषीतकि-उपनिषद्।

The second one begins with ऐडतरेयोपनिषद्।

The third one opens with छान्दोग्योपनिषद्।

The fourth also begins like the third; but the order of the remaining is not like that of the third.

The fifth MS. commences with मंडोपनिषद्।

In the first and second MSS. all the Upanishads of the Vedas have been given according to the order of the latter; but in others no attention is paid to any sort of order.

As regards the nature of Persian rendering, by comparing some pieces with the original Sanskrit, I have come to the conclusion that the Persian version is very faithfully and sometimes even literally done. Every possible care has been taken that the Persian rendering may prove to be of much use to those who know Persian.

A few extracts from different places with their originals are given below :—

اپنکهت ایشا واسیه اززجروید

(a) ایش .یعنی صاحب همه است و آواسیه .یعنی پوشیده یعنی همه عالم در صاحب عالم پنهان و پوشیده است ان صاحب عالم ظاهر است و عالم درو پنهان هرچه نام و صورت دارد از صاحب عالم بر آمده و در صاحب عالم می ماند و در صاحب عالم فرو می رود نمود اصل عالم که آتما است راست و حق است و نام و صورت عالم که اودیا است دروغ و باطل است چون نام و صورت که دروغ و باطل است دران نمود آتما که راست و حق است در آمده است اینهم راست و حق می نماید یعنی نام و صورت عالم دروغ راست نما است در حقیقت وجودی ندارد پس باید که این دروغ راست نما را که از خود تصور کردهٔ و بآن دل بستهٔ تعلق و خواهش آنرا گزاشته به بی تعلقی خاطر و دل نه بستن بآن همه کارها و همه لذتها و همه ذوقها که می خواهی بکن و در دل تعلق و آرزوی اینها نداشته باش دنیا و دولت ارکیست و ز که شده است دیده میشود که ار پیش یکی به پیش دیگری میرود و از یکی به دیگری میرسد و تا تو صاحب این نظر و این حال نشدهٔ که بدانی که این نام و صورت در آتما است و جز آتما هیچ موجود نیست (ایشا واسیه اپنکهت)

ईशावास्यमिदम् सर्वं यत्किंच जगत्या जगत्॥ तेन त्यक्तेन भुजीथा मा गृध. कस्य स्विद्धनम्॥ ईशावास्योपनिषद्—(1)

(b) هر که همه عناصر و همه عالم در خود به بیند و خود را در همه عناصر و در همه عالم به بیند اورا هیچ چیز مکروه نه نماید و ار هیچ چیز نفرت نکند و هیچ چیز در نظر او بد نمی نماید چه عارف و کیانی که همه خود شده است و او را دوم نمانده است با که محبت کند و از که نفرت نماید — (ایشا واسیه اپنکهت)

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मन्येवानुपश्यति॥ सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते॥

यस्मिन्सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मैवाभूद्विजानतः ॥ तत्र को मोहः कः शोक एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥ ईशावास्योपनिषद् (6 and 7)

(c) آن آتمای که او را بدی و پیری و مرگ و اندوه و آرزوی خوردن و آشامیدن نیست و راست عزم است و هر خواهشی که می کند موجود می شود آن آتما را باید جست و باید دانست و آن را خود بخود باید دانست هر که آتما را چنین بداند بر همه ملك ها و خواهش ها ظفر می یابد این چنین گفت پرجاپت ــ (چهاندوگ اپنکهت)

य आत्मापहतपाप्मा विजरो विमृत्युर्विशोकोऽविजिघत्सोऽपिपासः सत्यकामः सत्यसंकल्पः सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्यः स सर्वांश्च लोकानाप्नोतीति सर्वांश्च कामान्यस्तमात्मानमनुविद्य विजानातीति ह प्रजापतिरुवाच ॥ छान्दोग्योपनिषद् . (8.7.1.) ॥

(d) آتما کدام است دانستند آتما آنست که به تحقیق از همون می بینند و از همون می شنوند و از همون می بویند و از همون می گویند و از همون مزهٔ شیرین و ترش وغیر آن می فهمند و هر دی نام اوست و دل نام اوست و عین علم نام اوست و حکم کننده نام اوست و دانای محض نام اوست و تصرف کننده در حواس نام اوست و نگاهبان نام اوست و فرق کننده میان حق و باطل نام اوست و مختار نام اوست و جرم کننده نام اوست و شفا کننده نام اوست و یادکننده نام اوست و خواهش کننده نام اوست و حیات بخشنده نام اوست و لذت گیرنده نام اوست و آرزو کننده نام اوست این همه نامها نام آن عین علم است و همون برهماست و همون اندر است و همون پرجاپت است و همون همه فرشته ها و موکلان است و این پنج عنصر که آب و آتش و باد و خاك و آکاش باشد همون است و تخمهای خرد و بزرگ و دیگر آنچه از زمین برآید و از بیضه بر آید و از شکم برآید و انچه جن و انسان و خلق الساعته باشد همون است و اسپها و گاو ها و آدمیها و فیلها و همه جانداران از چرنده و پرنده و ساکن همه همون ست و حرکت دهنده همه همون ست و محل همه همون ست همه از و پیدا می شوند و درومی باشند و در و محو

می شوند حرکت دهنده همه عالم همون ست و همین عین علم برهم است۔
(ایتریه اپنکهت)

कोऽयमात्मेति वयमुपास्महे कतरः स आत्मा येन वा पश्यति येन वा शृणोति येन वा गन्धानाजिघ्रति येन वा वाचं व्याकरोति येन वा स्वादु चास्वादु च विजानाति ॥१॥ यदेतत् हृदयं मनश्चैतत् ॥ संज्ञानमाज्ञानं विज्ञानं प्रज्ञानं मेधादृष्टिर्धृतिर्मनीषा जूतिः स्मृतिः संकल्पः क्रतुरसुः कामो वश इति सर्वाण्येवैतानि प्रज्ञानस्य नामधेयानि भवन्ति ॥२॥ एष ब्रह्मैष इन्द्र एष प्रजापतिरेते सर्वे देवा इमानि च पञ्च महाभूतानि पृथिवी वायुराकाश आपो ज्योतींषीत्येतानीमानि च क्षुद्रमिश्राणीव ॥ बीजानीतराणि चेतराणि चाण्डजानि च जारुजानि च स्वेदजानि चोद्भिज्जानि चाश्वा गावः पुरुषा हस्तिनो यत्किंचेदं प्राणि जङ्गमं च पतत्रि च यच्च च स्थावरं सर्वं तत्प्रज्ञानेत्रं प्रज्ञाने प्रतिष्ठितं प्रज्ञानेत्रो लोकः प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठा प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म ॥३॥ ऐतरेयोपनिषद्. (3. 5. 1-3) ॥

(e) کوکهتیك رکهیشر گمت پران را برهم دانسته به او مشغولی کن که این پرانی که عین برهم است دل رسول اوست و گویائی غذا خورانده و بینائی و ریراو وشنوائی عرض بیگی او همان پران که عین برهم است با آنکه چیزی ازینها نمی خواهد اینها هرچه دارند بی خواهش او می گزارند هرکه به پران این چنین مشغولی کند جمیع جانداران با آنکه او نخواهد همه هرچه دارند به او پیشکش میگزرانند این مشغول را سرّي که پوشیدني است همین است که بخود قرار بدهد که از هیچکس چیزی نخواهد و طلب نکند مثل این این است که چنانچه فقیری بدهی رفته از همه مردم آن ده گدائی بکند و چون هیچکس چیزی باودهد به اعراض بیرون ده آمده بنشیند و بخود قرار دهد که اگر بعد ازین کسی چیزی بدهد او نگیرد وقتیکه بخود این قرار بدهد اهل ده که به او چیزی نداده بودند بی طلب برای او چیزی برده و منت داشته پیش او میگزرانند و منت میدارند۔ (کوکهتیک اپنکهت)

प्राणो ब्रह्मेति ह स्माह कौषीतकिस्तस्य ह वा एतस्य प्राणस्य ब्रह्मणो मनोदूतं वाक्परिवेष्ट्री चक्षुर्गोप्त्रं श्रोत्रं संश्रावयितृ यो ह वा एतस्य प्राणस्य ब्रह्मणो मनोदूतं वेद दूतवान्भवति यश्चक्षुर्गोप्तृ गोप्तृमान्भवति यः श्रोत्रं संश्रावयितृ संश्रावयितृमान्भवति यो वाचं परिवेष्ट्रीं

परिवेष्ट्रीमान्भवति तस्मै वा एतस्मै प्राणाय ब्रह्मण एताः सर्वा देवता अयाचमाना बलिं हरन्ति तथो एवास्मै सर्वाणि भूतान्ययाचमानायैव बलिं हरन्ति य एव वेद् तस्योपनिषन्न याचेदिति तद्यथा ग्रामं भिक्षित्वा लब्ध्वोपविशेन्नाहमतो दत्तमश्नीयामिति य एवैनं पुरस्तात्प्रत्याचक्षीरंस्त एवैनमुपमन्त्रयन्ते ददाम त इत्येष धर्मो याचतो भवत्यनन्तरस्त्वेवैनमुपमन्त्रयन्ते ददाम तइति ॥१॥ कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद् (2. 1.)

(f) دو پرنده خوب اند و هر دو همیشه همنشین هم اند و با یکدیگر یار اند و در یك درخت می باشند یکی ازان دو میوهٔ آن درخت را شیرین دانسته میخورد و دوئمی هیچ چیز نمي خورد و می بیند مراد ازین دو پرنده که یکی می خورد و دیگری نمی خورد و مي بیند آنکه می خورد جیو آتما است و آنکه نمی خورد و می بیند پرم آتما است و مراد از درخت بدن و مراد از میوه که شیرین دانسته می خورد نتیجه اعمالست آن پرنده که میوه آن درخت را می خورد و بسبب نادانی از حقیقت خود واقف نیست و از همین جهت در فکر وآزار است وقتیکه بر حقیقت پرنده که چیزی نمی خورد و تماشا می بیند مطلع شود او هم از خوردن باز می ماند و مثل او می شود یعنی از قید عمل فارغ و بی فکر و بی اندوه می گردد و جیو آتما وقتیکه بگیانی می شود یعني عارف میشود آنزمان این چنین آتما خود بخود روشن است و پیدا کننده همه است و صاحب همه است و همه جا پر است و هرن گر بهه ار و پیدا شده است وقتیکه او را این چنین بداند آن عارف نتیجه نیك و بد را از خود دور کرده با آن آتمای پاك یکی می شود و پران پرانها اوست و در همه عناصر ظاهر اوست هر که او را می داند او گیاني وخداشناس است۔

(منڈک اپنکھت)

द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्ष परिषस्वजाते ॥ तयोरन्यः पिप्पल स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति ॥१॥ समाने वृक्षे पुरुषो निमग्नोऽनीशया शोचति मुह्यमानः ॥ जुष्टं यदा पश्यत्यन्यमीशमस्य महिमानमिति वीतशोकः ॥२॥ यदा पश्यः पश्यते रुक्मवर्णं कर्तारमीशं पुरुषं ब्रह्मयोनिम् ॥ तदा विद्वान्पुण्यपापे विधूय निरञ्जनः परमं साम्यमुपैति ॥३॥

प्राणो ह्येषयः सर्वभूतैर्विभाति विजानन्विद्वान्भवते नातिवादी ॥ आत्मक्रीड आत्मरतिः क्रियावानेष ब्रह्मविदा वरिष्ठ ॥४॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद् (3.1.1-4) ॥

The language of the translation is masterly. It is quite suitable to the Persian knowing public. It is sweet and simple. Contrary to it the language applied in the introduction can be said to be a complex one. Such a conclusion can be easily drawn by comparing the above extracts with those of the introduction referred to before. But it is also worth while to say that the utility of the Persian text must have been multiplied, had it been provided with additional notes besides the glossary in the beginning.

(d) *The End.*

Although a reasonable hint is found in the introduction about the time of the Persian rendering, yet a definite idea not only about the date, but also of the place is obtainable from the end. According to it the rendering came to a close on Monday the 26th Ramzan, 1067 A.H., *i.e.*, 1657 A.D. The whole time utilized for this task was a period of six months and the work was finished at the residence, called Manzil Nigam Bodh in Delhi.

The Persian Upanishads in Europe.

Professor Max Müller[1] has dealt considerably with the Persian rendering of these Upanishads by Dara Shikoh. He says :—" In that year (1775) Anquetil du Perron, the famous traveller and discoverer of the Zend-avesta, received one MS. of the Persian translation of the Upanishads sent to him by M. Gentil, the French resident at the Court of Shujauddaula, and brought to France by M. Bernier. After receiving another MS. Anquetil du Perron collated the two and translated the Persian translation into French (not published) and into Latin. That

1 The Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max Muller, Vol. 1. Upanishad, Part, I pp. LVIII-LX.

Latin translation was published in 1801 and 1802 under the title of 'Oupnekhat' idest Secretum tegendum..... ..... Levrault, Vol. i, 1801; Vol. ii, 1802.

This translation though it attracted considerable interest among scholars, was written in so utterly unintelligible a style, that it required the lynx-like perspicacity of an intrepid philosopher, such as Schopenhauer, to discover a thread through such a labyrinth. Schopenhauer however, not only found and followed such a thread, but he had the courage to proclaim to an incredulous age the vast treasures of thought which were lying buried beneath that fearful jargon !"

The learned professor further adds :—"Schopenhauer not only read this translation carefully but he makes no secret of it that his own philosophy is powerfully impregnated by the fundamental doctrines of the Upanishads. He dwells on it again and again and it seems both fair to Schopenhauer's memory and highly important for a true appreciation of the philosophical value of the Upanishads, to put together what that vigorous thinker has written on those ancient rhapsodies of truth."

I need not comment any more upon what the learned professor has written. But it is a matter of great disappointment as well as regret that the original Persian Upanishads have not been published as yet, so that people are unable to secure a correct copy of them in decent form, although they revolutionized the ideas and minds of great European scholars and a considerable amount of work has been done for Persian during the recent years in Europe as well as in India. In short, it would not be out of place to say that immediate attempts should be made for the publication of this valuable work in Persian.

Not only Prof. Max Müller but several other scholars also very often wrote something about these Upanishads. The MSS. of these Upanishads in the earliest

period of oriental research, reached Europe. But it is a matter of great regret and real surprise that the part of the 'Encyclopædia of Islam' recently published, which tells us about Dara Shikoh, is absolutely silent about the Persian Upanishads of the enlightened Prince

Conclusion.

It is abundantly clear that Persian is dying out in India. Such a Persian rendering may not be of much use to Persianists. But it is an undeniable fact that researches in the history of such important works cannot but help the study of Sanskrit literature We can moreover easily conceive how much Persian is indebted to Sanskrit.

Another important point is that through it some trace of such books may be available, as are lost in original Sanskrit. Long ago a large number of Sanskrit works were made into Chinese and Tibetan By the history of those works something has been ascertained about some of the original Sanskrit works which are lost Similarly it is possible to unearth some original Sanskrit works by means of Persian renderings, because during the days of Muslim rule not only one or two but a good many books of various branches of learning took the garb of Persian.

THE VALUE OF PERSIAN LITERATURE.

By Otto Rothfeld, B.A. (Oxon.)

I am forced to write without books of reference and the drawbacks are obvious. Even my Hafiz, a usual companion, is not with me in the villa in a Spanish garden where I am at present living. In the nearest library, the Bibliotheca de Cataluña, not one Persian text is to be found. My own books are out of reach in London, packed away, alas, for years in tin-lined cases. I have only memory to depend on, I am tempted to complain. But, when I think it over, this also has its advantages. For what I wish to do is chiefly to explore and put in words a generalised impression. In the last thirty years off and on, whenever I had a little leisure in a busy life, I have often turned with interested study and new understanding to the Persian writers, as I have also turned again and again to those nearer writers whom I had learnt to love in earlier years—Virgil, Sophocles, Scott, Racine, Gibbon, Balzac, Horace. What I should here like to do is summarily to state, as I see it, the value and significance of Persian literature, testing it both by the mental and emotional extension it gives the reader and by its effects on the activities of peoples. For this purpose exact reference and detailed memory are not necessary. It is the general impression which is the most important. For the great value of books lies not in facts or information they may furnish nor even in the recollected beauties of single passages or the sweep and amplitude of particular reasoning; but rather in the emotional colouring they leave on the mind and the direction they have given to the reader's course through life. True as this is of any single book of genuine worth, it is truer still of a national literature as a whole. It is the added riches of mental

content and breadth or subtlety of temperamental response gained by intimacy with a great literature which are the final tests of its value.

Moreover, though I have no books to refer to, I am most fortunate in having here other things which recall vividly the formulæ and spirit of Persian poetry. From the terrace of my garden I see three slender cypresses swaying before the breeze, roses crimson and pink and yellow cluster above a bank and overhang a pergola, I hear a soft and soothing trickle in the runnels which irrigate the garden, the water from the spring is clear and cool as that of Ruknabad, and the sky is blue and cloudless like that of the Nauroz. Though we have no bulbuls, yet there are many nightingales who make day and night a liquid trill of triumphant song, and in the sunlight the hum of honey-bees is a sleepy bass to their melody.

Moreover this is Spain — Spain, the contested frontier land between Christianity and Islam, which alone in Western Europe was for some centuries a Muhammedan country, whose culture, whose blood, whose art, whose thought have in unmeasured degree been shaped by those Mussulmans who obtained all they had best to offer to the world (except their religion) from Persia and its statesmen, philosophers and poets. Much in Spanish life and character derives of course from the Iberian blood, that grave, virile, explosively energetic race, which is the basic element in the Spanish people Much too is due to the Catholic Church, whose thought and teaching after the reconquest was the mould in which the Spanish spirit has been shaped. But the influence of Islam also is manifest enough It is not merely a question of monuments in stone or marble. These are plentiful from the graceful palaces of Granada to the rough towers on the Catalan hills to which the goat-herd points and tells you they are 'de los Moros'—'of the Moors'. The thread of

felt must always seek to realise themselves in action The appeal of literature can seldom be that of pure beauty only, inevitably other factors are bound to mix with the mere aesthetic If this wider point of view be admitted, it may be claimed not without reason that the first and greatest value of Persian literature has been the preservation of the national soul

The revolt of Persia under the Buwayhid princes from Arab rule took place in 932 A D, and the classic language and with it Persian literature began with that revolt From that date to our own age grammar and vocabulary have continued almost unaltered the ideals which have persisted in Persian writings have been the same, and the spirit of the land has remained one and indivisible In these thousand year the territorial shape and imposed governments of the country have varied incessantly and terribly The empire which once included almost the whole of Central Asia has shrunk to a mere nucleus of its former area, Turkestan Bokhara, Samarkand Herat, all Afghanistan, Armenia have been lost, and what remains has for over a century been the butt and sometimes almost the prey of the rival imperial ambitions of Russia and Great Britain Turk and Tartar, Turkoman and Mongol and again Turk have in turns seized devastated or misgoverned Persia's monuments have fallen and her palaces and cities are in decay Yet, through it all literature fed the flame of Persian pride and national consciousness, and the flame has burned clear and steady Never was there an age in which the inspiration flickered The poets went on singing like the birds and in every generation recaptured the notes and cadences of their predecessors Sometimes indeed it seems as if periods of great devastation produced a fuller crop of writers as wheat springs richest from the ashes of a forest fire Never for instance was there a larger number of

great writers than in the age of Timur Lang and his successors. It is certain that language and literature have kept many peoples Persian at heart who have long ceased to be so politically. Bokhara, Samarkand and Yarkand are still at bottom Persian—though possibly Bolshevik pressure may now be effecting a doubtful change—whatever their form of government may be. The Tajaks of Afghanistan are another instance of men whose real *patria* is Iran. Even of the Baluchi tribes the same may to a large extent be said. I have spent days and weeks in the tents of Baluchi chiefs and have talked Persian all the time and listened to Persian poetry being chanted and at night after dinner have heard Persian odes sung by dancing girls. Their preceptors are Persian Mujtahids; their books on medicine, alchemy and even hawking are in Persian; all that stands for them in their rude tribal life for culture, civilization and higher aspiration comes to them from Persia. In India proper the influence is less direct and powerful; it has to struggle against too many conflicting tendencies and economic forces; yet even now in Lucknow, say, or Hyderabad the *genius loci* is surely not inappreciably quickened by the spirit of Persian literature.

A humble but a touching instance in India is furnished by the wandering Persian *Iliad* who still survive the efforts of a dully regulated world and an unsympathetic police. These go about in bands selling horses, knives, ebony rings and so on. The Police Gazette for some unknown reason calls them Sindi-Baluchi gypsies. They are as a matter of fact pure Persian from Fars with an occasional Indian admixture when they have admitted a pretty Indian girl to the tribe. I knew them rather well in my young days when they still came round annually in fairly large numbers with their tents and encampments, bringing quite good Baluchi horses for sale. I have bought from them, broken bread with them and entertain-

ed them in turn in my own tents. Many of these *Ils* have been in India for three centuries. For most of the time they had no communication with Persia, though they have occasionally gone back there in ones or twos in recent years since travelling became easier. Yet even now they speak the pure Persian of Fars with a real Persian, not an Indian, accent; keep up Persian customs as they keep the picturesque old Persian fashion of dress for their women; and in a word *are* real Persians. In their case this strength of persistence has been reinforced in particular by the poetry of Firdausi. Those whom I knew loved the old heroic rhymes and would chant to me for hours in the night the verses of their country's history to the martial rhythm of *Fa'ulun Fa'ulun Fa'ulun Fa'ul*. I have tried them often by quoting a line or two from the printed selections of the Shahnama I had by me, and four times out of five they could cap the line and go on with the rest of the passage. It was a wonderful experience, these men with their fine features, their glancing vivacious eyes, their thin hooked noses, their curls and beards, with their women beside them in bright coloured dresses and with the free, frank manner of the Persian tribes; the tents pitched on an Indian field; a couple of hundred yards away a Deccan village, all stone and narrow ruts and age-long acquiescence; and here with pride in a country lost three centuries before these men chanting verses filled with the resounding battle-rage of their ancient history.

But if her literature has served Persia well within her borders and in adjacent kindred lands by keeping alive the sentiments of unity and race, it has served her perhaps even more usefully abroad in alien peoples and foreign climes. One may sneer, if one likes, in a materialistic age about ideas and their worth, but there can be little doubt that had it not been for the fame and glory of her writers, Persia would long ago have been conquered and dismembered. It was not alone their rivalries, it was certainly

not fear of Persian power and resistance, which kept Russia and Great Britain from annexing or 'protecting' the country. Had Persia been a kingdom even greater than she is, with more of wealth and a larger army, she would hardly have been saved if she had had no literature. Unknown, uncared for she would have been swallowed. But her poetry had won her friends in every country. Like Greece, she could find defenders everywhere. To seize the land would have called up a storm of protest wherever in the whole educated world Hafiz was known or Umar Khayyam read or the Shahnama studied. No power could face the obloquy. Even the brutal Russian shrank from too open aggression. He tried it at Tabriz; shot and hanged; and heard in amaze the cry of an outraged world. The spirits of the great dead were more for Persia than a dozen army divisions.

Yet, as a matter of fact, though every educated man in Europe is aware of the fact that Persia has a noble literature, there are comparatively few who have any real acquaintance even through translations with the actual works. Most people in England no doubt have read Fitzgerald's Umar Khayyam; and the quatrains are known less familiarly on the continent. But there, for most persons, their knowledge of Persian literature, properly so called, begins and ends. In addition there has, however, been a limited, though keenly interested, study of Persian poetry by a select few in Europe. The translation of Hafiz into German made by Josef v. Hammer in 1812 at once created a sensation; and Goethe's admiration and imitation gave the book something of a popular vogue. For a period indeed it became a fashion among writers to affect an acquaintance with Persian literature, whether they had it or not, sometimes with ludicrous results. Thus one finds Balzac for instance in his novel "Pierette" speaking of Sa'adi as the Homer of Persia, of all possible and impossible comparisons perhaps the most unlikely. Since that

date interest has never ceased, though restricted to small circles in every country, and there is some acquaintance with the names at least of Sa'adi, Firdausi, Hafiz, Jami and Umar Khayyam, and in a few cases even with selections from their poems.

But by far the greatest influence exercised by Persian literature on European thought has been through the Thousand and One Nights. These—the Arabian Nights—are usually classed under Arab literature as Arabic stories. So of course, in the literal sense, they are. The manuscripts from which the accepted versions are taken are in the Arabic language and have had a Cairene editing. Yet there is little doubt that the stories themselves are of Persian origin. This was indeed already pointed out by Baron v. Hammer-Purgstall at the beginning of the XIXth century. According to the Kitab al Fihrist of Abu al Faraj Muhammad ibn Ishaq, also the stories of the Arabian Nights come from the Persian Hazar Afsan. The beast fables are purely Iranian. The very names of Shahryar and Sheherazad and Dunyazad are Persian. In most of the stories except those which are mere Cairene *facetiae*, the spirit and even the surroundings of Persian life are visible. The stories are indeed said to have been first composed for that Queen Humai, who is known to Herodotus as Parysatis, which of course stands for Parizada. She was the wife of Bahman Darazdast who is also known as Artaxeixes Longimanus.

The Arabian Nights were produced in a French translation between 1704 and 1717 by Galland, the great scholar, who was born of peasant parents in Picardy in 1646. The translation created an enormous sensation. Charles Nodier writing of the publication says with truth "Les Contes produirent une vogue populaire. On fut étonné du charme que resultait de leur lecture." It was followed in 1724 by a well-known English edition, which

was a translation from Galland's French. This was anything but well done; but, poor though it was, it also was widely read and admired. The greatest of contemporary prose-writers, Addison, copied the style, as he thought, in the famous Vision of Mirza and the story of Alnaschar; and, later on, Johnson's Rasselas, heavy as it is and unlike the Nights in everything which made their charm; was obviously composed under their inspiration. In France Voltaire's Zadig was an imitation turned to the uses of satire; and it is also impossible to read Candide without feeling how much it owes to the Persian stories which had reached the author through the Arabic of Cairo and Galland's French.

No other Asiatic book except the Bible has ever had anything like the influence in Europe that has been exercised by the Arabian Nights. It must be remembered that there is not a boy and probably hardly a girl in the whole of Europe who has not at one time or another read and re-read the Arabian Nights in some expurgated children's edition. On most growing minds it leaves an impression which is never afterwards effaced, an impression of wondrous splendours, of magical powers and enchantments, of beauteous damsels and princes charming, of palaces and priceless gems and gorgeous broideries, of justice rewarded and sin punished, of a world gayer, brighter, more accidented, more adventurous, more in a word resplendent than anything they can know in the routine of a quiet home and a grey sky. It would be interesting to know, could such statistics be exacted, just how many English boys in the last century have come to India or found their first impulsion to Ceylon or Egypt, China or Zanzibar in the fond imaginings of their childhood as they sat curled up in an armchair beside the fire and looked through the drawn curtains, which shut off a rainy night and sodden streets, into the fancied bazars of Damascus or Basra or the gardens beside Baghdad where

they drank wine and sang songs with the old gardener and the fair Persian slave. In my own case, I remember well, when at the age of seventeen, I came in sight of the gleaming Kasba of Algiers, rising white from the blue sea, how I seemed to step back with a gasp of surprise and delight into the unforgotten world of childhood's facts. At that period, thirty-five years ago, the town was not safe, especially after dark; and, when at night I walked in the solitary narrow lanes which wind up and down the steep hill of the Kasba, with my revolver ready at my hip and my servant, an old French soldier, just behind me, with every now and then a distant tom-tom beating or occasionally a woman's scream breaking the silence behind a white-washed wall, I almost looked to meet the negro Masrur with his executioner's sword round the next corner or find the Khalifa Harun-al-Rashid with Ja'afar in disguise as merchants seated at a window on a balcony.

As with the Arabian Nights, so generally it is no doubt true that Persian writers have exercised more influence in Europe indirectly than directly; and more often through what they have written in the Arabic language than in their own. Broadly speaking it is hardly, I gather, an exaggeration to say, that with the exception of the seven pre-Islamic poets the greater part of Arabic literature is the work of Persian authors. Thus in the age of Timur, for instance, of five well-known Arabic prose-writers four were Persian. Moreover, even when the author was a genuine Arab, he wrote in surroundings shaped to an incredible extent by Persian influences. More often than not, Arabic literature is really the thought of Persian men written in Arabic instead of Persian. To no class of writing does this apply so much as to the scientific and philosophic books written in Arabic during the period which corresponds to the European Middle Ages. But these are the books which did so much to refresh and refine the slowly reviving European soul. It was from

forced his new religion violently on the pagan Mongols Highly talented and gifted with transcendent energy, he became an adept in astronomy, chemistry and metallurgy and was conversant with Persian, Arabic, Chinese Tibetan, Kashmiri and even Latin Many ambassadors came to his court, one of them being a Catalan gentleman from Barcelona At a later age one finds again numerous records of European travellers being received at the courts of the Timurid princes Now it may surely be supposed that none of these men returned to their native homes in the West without bringing back something of Persian culture and art, some breath from the spirit of Persian refinement and poetry Moreover Spain from the eighth century onwards had become a centre of Islamic civilization, radiating its finer thought and feeling over the frontier to the nearer courts of Europe It made itself felt first at the castles of the Catalan counts at Barcelona and Toulouse, and European chivalry was born in the halls of those Raymonds and Berenguers under the inspiration of true Moorish knights These no doubt borrowed their behaviour and ideals in part from the rhymed challenges and solitary combats of the Arab warriors, but they owed no less to Persian invention and idealisation displayed in the noble stories of the Shahnama and the tales of the long struggles of old Persia with the Eastern Roman Empire It would need a far closer acquaintance than I can claim with the poetry of the French trouveres and troubadours to trace the possible imitation or echoes of Persian in their work It is, however, pleasant to think that the Courts of Love in Southern France and the ideals of courtesy and gentle knighthood which spread from them all over the better classes of Western Europe owed their origin indirectly through Spain, Morocco and Arabia in no small part at least to the most refined of Eastern nations, the Persians, and their code of manners

Nowhere has the European version of Mussulman

chivalry been so perfectly expressed for all time in its pathos and tragedy, its loftiness and inspiration as in that profound and universally significant work, the glory of the Spanish soul and its embodiment, the Don Quixote of Cervantes. If this interpretation of the history of chivalry be correct, then this work which one reads with naive delight in childhood, with gaiety and easy enjoyment of its language in youth, with comprehension and sympathetic scepticism in middle-age and with wisdom and sadness in later years, this noble creation of the human mind in which a national character of peculiar dignity and courtesy lives for all time, this fine and inspiring book could never have been written, had it not been for the Persian tradition, even though Cervantes had never read a line of Persian himself and perhaps barely knew the existence of its poetry.

But there is another land, as much Asiatic as it is European, on which Persian literature left its impress even more deeply and exclusively. Ottoman letters owe their very being to the imitation of Persian. Turkish poetry begins with Bahauddin, the son of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, who wrote under the pseudonym of Wahad and was born in 1226 at Laranda in Asia Minor. It is true he wrote the Mathnavi which he called the Rabab nama in Persian, but he included in it 156 Turkish verses and these were the start of Turkish literature. Under the Timurid princes the influence became more marked. Both in Persia and in India these princes were the most generally artistic rulers ever known in Asia. It was to them for instance and in particular to Baysunqur and Sultan Husain Mirza that the delicate art of miniature painting owed its flourishing development. They loved all things which were rare and beautiful, sumptuous bindings of books, damascened sword blades and rich armour, the blended dyes and patterns of fine carpets. Their courts were like those of the Italian princes of the Renaissance,

centres of culture and intrigue, refined, artistic and corrupt. Herat was the city in which for a brief space this life of luxury and beauty rached its effulgence, and from Herat its literary expression spread to Asia Minor. Every student of Turkish literature is agreed that almost upto our own day, its inspiration and even its faults are derived entirely from its Persian models.

These then are manifestations of the value achieved by Persian literature in the world. It remains to be asked what its intrinsic merits are.

There is one thing at least to which all Persian writers have borne witness and that is the supreme need of elegance and perfection of form. In our day in Europe, we have seen successive phases of taste in which form was sacrificed to matter, in the belief that if a thing was worth saying it was of no importance how it was said; and again phases in which a certain brutality and crudeness of form was deliberately sought rather than beauty or symmetry. At no time in the long history of Persian literature did such perversions arise. It was never forgotten that writing no less than painting is an art and not a mere accident of expression. What was aimed at throughout, never mind what was achieved, was felicity of cadence and the highest polish attainable in the turn of phrase. Persian poetry has something of a decorative pattern like a fresco and its stanzas have the involuted delicacy of an arabesque. The metres adapted from the Arabic lend themselves to intricate and moving music. The genius of the language easily admits the sequence of several long syllables, a fact which both gives dignity to the verse and allows the use of longer feet and more elaborate rhythms than are possible in most languages. The effect to a musical ear is certainly most pleasing and the emotional appeal of the cadences subtler and deeper than in the shallow movements of iambs or trochees. The rhythms are richer even than those of the Greek or Latin classics

and compare as music on an altogether higher plane with the tinny drum-and-fife metres of accentuated languages.

With these advantages of melody one is conscious also in every *bait* of ghazal or of mathnavi of the writer's effort to achieve grace and neatness of expression. There are no rough edges left over, no broken rhythms, no crudities. In Hafiz of course Persian elegance and perfection of form are at their very highest. He is without question the supreme poet of the race, summing up in the haunting loveliness of his odes the elegance and fragrance of an age that had been shattered by the devastating hordes of Timur the Lame. With that perfect art, which makes him, in his slim, slender sort, the companion of Sophocles and Virgil and Racine, he wove the well-worn imagery of the bulbul and the rose, the chess-player and the pawn, the breath of Jesus and the scented curls of the beloved without incongruity into the curious patterns of his odes. No other lyric poet in any language that I know, not even Ronsard, has ever attained so great a loveliness or can be likened to this Raphael among Persian poets. But in the quest of pure beauty Hafiz is not alone. Sa'adi with his perfectly balanced phrase, Nizami with his smooth and graceful narrative, Jami in his mellifluous and mystic verse; Shams-i-Tabrizi in his haunting philosophic stanzas; all in their different ways seek the perfection of form. There is a lesson to be learnt here, if their eyes were not dimmed, by a wilful generation which has missed its way and wandered after false gods into the wilderness.

It is true unfortunately that certain qualifications have to be made. The form which the Persian writers sought was often rather style in its details and the beauty of the single phrase than the construction and symmetry of the whole. In the architecture or architectony of long poems they seldom achieved such balanced and harmoni-

ous perspective as the Greeks attained or, when they followed them, the Romans. The Shahnama for instance in spite of the beauty of its passages and the splendid swing of its lines is shapeless, episodic, even clumsy in general construction. Compare it for a moment to the Iliad for instance in this respect; and the contrast is only too striking. Or take Jalaluddin Rumi. Each poem is as a rule well told apart from the profundity of its thought and its deeply moving consciousness of God; but read together it must be confessed that the poems are not well connected and that unity of design is faulty. On the other side, it must also be admitted that Persia never achieved anything really great in prose.

Prose is of course in every country a later, as it is a higher, achievement than poetry. Good prose requires not only a more delicate ear for subtle cadence, it requires also a clearer, more cultured thought, a more highly trained logic and an elaborated understanding of evidence and proof; it calls for an exacter sense of construction and design. The prose of the Gulistan is lucid, melodious and charming; but it is not great in any real sense. That of Na'amat Khan-i-'Ali in all its elaborate and twisted preciosity is witty, masterful and often trenchant; but it is abnormal and eccentric. The historical prose of a work like the Tarikh-i-Wassaf by Abdullah ibn Fazlullah of Shiraz, which was written in 1312 and served unhappily as model to too many imitators, is frankly abominable. The author himself declared that his primary object in attempting a history was to perpetrate something in what passed for the grand style. Its meaning is frequently incomprehensible, though it does not sink to those muddy depths of unintelligibility and crassitude from which the Durra-i-Nadiri were dredged. There is no need to differ from the opinion of Rieu who says that the Tarikh-i-Wassaf is marked "by want of arrangement in its method and still more by the highly artificial character and

tedious redundance of its style. It was unfortunately set up as a model and has exercised a baneful influence on the later historical compositions in Persia." I have no personal acquaintance with the numerous historical writers who flourished in the Ilkhani period; some I understand—Rashiduddin for instance, Ghazan's Wazir—were more meritorious; but it is safe to say that there is not one who could be compared even for a moment to a Tacitus, a Gibbon or a Michelet. Themoralists were no better as prose-writers. The Akhlaq-i-Jalali for instance is a jumble of rather muddled ideas expressed in language at once wordy and vapid, clumsy and confused.

It must be allowed that the best Persian prose cannot be compared either in richness and complexity, in strength and moving harmony, or even in appositeness and lucidity to the Greek and Roman writers or to modern European prose from the 18th century onwards. One must however add that between the 12th and 16th centuries Persians could and did achieve a neat, clear, well-ordered prose, while prose-writing was still an unknown mystery in the Europe which was slowly struggling out of barbarism. With the one exception of Italy, where fine clear prose was already achieved in the 14th century, there was no European country sufficiently civilized until well into the 16th century to make any serious attempt to master this most difficult form of writing. In France it begins with Rabelais, in England it is not till towards the end of the 17th century that one can speak seriously of decent prose. The art was learnt earlier in Persia; but unhappily it soon stopped growing. It is, however, hardly to be doubted that, with the general renaissance of the East, Persian prose will in the near future again revive and may attain heights as lofty as any reached elsewhere by the human mind. Now that the land is again exposed to the fresh winds of liberty and progress and feels the reverberations of new powers and forces, its writers are unlikely to fall

back into the bombastic and affected rhetoric which in the decay of national life and the absence of all living interest had become the malady of its decadence and decay.

The true value of Persian literature to the world is at present to be sought in its poetry. It may be objected that its field is restricted. It is true, and must be admitted, that Persian poetry has with few exceptions not roamed very far over the activities of mankind and has been apt to confine itself to the repetition and further embellishment of selected themes. The most creative work in Persian is undoubtedly the Mathnawi of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, which it is not perhaps unfair to compare to much of Browning or even to Goethe's Faust. But in Persian literature in general there is little seen of the stupendous birth-pangs of genius at labour with a new humanity. There is nothing which recalls the unstinted exuberance of a Shakespeare or that almost overpowering conflict of passions made human, which took shape and life in the creative spirit of a Balzac. Yet in regard to the ultimate problems of the universe—to destiny and death, to the substance of the Absolute and the relation of infinite eternal Being to the show of life in time and space—all Persian writers, whatever their differences, share a manner of contemplation far other than that of the West, which deeply and forever alters the mental colouring and character of their readers. It is difficult to express exactly what the distinctive feature is; but it may perhaps be called the feeling of evanescence. It is the ever present consciousness that the world is fleeting; that everything passes; that every instant dies never to be born again; that nothing is permanent, nothing real except only the Absolute, that Divine Totality on whose unfathomable being the modes and attributes, which we apprehend as things and living creatures, come and go like tiny bubbles on the surface of the ocean. As the Arabic has it, كلُّ شيءٍ بائدٌ

untroubled view of death as a near necessity and that unreasoned terror which in Europe tries to deceive itself by hiding death away and repudiating the evidences of mortality. It is a further mark of the influence of Islam on Spain that among Spaniards almost alone of all Europeans does one find a similar incessant contemplation of death and all its trappings together with no little of indifference verging upon callousness before the fact of dying.

I like the stanza of Ibn-i-Yamin, that Persian Horace :—

منگر که دل ابن یمین پر خون شد منگر که از این جهانی چون شد
مصحف بدست وچشم بره وروی بدوست تا پیك اجل خنده زنان بیرون شد

I have ventured to translate as follows:—

Look not to see Ibn-i-Yamin's heart sore;
Look in what wise himself at last he bore.
With Book in hand, eyes to the road and God,
Smiling at death he passed beyond the door.

What too is finer than Umar's critique of the practical reason ? :—

"Since no one can assure thee of to-morrow,
"Rejoice thy heart to day and banish sorrow
"With moon-bright wine, fair moon! The moon in heaven
"Will look for us in vain on many a morrow." [1]

With this half-mystical, half-sceptical apprehension of life and death it is natural enough that there should go a certain irony. The Persian looks on the ambitions and affairs of life in much the same way as Anatole France, only with less of bitterness and more of poesy. It seems a pity, he would seem to say, to make a fuss about nothing; smile, take your place in the circle, gather the

1 No. 7 of Whinfield's translation

roses, listen to the birds. You will be forgotten soon enough; you yourself will not long remember what you were a month ago; take what comes your way. Why strive and worry? The very opposite, one would say, of the stern Protestant way of life and the North American talk of "work" and "success" and "service"—all that useless, strenuous, intolerable tramping round and round the squirrel's cage of business. One would like to send every boy and girl in the United States to study Persian poetry and nothing else for three years, between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, say, in some balmy, sea-encircled island of Hawaii. The treatment might in a generation or two result in producing a more rational view of life..... Better living, genuine gallantry, quiet courage, a touch of humour—these are things that Persian books can teach..... Let me end here with two stanzas from Umar.....

"This world an insubstantial pageant deem;
"All wise men know things are not what they seem;
"Be of good cheer and drink, and so shake off
"This vain illusion of a baseless dream.

"Had I the power great Allah to advise,
"I'd bid him sweep away the earth and skies,
"Remake a better world, where man might hope
"His heart's desire perchance to realise."

FOREIGN MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA FROM THE MOST ANCIENT TIMES TO THE 15TH CENTURY.

By J. A. Saldanha, B.A., Ll.B.

VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS.

[See Dr. Vincent—*Voyage of Nearchus* (London 1797), also *Commerce and Navigation of the ancients in the Indian Ocean* (London 1807); McCrindle—*Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea* (1879); Didot—*Geographi Graeci Minores* (Paris 1855)].

The earliest authentic account we have got of the Persian Gulf is contained in the narrative of the Voyage of Nearchus and the fleet of Alexander the Great under him from the Indus to the Euphrates, which purporting to be a full abstract of a detailed narrative left behind by Nearchus himself, has been embodied by the Greek geographer Arrian in his work on India called *Indika*. "The Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates", observes Vincent, "is the first event of general importance to mankind in the history of navigation; and if we discover the comprehensive genius of Alexander in the conception of the designs, the abilities of Nearchus in the execution of it are equally conspicuous. Historical facts demand our attention in proportion to the interest we feel or the consequences we derive from them; and the consequences of the voyage were such that, as in the first instance, it opened a communication between Europe and the most distant countries of Asia, so at a later period it was the source and origin of the Portuguese discoveries, the foundation of the greatest commercial system ever introduced into the world; and consequently the primary cause, however remote, of the British establishments in India".

Nearchus began his voyage from the mouth of the Indus towards the west on the 23rd of October, 325 B.C., while Alexander marched with his forces through the deserts of Gedrosia to Susa. The fleet proceeded along the coast for five days as far as the mouth of the Arabi (now Poorally), and thence along the coast of the Oritae to Malana (Cape Malan), which took six days, excluding the time spent for a halt at Cocala in the middle, where Nearchus was able to communicate with Alexander. From Malana to Badis (Cape Jask) the voyage lay along a barren and inhospitable coast sparsely populated by inhabitants who subsisted almost wholly on fish, hence called by the Greeks Ichthyophagi, and took the fleet twenty days to accomplish. From Badis Nearchus sailed much faster and after sighting the lofty headland of Haceta (Cape Mussendom), the fleet entered the river Ananus (the Minab) on the coast of Harmozia (Ormuz), where Nearchus was again able to communicate with Alexander's army encamped at no great distance from the coast. On leaving Armozin the fleet coasted along the island of Oaracta or Vorectha (the island of Keshm). It anchored at two points on the coast of Oaracta, at the first part of which the Persian Governor of the island, named Mazenes, took charge of its pilotage as far as the Euphrates. Nearchus thence navigated along the coast of Karmania, Persis and Susiana, which took him 31 days. "On arriving at Diridotis (Teredon) intelligence was received that Alexander was advancing to Susa, the fleet therefore returned back again from Diridotis in order to proceed up the Pasi-Tigris (Eastern Tigris) and join the army. They returned accordingly on their return with Susiana on the left. The first part of their course was across a lake into which the Tigris disembogues itself and from this lake to the mouth of the river (Pasi-Tigris) the distance was 600 stadia (about 60 geographical miles): at the termination of this was a

village of Susiana called Aginis". This passage quoted from Arrian shows how different the delta of the Euphrates, Tigris and Karun was at the time of Alexander the Great from what it is now. From Aginis the fleet proceeded up the river Pasi-Tigris to Susa, where Nearchus was received on 24th February 324 B.C. with great honour by Alexander the Great. The whole voyage was performed in 146 days.

From Susa, Alexander and Nearchus proceeded down the Eulaeus to the Persian Gulf, and then up the river Tigris (as Euphrates was then called at its mouth), to the city of Opis to the north of modern Baghdad on the Tigris.

The brilliant success of Nearchus in his expedition from the Indus to the Euphrates induced Alexander the Great to offer him the task of circumnavigating the peninsula of Arabia. Three vessels were despatched in the first instance to make a preliminary survey, the first under Archias, who proceeded as far as the island of Bahrein, the second under Androsthenes, who proceeded to Gerrha, 2400 stadia (about 240 miles) from Teredon, and then crossed over to Bahrein, near which he mentions two islands Tupos and Apaδos (Tumos and Apaδos of Ptolmey); the third under Hiero of Soli, who appears to have proceeded as far as Ras-el-Hadd and returned.

The projected expedition of Nearchus round Arabia was cut short by the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.

The voyage of Androsthenes is described by Strabo from Erathosthenes (see below).

Erathosthenes (276 B.C.—196 B.C.)

A celebrated astronomer and geographer of Alexandria. Only fragments of his geography exist, which were collected together in the *Eratosthenica* in 1822 in

Berlin. He was the first to reduce geography to a system. The doctrine of sphericity of the earth had been adopted and he made an attempt to delineate the known parts of the world on this basis. He was much indebted for his information about the Persian Gulf to Arrian's account of Nearchus's voyage, and to an account (now lost) left by Androsthenes of his voyage by the Arabian littoral of the Gulf.

STRABO (ABOUT 50 B C.)

[*Geography*—Vol. XV (dealing with Persia and India) and Vol. XVI (dealing with the Persian Gulf, Arabia, Mesopotamia, the Red Sea, etc.) (See McCrindle *Strabo's Geography*, also Bohn Series ; Translation of Strabo's Geography)].

A famous geographer and historian, born in Pontus, indebted much to Erathosthenes, Aristobulus, Patroclus, Nearchus and others.

PLINY, THE NATURALIST (23-79 A.D.)

[*Natural History* in Latin. (Books III—VI contain geographical account of the known world ; Books V and VI refer to Persia and the Persian (Gulf). See Riley's English translation. See J.R.A.S., Volume X, Part II, Article VII, by Major General Miles on *Pliny's Geography of the East Coast of Arabia*].

He gives much valuable information on the geography of the world known by the Romans at the beginning of the Christian era.

PTOLMEY CLADIUS (ABOUT 150 A.D.)

[*Geographia* (Greek). (See Didot's *Bibliotheca Classicorum Graecorum*, Paris 1883, edited by Dr. C. Muller, with a Latin Translation)]

A great mathematician, astronomer and geographer of Egypt.

PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA

[See edition of Vincent, styled *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, (1800) and that of McCrindle, *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea* (1879) especially pp 99-106.]

It is the title prefixed to a work, which contains a very full account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies, during the time that Egypt was a province of the Roman Empire Erythrean Sea is an appellation given in the age of the author to the whole expanse of the ocean reaching from the coast of Africa to the utmost boundary of ancient knowledge in the East, an appellation in all appearance deduced from their entrance into it by the straits of the Red Sea, styled Erythrea by the Greeks, and not excluding the *Gulf of Persia*, to which the fabulous history of King Erythros is more peculiarly appropriate Part I of the Periplus contains an account of the navigation of the ancients from the Sea of Suez to the coast of Zanzibar, Part II from the Gulf of Elana in the Red Sea to the Island of Ceylon

Places in the Gulfs of Oman and Persia mentioned in the Periplus

Island of Kalamis (Suadi between Maskat and Sohar)

Islands of Papias and Fair Mountain (probably two or three islands beyond Sohar towards the north) and Fair Mountain probably Cape Fillo

Saho or Asaba—Cape Mussandim

Town of *Apologus*—at the head of the Gulf in the Euphrates opposite the fort of Pasinus or Spasinus

Mention is also made of the Pearl Fisheries on the Arab Coast in Gulf

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTUS

[*Christian Topography of the whole world* translated from Greek by J W McCrindle (Hakluyt Society's Edition 1897)]

Cosmas, an Egyptian monk who had travelled far and wide in the East wrote his book about 535 A D with the object of denouncing the doctrine of the rotundity of the earth and showing that the tabernacle in the wilder

they shipped goods coming from Basrah. From Siraf they sailed to Maskat, the Indies, Quilon and so on.

ABU ZAID, AN ARAB MERCHANT OF SIRAF (ABOUT 916 A.D.)

[Ibid]

He writes the second part of the "Relations." He mentions that great changes had taken place by a rebellion at Khanfu which had stopped the Arab trade with China.

Siraf and Basrah were important ports in the Gulf.

EBN HAUKAL (10TH CENTURY).

[See *Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, by Sir W. Ousley (1800).]

He bears testimony to the great prosperity of *Siraf* in the 10th century for he says that this place has abundance of merchandise brought by sea, alœs, ambergis, camphor, pearls, ivory and ebony.

MASUDI OF BAGHDAD (890-956 A.D)

[*Mugruj-az-Zahab-wa-Maadin-al-Jawahir*, or Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels (A.D. 943). Printed by Barbier de Meynard with a French translation of 9 volumes, at Paris in 1861-7, and of 2 volumes, at Bulak in 1867. The first volume of an English translation by Sprenger appeared in London in 1841, but the work was not continued.]

An Arab geographer that travelled in Sind, Zanj, Sanf, Ranij (Burma).

ZAKARIA-BIN-MOHAMMED (COMMONLY CALLED KAZWINI).

[*Asar al-Balad-wa-Akhbar-al-Ibad* (the Traditions of Religions and the History of Men) about 1273 A.D.]

He was a native of Kazwin in Persian Irak, and composed his geographical and historical work divided into seven climates.

MARCO-POLO.

[*The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (translated and edited by Sir H. Yule; H. Cardier's Edition, 1903)]

Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, the father and uncle of

Marco Polo, in the first instance, travelled through Central Asia (1266-69 A.D.) and then both of them travelled with Marco Polo, by way of Baghdad, Basrah, Perna, Central Asia to China; sailed by way of Sumatra, Ceylon and Persian Gulf to Persia (1271-95 A.D.). The principal ports in the Persian Gulf were Basrah and Kish.

Nasir-ad-din Tasi (died A.D. 1273).

[*Zig-Ilkhani* (Astronomical Tables published by Graves).]

A famous Persian astronomer. He published his famous astronomical tables under the auspices of Halagu Khan (1253-1263 A.D.), grandson of Jengiz Khan.

Marino Sanuts.

[*Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis, super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione.* See Birdwood's Report on the old records of the India Office, 1891, page 130]

Travelled in the East about 1300-1306. He gives details of the course of Venetian commerce with India. It used to take the Persian Gulf route, through Ormuz, Kish, Basrah and Baghdad and thence to Antioch and Silicia. Latterly, however, South Arabian merchants had recovered their old commerce by the Red Sea route, but it was confined to only heavier goods, such as pepper, ginger and cinnamon.

Abul-feda (1273-1331 A.D.)

[*Takwim-al-Baldan* (or Latitudes and Longitudes of Places). See Reinaud's Ab-ul-feda, 1848.]

He was a historian and the chief of Harnah in Syra. His tables are arranged according to the seven climates.

Hamdallah Mustafa (sometimes called Kazwani).

[(1) *Ajaib-al-Baldan* (the wonders of towns). (2) *Huzat-al-Kulub* (or Recreation of Hearts).]

A contemporary of Abulfeda and a son of Abu Beker of Kazwin, the author of the celebrated Persian history, *Tarikh Guzidah (Select Chronicle)*

Odorico de Pordenone (1286-1331 A.D.)

[*Itinerary of Odoric* (see Translation in *Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages*, Vol. IV, recent edition published by Messrs. MacLehose & Sons of Glasgow; also in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*.]

Odorico was a Minorite friar that travelled in the East between 1316 and 1330 by way of Persia, Ormuz and Thane to Malabar and thence to China and Thibet. He collected at Sopara the bones of four friars martyred at Thana, who had been carried there by stress of bad weather during their voyage from Ormuz to Columbum (Quilon). He found Nestorian Christians under the See of Persia on the Western Coast of India.

Jordanus.

[*Mirabilia Descripta* written about 1330 A.D. a translation of which is published in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*.]

A Minorite friar that travelled in the East between 1321 and 1323. He subsequently returned to Europe, and on being appointed Bishop of Columbum journeyed again to the East. Friar Jordanus travelled by way of the Persian Gulf, carrying a Bull from the Pope inviting the Syrian Christians of India to abjure their schism. How far his mission succeeded it is not known, but John de Marignolli found a Latin Church at Quilon.

John de Marignolli.

[Translation of his *Itinerary* is given in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*.]

A Minorite friar sent by the Pope to Cathay. He journeyed through Central Asia and arrived at Cambaleo (Peking) in 1342, sailed from Zayton for Columbum (Quilon); thence by Ormuz, Basrah and Baghdad to Europe.

Sir John Mandeville.

He published the first book in the English language of travels and sensational adventures. He seems to have travelled to the East but did not actually visit all the countries as his account pretends to, and borrowed his account from accounts of other travellers.

Ibn Batuta (1304—1377-78).

[A translation (French) published by D. Defremery and Dr. Sanguinetti in Paris (1858-1859)]

He travelled over Northern Africa, Arabia, Persia, India, the Indian Ocean, the East India Archipelago and the Chinese coast (1325-1349). The first Asiatic sea he found himself in was the Red Sea, he observes the rising importance of Aden as an emporium. He sailed down along the African coast visiting Mumbassa and Quilon. Returning north he passed by the chief cities of Oman to *New Ormuz*, as he calls the city, which had not many years before been transferred to the island. He visited the other parts of the Gulf. He was sent by Sultan Mahomed Tughlak on an embassy to China, whither he travelled by sea from Cambay. He mentions Zaitum (Chinchow) as one of the trading havens in China.

Don Ruy Gonzales de Clavigo.

[See Markham's translation of his Itinerary, 1869, for the Hakluyt Society]

As the head of the embassy sent by King Henry III of Castile to Tamerlane, he journeyed by way of Trebizond and through Persia to Samarcand, which he reached in September 1404. He describes the city of Sultanieh as an important mart of trade, where came caravans from Europe, India and elsewhere. "From Cathay vessels came within 60 days' journey of this city, having navigated the Western Sea. They came to the river which is 10 days'

journey from the city of Ormuz" These ships brought pearls and rubies from Ceylon and spices from India

IBN AL WARDI (SIRAJ AD DIN, DIED ABOUT 1118 A D)

[*Al ard lat al-Ajaib* (or the pearl of marvels) See *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, Nov 1838, Vol II, pages 71-72]

The work written at Aleppo is a physical geography and belongs probably to the 14th century It contains two maps, one of which shows the Gulf of Persia as coming from the Great Sea on the East, and stretching from China to the Sea of Kalzum (the Red Sea)

TWO ARABIC GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES PUBLISHED ABOUT 1100 A D.

[*Kitab Talkhis al asar wa ajaib al malik al Kahar* (abridgment of history and marvels of the all powerful King, translated into French De Guignes) ascribed to Abdar Rashed bin Salih surnamed Yakuti]

This is a universal geography, in which there are various details of productions, objects of commerce, minerals, etc, of each country

MAAJAM AL BALDAN, ASCRIBED TO YAKUTI ALHAMAWI

In the introduction there are explanatory observations of names of places

ALAGH BEGH (GRANDSON OF TAMERLANE)

[*Ziji Alaghbegi* (astronomical tables published by Graves along with those of *Nasir-ad di -Tusi* See *ante*]

Alugh Begh published his work in 1442, at his capital at Samarkhand

ABD UR RAZZAK (1442 44)

[*India in the Fifteenth Century* 1867 (Hakluyt Society's publication) narrative of the journey of Abd ur Razzak (pages 5 8)]

Despatched as ambassador by Shah Rukh to India. He embarked at Hormuz, after two months' sojourn there,

and sailed for Calicut after a long halt at Maskat. After visiting Vijianagar, he returned by way of Mangalore and Honore and Ormuz.

Hormuz (or Djerrun) described as a port where merchants of the seven climates congregate even from China. Persons of all religions and even idolators are found in great numbers in this city and no injustice is permitted towards any person whatever. The inhabitants combine the flattering character of the people of Trak with the profound cunning of the Indians.

NICOLO CONTI, A VENETIAN (1419-1444).

[See *India in the Fifteenth Century* for an account of his Travels]

Starting from Damascus, he passed through Chaldea, Baghdad, Basrah, Hormuz, Calacatia (Culaite, Kalhat in Arabia), a noble emporium of the Persians. He thence sailed to Cambay. Going down along the coast and visiting Vijianagar, he sailed to Meliapur (St. Thome), crossed over to Pegu, then to Java and Cochin China, returned by way of Quilon and the Red Sea to Europe.

ATHANASIUS NIKITIN, A RUSSIAN (1468-1474).

[*India in the Fifteenth Century; The Travels of Athanasius Nikitin of Twer*, pp. 8-9 and page 19.]

Descended down the Volga, and having travelled through Persia, he crossed over from Bender (afterwards named Bandar Abbas) to Hormuz, sailed thence to India touching and halting at Kalhat (Golhat, 10 days from Hormuz), Degh (6 days from Kalhat), Maskat (10 days from Degh) from which it took 10 days to reach Guzerat. He visited Chaul, Jouneer and other places in the interior. He embarked at Dabbal, sailed to Ethyopean Coast, thence to Maskat and Hormuz, and back to his country by Persia.

HIERONIMO DI SANTO STEFANO, A GENOESE (1494-99).

[*India in the Fifteenth Century; Account of Hieronimo di Santo Stefano*, p. 9.]

Sailed from Egypt to India by way of Aden, visited

Java, Malacca and on return to India sailed to Ormuz from Cambay and then proceeded to Persia. Found at Ormuz many good pearls and good merchandise.

LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA, A BOLOGNESE (1303-1508).

[*Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* translated by J W Jones and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1863, with notes and an introduction by G. P Badger (see pages 94-95)]

Travelled from Alexandria through Syria, Western Arabia, the Red Sea, to Diu and Gogo in India, thence to Jalfar (on the west of Mussendom), again doubled Mussendom and proceeded to Maskat, from where he sailed to Hormuz, which he describes as a great emporium of trade. After sojourning here long he travelled in Persia and sailed again from Hormuz to India. There is a short but interesting account of pearl fishing in the Persian Gulf. His Itinerary is interesting as giving an accurate picture of the state of things in the East Indies just at the advent of the Portuguese.

THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. H. Weissbach.

Translated from German into English by Revd Dr. D. Mackichan.

I. General.

§ 1. *Authors of the Inscriptions.*

The Old-Persian[1] cuneiform writings are the only survivals of Old-Persian literature and are the chief source of our knowledge of the language. The majority of these owe their origin to members of the Achaemenid dynasty; only five very small inscriptions are by private persons.

§ 2. *Time of their composition.*

The period of the composition of the royal inscriptions lies between 521 B.C. (the year of the accession to the throne of Darius I) and 338 B.C. (the year of the death of Artaxerxes III); the date of the private inscriptions cannot be precisely determined; but they no doubt belong, provided they are genuine, to the same period.

§ 3. *Contemporary Translations.*

The majority of the Old-Persian Achaemenid inscriptions are accompanied by translations in cuneiform in the Neo-Susian and the Neo-Babylonian language; in only a few instances are these wanting. Some of the texts are in four languages, the fourth version being composed in Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The designations "Cuneiform inscriptions of the first, of the second and of the third class" belong to the time when the inscriptions had not yet been deciphered and their language had not yet been identified.

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1 The author uses "ap." as an abbreviation for 'altpersisch". In this translation 'OP." will similarly stand for "Old-Persian".

§ 4. *General description of the places where the inscriptions were first discovered.*

The most extensive OP. cuneiform inscriptions are found on steep rock-sides, in some cases accompanied by figures in relief. The inscriptions on walls, on columns and pillars inside palaces are of smaller dimensions. Of smaller-objects on which OP. writing has been found we have one " stele ", one slab of sandstone, two small stone pyramids, vases and seals of stone and finally some earthenware tablets.

§ 5. *Topography of the inscriptions in detail.*

As places in which these inscriptions have been discovered, the residences of the Achaemenids claim first notice, Persepolis together with the neighbouring rock-sepulchre Naqsh-i-Rustam, Ecbatana (Hamadān) and Susa. No OP. inscriptions from Babylon itself are known; but we have the Babylonian inscriptions of Cyrus the Great.

In addition must be mentioned the ruined palaces at Murghāb (Pasargada ?) and the rock-cliffs of Behistūn (Bisutūn) and Elvend, both in Media, the Khorkhor cliff (Vān) in Armenia, the Isthmus of Suez and the Mausoleum in Halicarnassus. For the inscription found at Qara-oyūk in Asia Minor see § 25. The origin of the remaining OP. inscriptions, which, with one exception, are in European hands, is unknown.

II. List of the Inscriptions and their Contents.

[*Note.*—In the following list I have confined myself to naming the first editions of the inscriptions The edition of WEISSBACH & BANG pp. 4 ff. (Leipzig 1893) supplies a list of all the places in which inscriptions have been published with all possible completeness. With reference to the remaining collected editions cf. § 43. The following inscriptions are in three languages (cf. § 3) unless the contrary is expressly stated]

A. INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS I.

§ 6. *Inscriptions of Behistūn.*

The inscriptions on the rock of Behistūn (Bisutūn, Βαγίστανα, τὸ Βαγίστανον ὄρος) are the most extensive, the most important and probably the most ancient of the records with which we are now concerned. They are engraved on the steepest surface of the rock at a height of from 400 to 500 feet. The great inscription contains 5 columns of 96, 98, 91 (?), 92 (?), 36 (?) = 413 (?) long lines. The last column is in OP. only. The text may be roughly divided into 74 §§ each of which, with the exception of the first, begins with the words "The king Darius speaks". The contents are as follows :—

§§ 1—5 Introduction. Names and Genealogy of the King.

§§ 6—9 His territories and the principles of his rule.

§§ 10—50 History of the Persian Empire from the death of Cambyses up to the Scythian campaign.

Of these §§ 10-14 give the despotic rule and downfall of the (first) false Smerdis, a Magian named Gaumāta (Γωμάτης Comotes) ; §§ 15-20 The overthrow of two rebels, the Susian *Agina* (OP. *Aδina*) and the Babylonian *Nidintum-Bel* (OP. *Naditabaira*) ; § 21 Revolt of 9 countries ; §§ 22 and 23 Victory over the rebel *Martiya* in Susiana ; §§ 24-32 Revolt of the Median *Fravartiš* ; §§ 33 and 34 Revolt of the Sagartian *Čiθrataxma* ; §§ 35-37 Suppression of a rebellion of Parthians and Hyrcanians ; § 38 Rebellion of the Margian Frāda ; §§ 40-47 Victory over a second false Smerdis *Vahyazdāta* and an unnamed partisan of his in Arachosia ; §§ 48-50 Second rebellion of the Babylonians under the Armenian *Araxa* ; §§ 51 and 52 Summary of the aforesaid rebellions and victories ; §§ 53-66 General Assurances as to the truth of what has been

narrated, warnings against lying, statements of other principles of the government, forms of blessing for those who preserve the works of Darius and of cursing for those who destroy them, § 67 the six conspirators against the tyranny of Gaumata, § 68 has been completely defaced Here follow the very badly preserved 5 columns which deal with a further uprising of the Susians (§§ 69 and 70) and the campaign against the Scythians The contents of §§ 71, 73 and 74 cannot be given on account of the mutilated condition of the inscription

Above this great inscription (designated Bh) a picture in relief has been worked in, the King accompanied by two armour bearers tramples with one foot an enemy lying prostrate before him who stretches out his hands in entreaty Behind come 9 men, their hands fastened behind their backs, who are bound to one another with a long cord wound round their necks Over the whole, with his face turned towards the King, hovers the supreme divinity Ahuramazda clad in beams of light In a small subsidiary inscription (Bh k1) the above figures are characterised as those of the rebels whose subjection is narrated in the main inscription According to Bh b (of 7 lines) the prostrate figure is that of the Magian Gaumata who lied and said "I am Bardiya, son of Kuruš, I am King" The remaining 8 are according to inscriptions Bh c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, (of 10, 8, 11, 6, 12, 9, 11, 6, 2 lines respectively) *Ašina, Nidintum Bel, Fraārtiš, Martiya Çiçiataxma, Vahyazdāta, Araxa, Frāda* and the Saka (Scythian) *Skuṇkha* An inscription of 18 lines, which is merely a repetition of the first four sections of the main inscription, above the figure of the king, is designated Bh a Bh a and Bh k are in two languages only, the Babylonian translation being wanting. With reference to Bh l and Bh m, see below § 27 c, and with reference to the still unpublished inscriptions of Bh, see § 26 a

The English officer H. C Rawlinson copied these

inscriptions in the period between 1836 and 1844. He also published them with transliteration, translation, copious commentary, a vocabulary (which remained uncompleted) etc. in JRAS, vols. 10 and 11 (1846–51). The very important results of a later revision appeared in 1851 as a supplement to JRAS, vol. 12.

§ 7. *The Inscriptions of Persepolis.*

It is universally recognised that the terrace of ruins on Mount Rahmad situated about 50 kilometres north-east from Shirāz named by the Persians *Taxt-i-Jamšīd* (in earlier times also called *Chil-Minar*) represents the remains of the ancient royal city of Persepolis. A brief description of these ruins is at this point indispensable.

The terrace, which was constructed partly by the demolition of the adjacent western side of Mount Rahmad and partly by walling-up, is in the form of something like a longish rectangle. The two smaller sides of this rectangle are towards the south and north. On the western side, not exactly at the middle but a little nearer its northern end, a convenient double stairway leads upward from the plain to a lofty narrow gateway, which displays at its entrance and at its exit a pair of winged oxen with human heads and in its central part two pairs of pillars. When from this point we turn to the right (*i.e.*, to the south) we see a second terrace, a lower one, which is approached by several stairways. Of the 72 pillars of the Hall (A), which once adorned this site, 14 are still standing.

After passing through this space, one reaches a third terrace of similar elevation but considerably smaller. Of the palace which once stood here (B), numerous door-posts and window-posts, pillars and staircases are still in preservation. Behind this building, as one proceeds further, still in a southerly direction, one comes upon a terrace at a lower level with an almost completely ruined palace (C). Adjoining this on its eastern side (*i.e.*, to the left) is a

third palace (D) of which very considerable remains have been preserved The buildings which have, up to this point, been mentioned are not only richly ornamented with excellent sculptures but exhibit a great number of inscrip tions These latter are wanting in the buildings which stand further towards the east The material of all these build ings is an excellent lime stone obtained from the demo lished mountain side as well as from some quarries lying to the north of the terrace The architecture is extremely solid and regular in character, the style simple and grand

The following are the inscriptions of Darius —

Dar Pers a (formerly designated simply as B) consisting of 6 lines occurring frequently on the door posts of the inner room of the building (B), in each case over a relief which depicts the King accompanied by two servants From the inscription we learn that the building (B) called *tacara* had been built by Darius

Dar Pers b, 1 line (in several copies ?) on the King s robe contains only his name and title One specimen of the OP. part of this inscription is in the "Cabinet des Medailles of the Paris National Library.

Dar Pers c (formerly known as L) 1 longer line of which there are 18 specimens on the windows of the same *room states only that these windows belong to 'the House* of King Darius

Dar Pers d (formerly H), 24 lines only in OP · on the southern outer wall of the whole enclosure The text consists of 3 sections, (1) an introductory formula in which it is said that "The great Ahuramazda, the greatest of the gods, has given the sovereignty to Darius', (2) praise of the prosperity and security of the empire, (3) an exhortation to protect the Persian nation

§ 8 *The Inscriptions of Naqsh i Rustam*

On the steep side of the Naqsh i-Rustam cliff, 15 kilo metres north west from Persepolis, four tombs have

been excavated near one another and all of the same pattern. A niche in the form of a great cross has been cut deep into the rock. The horizontal part of this cross presents the appearance of the front wall of a house; four pillars, between which a door leads to a simple chamber, support a flat roof. Over this stand two rows of men with uplifted hands who appear to be supporting what is above them. Above stands the King before an altar; between these hovers Ahuramazda and behind him is seen the disc of the sun. On both sides of the uppermost part of the niche stand armed men one above another. The third of these tombs reckoning from Persepolis (in a south-easterly direction) exhibits inscriptions as follows:—

NR a, 60 lines in 6 sections at the very top and on the King's left: section (1) An introductory formula which from now onwards assumes a standing form and recurs *mutatis mutandis* in the inscriptions of Xerxes and Artaxerxes III. "A great god is Ahuramazda, Who created this earth and those heavens, Who created man, Who created for man abundance of blessings, Who made Darius king, a single king over many, a single ruler over many"; section (2) Name, title and genealogy of the King, section (3) A list of his territories, fuller than the earlier ones in Bh § 6 and Pers. e § 2; sections (4) and (5) The help of Ahuramazda; a prayer to Him; section (6) A brief concluding exhortation of a general character.

NR b, consisting likewise of 60 lines on the left near the entrance-door, much defaced, of which only a very small portion has been copied. With regard to its contents we can only say that the introductory formula is different from all the others known to us.

Each of the attendants of the King and the figures which support the place on which he stands ("the throne" as it is called in the inscription NR a) had formerly probably a small explanatory inscription attached to it like

the figures on the Bisutun rock. Of these, only one, NR kl, is known up to the present time.

NR c, 2 lines over the highest figure on the King's left; it is that of the lance-bearer *Gaubaruva* (Γωβρύας).

NR d, 2 lines over the arrow-bearer who stands below *Aspaćana* (Ἀσπαθίνης).

NR e, 1 line over one of the throne-supporters, *i.e.*, the *Maćiya*.

§ 9. *The Inscription of Elvend.*

In a porphyry rock in Mount Elvend, south of Hamadān, two rectangular niches have been cut. The left one which stands at a somewhat higher point than the one on the right contains the inscription Dar. Elv. (formerly O). 20 lines in two sections containing only the introductory formula and the name and title of the King.

§ 10. *The Inscriptions of Susa.*

Dieulafoy in his excavation of the hill of ruins at Susa (1884-1886) found two badly mutilated earthenware tablets with OP. inscriptions. They are now in the Louvre. Dar. Sus. a, with the ends of 5 lines on the lower right-hand corner and Dar. Sus. b, shewing similarly the ends of 8 lines, containing almost nothing beyond the name and title of the King.

§ 11. *The Kirmān Inscription.*

Krm. 8 lines identical with Dar. Sus. b, but in complete preservation, on a small four-sided pyramid in the sepulchral chapel of the saint *Ni'mat Allah* in Mahun distant one day's journey from Kirmān.

§ 12. *The Suez Inscriptions.*

As early as 1802 V. Denon made known a piece of an OP. monument, with some cuneiform markings, which he had come upon in Egypt. The French Expedition to Egypt brought to light some further fragments of the same kind but very insignificant. A greater monument

was exposed during the excavation of the Suez Canal in 1866. It was found in the neighbourhood of kilometre 133 of the Canal and in a ruined state. The smaller pieces were brought to Shaluf and were photographed. The larger pieces were again buried in their original position in order to preserve them from further destruction. It was a *stele* which displayed on its front side a winged sun-disc above and underneath two men in Persian dress facing each other and holding in uplifted hands two tablets on which the name of Darius could be read (Inscription Sz. a in OP. only). On both sides of the men there was an inscription in three languages containing only the name and title of the King [Sz. b, the OP. part consisting of 7 (6^2) lines]. Below this and extending over the entire breadth of the stone was an inscription, originally probably in three languages, of which a great part including the entire Babylonian translation " is being preserved from further destruction ". The OP. text (Sz. c) contained 12 lines :—§§ 1 and 2, the introductory formula, name and title of the King just as in NR a. § 3, an account of the conquest of Egypt and the construction of a canal from the Nile " to the sea that starts from Persia ". The concluding part is defaced. The back was covered by a similar representation in Egyptian style and an extensive hieroglyphic inscription.

§ 13. *The Seal-Inscription and the Weight-Inscription.*

The seal of Darius, a small perforated cylinder of grey-green jasper, represents the King in his chariot and engaged in a lion-hunt. The inscription, Dar. Sgl. (formerly N or Na), consists of 1 line with the order of the letters reversed and reads thus :—" I am King Darius ". The weight-stone, a four-sided pyramid of dark-green basalt, having dimensions of 2, 1⅜, 1¾ inches, weighs 2573 grains Troy. The inscription, Dar. Pond (formerly T) contains in addition to

the name and title of the King the stamp "2 karša". Both these objects are now in the British Museum.

B. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF XERXES.

§ 14. *Persepolis Inscriptions.*

Xerx. Pers. a (formerly D) found in four specimens of similar import over the winged oxen at the gateway, of 20 lines in 4 §§: §§ 1 and 2, Introductory formula, name and title of the King; § 3, account of the construction of the gateway named *Visadahyu* ("All Land"); § 4, prayer to Ahuramazda.

Xerx. Pers. b (formerly A): 30 lines, in OP. only, in the western staircase which leads to the Pillar Hall (A). There is a corresponding tablet in the eastern staircase prepared for an inscription, but nothing has been inscribed on it. The contents of §§ 1 and 2 are as above, § 3 records that Xerxes has erected the building which stands here (A, the Pillar Hall) as well as his other buildings, all according to the will of Ahuramazda to Whose protection they are commended.

Xerx. Pers. c (formerly C) in two specimens; which are distinguished from each other only by the mode in which the lines are divided, in building B (the Tačara according to Dar. Pers. a) namely Xerx. Pers. ca of 15 lines on a corner pillar in the south-west, and Xerx. Pers. cb of 25 lines about the middle of the south boundary wall of the terrace on which stands the *Tačara*. §§ 1 and 2 as above, § 3, confirmation of the fact that Darius has erected this building; short prayer to Ahuramazda.

Xerx. Pers. d (formerly E) in 4 specimens, 2 pairs with the same number of lines in both members of each pair; Xerx. Pers. da, a pair of 19 lines in each of the two, which are found on the two north pillars and Xerx. Pers. db a pair with 28 lines in each of the two on the stairs which lead from the chief terrace to this building. §§ 1 and 2 as above, while § 3 records that Xerxes is the

builder of this palace, the conclusion being the same as in Xerx. Pers. b.

Xerx. Pers. e (formerly G) in several specimens found in the Xerxes Palace (D), namely (a) consisting of 1 line above the robes of the royal figures, (b) of 2 lines above the doors, (c) on the door-posts above the relief-picture of the King and his two attendants an inscription of 4 lines. These contain only the name and title of the King.

§ 15. *The Elvend Inscription.*

Xerx. Elv. (formerly F) on the right hand niche (see § 9 above) consisting of 20 lines to the same effect as the inscription of Darius, which stands beside it, except for a small addition and the King's name.

§ 16. *The Van Inscription.*

Xerx. Van. (formerly K) in a rectangular niche on the Khorkhor Rock on which the castle of Van stands, about 20 metres above the plain. It contains 27 lines :— §§ 1 and 2 the same as Xerx. Elv., § 3 records that Darius has had this niche excavated without, however, furnishing it with an inscription and that Xerxes had subsequently made this good. It concludes like Xerx. b.

§ 17. *Inscriptions on Vases.*

(a) The vase of Count Caylus now in the "Cabinet des Medailles" of the Paris National Library.

(b) The vase of Halicarnassus found by C. T. Newton in 1857 at the excavation of the ruins of the mausoleum there.

(c) Smaller fragments found in Susa in 1852 by W. K. Loftus and in 1884-6 by Dieulafoy. The former are now in the British Museum, the latter in the Louvre.

The material of which the vases were made is alabaster. They contain each a one-line inscription in 4 languages, "Xerxes the great King" (formerly Qa)

C INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES I

§ 18 *The Artaxerxes Vase*

Sir Gardner Wilkinson discovered in the Tesoro di San Marco (1844) a vase of grey porphyry with the inscription (formerly Qb) in four languages "Artaxerxes the great King Since the name of the father of the sovereign is not given, it is not possible without further investigation to determine to which of the three Kings of this name it is to be attributed Following Oppert, A Longperier and J A Latronne place it, on archaeological grounds, in the time of Artaxerxes I I am inclined to accept this view, as I believe that a later Artaxerxes would not have failed to add to his name a further designation, which was superfluous in the case of the first of the name

D INSCRIPTIONS OF ARTAXERXES II

§ 19 *The Susa Inscriptions*

Loftus in 1852 found among the ruins of Susa a pillared hall like that of Xerxes in Persepolis Of (probably originally four) pillars bearing inscriptions, only two had been preserved with tolerably considerable fragments of inscription, and a third with quite insignificant fragments The text (Art Sus a, formerly S) consists of 5 long lines, of which the last two are badly mutilated The contents a detailed genealogy of the King, which goes back to Hystaspes, a statement of the building of the palace by his ancestor Darius, of its destruction by fire in the time of his grandfather and its being subsequently rebuilt by himself "according to the will of Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra' It concludes with a prayer to these three divinities

Art Sus b 1 long line running round the pedestal of a pillar which was discovered in another part of the heap of ruins It contains only the Kings name and title

Dieulafoy in 1884 continued the excavation work begun by Loftus. Amongst other things he found a fragment of a sandstone slab (cf. § 10) with an inscription consisting of 7 mutilated lines (Art. Sus. c only in OP.). This is now preserved in the Louvre. In the main text only the name of the author is recognisable. The concluding part contained a statement as to the building of the palace.

§ 20. *The Hamadān Inscriptions.*

Art. Ham. consists of 5 lines on the fragments of two pillars of black diorite which were found in Hamadān and are now in England in private ownership. Contents: Genealogy as in Art. Sus. a, a statement as to the building of a palace "according to the will of Ahuramazda, Anahita and Mithra," and a concluding prayer to the three divinities.

E. INSCRIPTION OF CYRUS THE YOUNGER.

§ 21. *The Murghāb Inscription.*

The inscription Cyr. Murgh. (formerly M) of 2 lines was found in 5 specimens on the plain of Murghāb north-east from Persepolis, four on corner-pillars of a former building and one on a pillar the front of which is adorned by a relief, *viz.*, the figure of a bearded man above life-size with an Egyptian head-dress and two pairs of wings, bearing in his right hand a small statue. The inscription which formerly stood above the relief was carried off years ago. According to the copies which are still extant, it ran thus:—"I am King Kurŭs the Achaemenid."

F. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ARTAXERXES III.

§ 22. *The Persepolis Inscription.*

The building C in Persepolis has on its north side three inscriptions of Artaxerxes III, in one language only and similar to each other;—Art. Pers a (formerly P) each of 26 lines. A fourth, Art. Pers. b of 35 lines, has its place on the west side of the staircase of the Darius palace

(Tačara) § 1 contains the introductory formula as in NRa and in other inscriptions; § 2, name, title and genealogy of the King going back to Arsames; § 3, the statement that this stone (?) - building had been erected by him, § 4, concluding prayer to Ahuramazda and Mithra

G. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PRIVATE PERSONS.

§ 23 Sgl. a (formerly R) 5 signet-stones with brief OP. legend in 7 lines "*Aršaka* son (?) of *Aθiyābanšana*". These are now in the British Museum.

Sgl. b, three lines with the name Ha(n)daxya(?) formerly in the Raifé Collection in Paris, now in the British Museum.

Sgl. c and d, "*Vasda* the Sakē" and *Vahyavisda* probably spurious; at least the portraits on the two stones are decidedly not OP.

Sgl. e, of 3 lines *Xaršadašya* in the Musee des Armures in Brussels

H. INSCRIPTIONS THAT CANNOT BE IDENTIFIED.

§ 24. (a) Fragment of an earthenware tablet (?). Contains 4 lines.

(b) Fragment of an earthenware tablet with the remnants of 11 lines in OP. characters in the possession of the British Museum. It contains among other things the name of Ahuramazda; it yields nothing else of a definite character.

ADDENDUM.

§ 25. *Counterfeit Inscriptions.*

The so called Tarku inscription in 2 lines contains a miscellaneous mixture of OP., Neo-Susian, Neo-Babylonian and imaginary characters.

In 1894 there were discovered (or were they acquired from local dealers?) by Chantre in Qara Oyuk in Asia

Minor four miles north from Caesarea four small OP. earthenware tablets. Three of these have on the front side the inscription Dar. Pers. a and on the back that of Xerx. Pers. e; the fourth contains only three lines which give an intelligible sense (name and title of Darius) What has been said with reference to the Tarku inscription applies to the remaining 19 lines.

§ 26. *Inscriptions not yet published or fallen out of notice.*

a. At the right-hand side of the relief of Behistūn there are still four columns of cuneiform writing which Rawlinson had to leave uncopied because they were inaccessible (they were besides badly defaced) with the means at his disposal, ropes and ladders. They are probably in the Susian or Babylonian language.

b. A visitor, R. K. Porter, says with reference to the Darius Sepulchre at Naqsh-i-Rustam.—"On the entire tablet of the upper section there are visible characters, wherever they could be introduced, above the figures, between them and the altar, in short, everywhere we see it covered with cuneiform writing in a well-preserved condition." In fact Dieulafoy, who examined the place with the help of a scaffolding of wood, succeeded in finding further short inscriptions like the Tasker inscriptions These enjoyed the advantage of publication as little as the last three quarters of the great inscription NRb (§ 8)

c. Dieulafoy found in Susa a Darius inscription on the foot of a pillar similar to Art. Sus. b.

d. Several monuments of Darius were long ago discovered in the Isthmus of Suez of which, however, only one has been made known and that only fragmentarily. Another monument stood at kilometre 89 of the Suez Canal, a third at kilometre 150, a fourth will be noticed in § 27 c.

e. Herodotus mentions three inscriptions of Darius in 3, 88, the superscription over a relief that depicted him

with the charger to whose neighing he is said to have owed his sovereignty. The statement in 4, 87 is to be taken more seriously, namely, that "in his campaign against the Scythians on the Bosporus, Darius had caused two pillars to be erected, one with a Greek, the other with an Assyrian inscription, both of which had contained a list of the subjugated nations. These monuments had been afterwards carried off to Byzantium." What Herodotus reports regarding the contents of these inscriptions is by no means incredible and we shall hope that an unexpected discovery may one day corroborate his statement. The third inscription mentioned by Herodotus was likewise on a *stele* which Darius is said to have placed at the river Tearos in Thrace The contents can, however, scarcely have been those given by Herodotus in 4, 91.

f. The inscriptions on the tombs of Cyrus the Great and of Darius, handed down by Greek tradition, may be here only cursorily mentioned. The former are found in Strabo 730, in Arr. Anab. 6, 29, and in Plut. Alex 69. The latter are in Strabo in the passage cited, with which Athenaeus 10, 434 and Porphyrius de Abstinentia should be compared.

§ 27. *Non-Persian Achaemend Inscriptions.*

From the following collection are naturally excluded the texts which exhibit mere translations of OP. inscriptions, also the Babylonian treaties of the time of the Achaemenids which are really not entitled to the name of Achaemenid inscriptions; likewise also the hieroglyphic and demotic records which are of value for history only by reason of their chronological data.

a. The British Museum possesses an earthenware cylinder of Cyrus the Great with 45 (alas! for the most part badly mutilated) lines, and a brick with 4 short lines, all in the Babylonian language.

b. Important for the history of Cambyses is the

Egyptian inscription on a naophor statue in the Vatican composed by Uer-sun Uta-hor-pi-n-ris. Another mention of this king as well as of his next three successors is found in the Egyptian inscriptions of Quṣair on the Red Sea.

c. To this class belong the following of Darius:—

Bh. l, one of the smaller Behistūn inscriptions, of 10 lines in Neo-Susian only; contents are still somewhat obscure.

Bh. m, a fragmentary repetition of three lines of the great Bh. inscription, Dar. Pers. f.

I should like to name as Dar. Pers. f the inscription of 24 lines, which stands on the south wall of Persepolis beside the OP. texts Dar. Pers. d and e.

Dar. Pers. g, in Babylonian, likewise of 24 lines stands on the right of f (these two last-mentioned as well as Dar. Pers. d were formerly designated H—a misleading nomenclature).

Of the hieroglyphic inscription mentioned at the close of § 12 only little has been preserved.

More extensive are the remains of another hieroglyphic inscription on a *stele* which V. Goleniščev discovered in 1889 in the neighbourhood of *Tel-el-Maszutah* on the sweet-water canal. Both contain a list of nations and thereby confirm the statements of Herodotus with regard to the Bosporus *stele* (§ 26c).

In conclusion there remains to be mentioned a Greek inscription of 28 lines (a copy from the Roman period) which was found in 1886 by G. Cousin and G. Deschamps in Deirmenjik (on the road from Tralles to Magnesia).

d The only inscription which Artaxerxes I has left behind in Persepolis is a fragment containing the beginnings of 13 lines in the *Tačara* in the Babylonian language. Belonging to Artaxerxes II, there exists likewise a Babylonian fragment in one language only which contains the remains of 3 lines.

III. HISTORY OF THE DECIPHERING AND INTERPRETATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

§ 28. *References to the cuneiform script amongst the Greeks and Syrians.*

That Herodotus 4, 87 by the Assyrian characters (cf. § 26 c) means the cuneiform script is generally admitted. It is in the highest degree probable—at least this may be inferred from the analogy of the Suez monuments—that the Bosporus inscriptions were in four languages, OP., Neo-Susian, Neo-Babylonian and Greek. When Diodorus relates that on the Bagistan mountain inscriptions of Semiramis had been chiselled "in Assyrian characters", it is similarly manifest that he understands by these the inscriptions of Darius. There is no occasion to think that he refers here to ancient Aramaic writing Arrian Anabasis 6, 29, 4 ff., Strabo 750 and Plutarch, Alex. 69 speak of Persian script. Here also we can think only of cuneiform script in general. A distinction between "the ancient Assyrian script" and "that which Darius, the father of Xerxes, taught the Persians" is made for the first time in a letter of Themistocles (Epist. gr. rec. Hercher p. 762). The fact that the distinction is made is in itself a strong proof of the genuineness of the letter in general, as it is in particular for the tradition that Darius was the inventor of a new (*i.e.*, OP.) script.

For a reference to the cuneiform script in a Syrian author of the 8th or 9th century, cf. Nestle in the Zeitschrift fur Keilschrift 1, 184; 1885).

§ 29. *The Cuneiform Script first made known in Europe.*

The beautiful ruins, *Cihil Mīnār*, ever since they were visited by Europeans, have been the rapture of all who have had the good fortune to see them. If not the first, at least one of the first, to visit them and to describe

them in detail was the Venetian Josafat Barbaro. He does not yet (end of the 15th century) make mention of the cuneiform writings. This was first done, so far as my knowledge goes, by the Castilian Ambassador, Garcias de Silva y Figueroa (1618). Pietro della Valle (1622), A. Daulier des Landes (middle of the 17th century), and G. F. Gemelli Careri (end of the 16th century) give also drawings, including a sketch of the window-inscription (Dar. Pers. c) As a more exact specimen Della Valle offers also five accurately copied characters, the nature of which leads him to the correct conclusion that this script, like our western, runs from left to right. J. Chardin (1671-77), E. Kampfer (1684) and C. de Bruyn (1704) present the already mentioned inscription in a somewhat improved form, the last giving, in addition, Dar. Pers. a and b and Xerx. Pers. b and ca. Here, finally, we mention an attempt to read the cuneiform as Greek. Th. Herbert (beginning of the 17th century) read the beginning of an inscription, Ἀδωνεος, Θεος.

§ 30. *Carsten Niebuhr.*

The copies of the inscriptions hitherto obtained were so defective that with these a decipherment would have been impossible. This unfortunate condition was relieved by C. Niebuhr who, in the course of a journey to the East, halted for several days (March 1765) in Persepolis. His copies of the texts Dar. Pers. a, d—g (cf. § 27c) and Xerx. Pers. b and c surpassed those of his predecessors in carefulness and accuracy. They made it possible for him to make two important observations 1) that the inscriptions were composed in three different "alphabets" of which the first with about 42 characters was the simplest, the third the most complicated; 2) he proved incontrovertibly, with the help of another specimen of Xerx. Pers. c in which the division of the lines was somewhat different, that the writing ran from left to right.

§ 31. *Tychsen and Munter.*

By means of Niebuhr's copies a serviceable foundation had been provided. Of course the inscriptions had to be interpreted entirely from themselves. The only inscription, which had a translation attached to it, the legend on the vase of Count Caylus (§ 17a), could not be used since the characters were too indistinct and Egyptology also had not yet been born. O. Tychsen started with the view that the palace of Persepolis had been completely destroyed by Alexander and that the Cihil-Mīnār ruins must have sprung from a later age. A specially frequently-recurring word in the inscriptions of the first type[1] he held should read *Aschak* and accordingly he regarded the language as Parthian. The remaining characters he sought to identify working on this slender foundation. None of these conclusions has been verified. He recognised correctly only the peculiar word-separating sign in the first type,[1] an oblique wedge pointing to the right downwards. F. Münter rightly ascribed the cuneiform inscriptions of Persepolis to the Achaemenids and indeed held the language of the first type[1] to be Zend. He endeavoured to identify the characters by taking statistics of the frequency of their occurrence and comparing these with the statistics of the frequency of the occurrence of individual characters in the Zend. This attempt was bound to suffer shipwreck on the false assumption on which it was based. Further he conjectured that inscriptions of the second and third types were translations of those of the first. The word which Tychsen read as *Aschak* he originally took to be the title "King", but this correct conjecture he subsequently abandoned.

1 The classification of the inscriptions as "of the first, second, or third type" was used in the beginning and depended on the fact that the majority of the inscriptions are accompanied by translations in the Neo Susian and Neo Babylonian languages, that in a few cases these translations are wanting, while in a third class the text appears in four languages, the fourth being in Egyptian hieroglyphics.

§ 32. *Misleading Paths.*

S. S. Witte who, ten years before, had made a name for himself by a strange idea—he had given out that the pyramids of Egypt and the ruins of Persepolis were a natural formation of volcanic origin—recognised correctly the weak points in Tychsen's Parthian hypothesis. Instead, however, of separating the genuine from the false and by cautious research making further advance, he rejected everything and declared the whole of the alleged inscriptions to be decorations and ornamental flourishes, the patterns for which were taken from the vegetable kingdom (*e.g.*, the Canterbury Bell, the Velvet Flower, and the common Tobacco ! etc.). Other learned men regarded the cuneiform inscriptions as the tracks of worms and insects or, at the most, as numeral characters, the deciphering of which was of no interest. A. A. Lichtenstein saw in the cuneiform a stiffened Kufic (ancient Arabic) alphabet. He read them backwards and found pure Arabic.

§ 33. *Geo. Frdr. Grotefend.*

The real beginning of the work of deciphering these inscriptions dates from the year 1802 when G. F. Grotefend communicated to the Gottingen "Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften" a dissertation, in which three proper names from cuneiform inscriptions of the first type containing altogether 13 characters were identified. He made use of the two short inscriptions, B and G according to Niebuhr's nomenclature, (now named Dar. Pers. a and Xerx. Pers. e) which are constructed on similar lines, *viz.*,

B begins with a word X,
G „ „ „ Y,

on which follow in both inscriptions a number of titles, characterised as such by the repeated occurrence of the group of characters which Münter had conjectured to stand for the word "King". Further, in B there is a

new word Z; in G, on the other hand, the word X with the King's title, both somewhat altered; and finally two similar words. B contains besides an addition which is wanting in G and so far as further results were concerned remained in the first instance insignificant.

Grotefend now concluded that X and Y were the names of two kings and that X was the father of Y, that the father of X again was Z who lacked the royal title and was therefore not a king. Convinced that here members of the Achaemenid dynasty were to be sought for, Grotefend had now no occasion to trouble himself long. Cyrus and Cambyses were ruled out by reason of their having the same initials. Artaxerxes was excluded on account of the length of his name. Thus there remained only the two names Darius and Xerxes for X and Y. Z must then stand for Hystaspes the father of Darius. With the help of the Greek, Hebrew and Zend form, Grotefend now analysed the cuneiform names as follows :—

𐎭	𐎠	𐎼	𐎣	𐎡	𐎲	𐎱
D	A	R	(H)	(E)	U	Sh
𐎮	𐎱	𐎣	𐎠	𐎼	𐎱	𐎠
Kh	Sh	(H)	A	R	Sh	A
𐎧	𐎠	𐎱	𐎵	𐎠	𐎢	𐎫
(G)	(O)	Sh	T	A	S	P

Thus 13 characters were identified and of these 9 correctly, while the four shown above in brackets became better known later. Further he found that the word "King" was sometimes represented by a single character (a "monogram" as he called it). Moreover, he corrected a great number of mistakes made by the earlier copyists; he restored completely the very badly published inscription on the Xerxes Vase. In a rather arbitrary and therefore incorrect fashion Grotefend explained the remaining characters

on the assumption that the language was Zend. And so it came about that no happy continuation followed this beautiful beginning. Grotefend's later works particularly have done little to advance the further decipherment of these inscriptions. Grotefend received a number of inscriptions communicated to him privately before they were published by their discoverers. We add here a list of the most important of his further services to our science. In the Murghāb inscription (§ 21) he recognised correctly the name Cyrus, in a fragment of a Persepolis inscription, the beginning of Xerx. Pers. b, which is wanting in de Bruyn and Niebuhr, and finally he was the first to publish the Seal of Darius (§ 13) and that of Arsaka (§ 23a).

§ 34. *S. de Sacy, J. Saint-Martin, R. Rask.*

Grotefend's first work received a thorough critical examination at the hands of S. de Sacy who had preceded him in the decipherment of the Sasanid inscriptions and to a certain extent had shewn the way to the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions. Apart from some objections, which were partly justifiable, the great Arabist approved of his results in decipherment, while he finally disposed of Lichtenstein's "translations".

J. Saint-Martin published in 1823 an extract from a work prepared by him on a more extensive scale on the decipherment of the cuneiform writing of the first type. In a manner similar to that of Grotefend he had reached almost the same results with reference to the characters contained in the three names. Only he read more correctly the name Hystaspes: *Vyschtasp*, later *Vischtasp*. In the Murghāb inscription, on the other hand, he thought he saw the name of King Ochus.

R. Rask made a seemingly small, but in reality an important, advance when he identified the genitive plural termination in—*anām* and thus determined the consonants *n* and *m*. Aided by this discovery F. Bopp succeeded in discovering the title "King of the Lands".

§ 35. *Burnouf and Lassen.*

The year 1836 marks a decisive turning point in the history of this decipherment, in which year almost simultaneously two new books appeared to which the science of cuneiform research is indebted for very considerable advances. The learned student of Zend, E. Burnouf started with Elvend and Van inscriptions, copies of which were found amongst the papers of the murdered traveller, F. E. Schulz. He discovered the name of Ahuramazda and a number of new characters. His observation of the fact that the inscription I in Niebuhr (Dar. Pers. e) contains a list of countries proved to be of great service He noted further that the cuneiform writing of the first type often did not mark the short vowel, a view which, it must be admitted, required various modifications. Finally, Burnouf was the first to point out that the language of the inscriptions of the first type was dialectically distinct from the Avesta language.

Chn. Lassen had learned from Burnouf in the summer of 1835 that he had found a "list of countries". Taking this as his basis he succeeded, following in Burnouf's wake, in making himself the further discoveries which the latter had made and partly in outrunning them. His special service was in shewing that an *a* is in most cases inherent in the consonants as well as that certain other consonants are used only before *i* and *u*. For the language of the inscriptions he introduced the designation "Old Persian" which thoroughly corresponds with the actual conditions and has therefore established itself.

§ 36. *Beer and Jacquet.*

Especially fruitful was a criticism of the works of Burnouf and Lassen by E. F. F. Beer. He obtained some new character-values and shewed that the OP. script did not distinguish between the long and the short *i* and *u*, as well as some other points.

E. Jacquet in Paris made the same discoveries inde-

pendently and besides identified some rarer and difficult characters correctly or, at least, approximately so. See further § 40.

§ 37. *Rich, Westergaard, Holtzmann.*

From this time onward there unfolded itself a rich activity in our field which did not relax until the decipherment was complete and the last character identified. In 1839 the widow of C. J. Rich, the British Consul in Baghdad, published the carefully executed copies he had left behind of all the inscriptions of Persepolis which had not yet been published or had been published in a defective form and amongst them the inscription of Artaxerxes III.

In the next year appeared the copies left by Schulz. Of still fuller result was the journey of N. L. Westergaard who brought back with him excellent copies not only of the Persepolis inscriptions, but also of the one highly important inscription of Naqsh-i-Rustam. Further in 1844, G. Wilkinson discovered the Artaxerxes Vase in Venice (§ 18). With the help of the copies made by Rich and Westergaard, Lassen succeeded in making numerous corrections. Further contributions to the deciphering and explaining of the inscriptions were made by Holtzmann (cf. §§ 39 and 40).

§ 38. *Sir Henry Rawlinson.*

A decade after the appearance of the epoch-making writings of Burnouf and Lassen, began the publication of the document, by which the final conclusion of the work of decipherment was rendered possible, namely the Behistūn relief-inscription. Already in 1835 Sir H. C. Rawlinson had begun to busy himself with the cuneiform inscriptions. He found himself in Kermanshah in West Persia and of the decipherment work carried out in Europe knew only that Grotefend had found in the inscription some Achaemenid names. He began with the Elvend

inscriptions and reached, by considerations which had previously guided Grotefend, the name of Hydaspes, of Darius and of Xerxes In the following year he copied the first two paragraphs of the great Behistun inscription, and thus obtained the names of the rest of the ancestors of Darius and that of the country of Persia In the autumn of the same year he was able, for the first time, to look into the works of Grotefend and Saint-Martin in the course of doing which he found that he had gone considerably ahead of those writers In 1837 he copied the greater part of what he had left over of the great Behistun inscription, an extremely laborious and certainly dangerous work In 1833 he received Burnouf's work and had to recognise that this scholar had on the whole advanced farther. Still he was abler, on the other hand, to supply the French scholar in writing with some suggestions by way of improvement Moreover, he began to dive into the study of Sanskrit, Zend and Pahlavi, and also into comparative geography With the help of the copies made by Niebuhr, de Bruyn and Porter, which meanwhile had become accessible, he was able to build up his alphabet further so that it agreed in all essential points with that of Lassen which was communicated to him in 1839 Rich's copies and E. Bore's copy of the text of Van supplied him with new material. Meanwhile he was unable to prosecute his studies further at that time, because his native country claimed his services for several years as an officer in Afghanistan Not till the end of 1843 did he return to Baghdad where he met Westergaard and his companion Dittel, who placed at his disposal all the copies they had made Thus equipped he was able finally to proceed to the completion of his work of copying and publishing the Behistun inscription, to which publication he appended a treatment of all the remaining texts then known, all with an ample and, for that time, excellent commentary.

This first complete edition of the OP. cuneiform writings contains, besides, a treatise on cuneiform writing in general and on the Persian cuneiform alphabet in particular. The chief discovery was that of consonants with an inherent *i* and *u* of which formerly only a few had been known. An OP. vocabulary which Rawlinson began in 1851 remained unfinished.

§ 39. *Conclusion of the work of Decipherment.*

Simultaneously with and independently of Rawlinson, E. Hincks also made the discovery of the consonants which had the inherent *i* and *u*. Further he noted that in OP. script frequently a final *i* and *u* was strengthened by *y* and *v* without the quantity of the vowels being affected. J. Oppert, probably independently of both the above-mentioned, recognised the inherence of these vowels as well as the strengthening of the final *i* and *u* by the corresponding semi-vowels, and also the circumstance that nasals preceding consonants were not written. Rawlinson's latest OP. alphabet (1847) contains 37 syllable-characters which have proved, with two exceptions, to have been correctly identified. Of these two exceptions one is the character *l* (*a*) which was identified by Oppert in 1851; the other had been obtained by an analysis of the ideogram for "King", the true nature of which had already been recognised by Grotefend (*vide* § 33).

Thus, therefore, the constituents of the character-system of the OP. were fixed at 36 vowel, consonantal or syllable characters. With these were associated 3 ideograms to which in 1874 and 1890 an additional straggler attached itself. With this the work of deciphering was completed. The possibility, of course, is not excluded of still further inscriptions with new characters turning up in the future. The whole body of the system as it now stands could and can be improved only in small details. Of this we have an example in the observation of Bopp that *i* after *h* passes over not into *iy* but simply into *y*,

and in Lindner's remark that *h* between *a* and *u* is not expressed by a character, etc.

§ 40. *Table of the Characters.*

The following table is an attempt to exhibit in summary the share of individual scholars in this work of deciphering the cuneiform characters. On account of the peculiar course which this investigation took, it is not easy to do justice to each individual. Many discoveries were made simultaneously by different scholars. Indeed Rawlinson deciphered almost the entire alphabet subsequently to, and independently of, his predecessors. The date attached is the year of the discovery or, where this cannot be given, the year of its publication. The parentheses indicate approximate determinations

𐎟		Word-separator, Tychsen (1798)	
𐎠	1.	*a*	Grotefend (1802)
𐎡	2.	*i*	Saint-Martin (1832)
𐎢	3.	*u*	Grotefend (1802)
𐎣	4.	*ka*	Burnouf, Lassen (1836)
𐎤	5.	*ku*	Rawlinson (1846) (Grotefend 1815 : *k*)
𐎥	6.	*ga*	Lassen (1836)
𐎦	7.	*gu*	Rawlinson (1846) (Lassen 1836 · *g*)
𐎧	8.	*x*	Grotefend (1802)
𐎨	9.	*č*	Jacquet (1836 7)
𐎩	10.	*ja*	Holtzmann (1845) (Jacquet 1836-7 : *z*)
𐎪	11.	*ǰi*	Rawlinson (1846) (Lassen 1836 : *j*)
𐎫	12.	*t*	Grotefend (1802)
𐎬	13.	*tu*	Rawlinson (1846) (Lassen 1836 : *t*)
𐎭	14.	*da*	Rawlinson (1846) (Grotefend 1802 : *d*)
𐎮	15.	*di*	Rawlinson (1846) (Holtzmann 1845·*d*)
𐎯	16.	*du*	Rawlinson (1846) (Lassen 1836: *d*)
𐎰	17.	*θ*	Jacquet (1836/7)
𐎱	18.	*p*	Grotefend (1802)
𐎲	19.	*b*	Burnouf (1836)
𐎳	20.	*f*	Grotefend (1802)

 21. *n* Rask (1826)
 22. *nu* Rawlinson (1846)
 23. *ma* Rawlinson (1846) (Rask 1846 : *m*)
 24. *mi* Rawlinson (1846) (Lassen 1836 : *m*)
 25. *mu* Rawlinson (1846)
 26. *ya* Beer, Jacquet (1837/8)
 27. *va* Rawlinson (1846) (Lassen 1836 : *w*)
 28. *vi* Rawlinson (1846) (St. Martin 1822 : *v*)
 29. *r* Grotefend (1802)
 30. *ru* Jacquet (1837/8) (Grotefend 1815 : *sr*)
 31. *la* Oppert (1851)
 32. *s* Grotefend (1802)
 33. *z* Burnouf (1836)
 34. *š* Grotefend (1802)
 35. *θr* Rawlinson (1846)
 36. *h* Beer, Jacquet (1837/8)

IDEOGRAMS

 37. "King" Grotefend (1802)
 38. "Land" Lassen (1845)
 39. "Earth" Lassen (1845)
 40. "Ahuramazda" Evette 1890 (Oppert 1874:)

§ 41. *Additional Material.*

Since the time of Rawlinson's magnificent work much has supervened to extend our knowledge of the OP. inscriptions. Here let the following be specially mentioned. The travels of Ch. Texier, E. Flandin and P. Coste brought indeed no new texts but they furnished new copies of the texts. The results of the excavations of W. K. Loftus, by which for example the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II, were brought to light, were more fruitful. Again in 1884, M. Dieulafoy took these works in hand; they were crowned with the best results especially from an archaeological point of view. With reference to the inscriptions, cf. §§ 10, 17, 19, 26c. In 1869 we were

made acquainted at last by Oppert with one of the already so long announced Suez inscriptions, in the first instance, only of course in transcription. Till 1887 the original text remained withheld from us.

The travels of F. Stolze (1876 ff.) brought a rich collection of photographic sketches of the ruins of Persepolis and its environs, which from the point of view of archaeology and topography are invaluable; while our epigraphical expectations experienced severe disappointment (cf. §§ 8 and 44). With reference to the rest of the discoveries, cf. §§ 11, 13, 20 and 23.

§ 42. *Further history of the interpretation of the inscriptions.*

The interpretation of the inscriptions, which formerly proceeded hand in hand with their decipherment, was by no means concluded with the completion of the latter and not even to-day has it reached its conclusion. The mutilated condition of many of the texts had already presented its challenge to philological reconstruction and the advances which had been made in the knowledge of the allied languages, namely the Avestic, as well as of the contemporaneous translations into Susian and Babylonian, was bound to exercise a favourable influence on the work of interpreting the OP. texts. We find, therefore, a succession of learned scholars who tried their skill in this field with more or less success. An important question which immediately emerged, but which, notwithstanding various attempts, has to this day remained unanswered is concerned with the origin or invention of the OP. cuneiform script. For the sake of completeness should be mentioned the two writings[1] which treated the cuneiform inscriptions after the fashion of Witte and Lichtenstein in a thoroughly perverse manner, but could not any longer prove harmful (*vide* § 32).

1 The reference is to J. Barrois Lecture litterale des hieroglyphes et des cuneiformes par l'auteur de la dactylologie (Paris 1853), and J. E Gobineau, Traite des écritures cuneiformes (Paris 1864).

§ 43. *Complete edition of the OP. texts.*

The first complete edition was, as has already been mentioned, Rawlinson's work (§ 38). He was followed by Th. Benfey whose short treatise proved useful, especially through its glossary. Oppert's edition with its ample commentary brought many improvements, namely, through his having taken more account than Benfey did of the modern languages. F. Spiegel's much-used book presents the whole material, the text in transliterated form, a translation, a commentary, a grammar and vocabulary in a convenient form. It is not, of course, entirely reliable as the author has relied too much on secondary sources. This applies specially to the translations of the inscriptions of the second and third types. A number of minor errors has been transmitted from the first to the second edition of the work. In respect of completeness the text leaves something to be desired. The publication prepared by C. Kossowics leans entirely on that of Spiegel. It is the only edition which presents the original text alongside in cuneiform, occasionally only, of course, a re-transliteration of Spiegel's text. The numerous drawings taken from artistic works which in many cases are not easily accessible claim our gratitude. H. C. Tolman's dissertations offer nothing new. The new edition by Weissbach and Bang, of which one part has already appeared, will again give us the original texts together with a transliteration, translation, commentary and vocabulary. The principles on which it is being prepared can be learnt from § 44.

§ 44. *Helps to the Restoration and Interpretation of the OP. Inscriptions.*

Although the OP. inscriptions are over 2000 years old, many of them are in a state of such excellent preservation that they look as if they had been engraved only yesterday. On most of them however the hostile forces of nature, human thoughtlessness and malicious passion

for destruction have wrought such sad havoc, that the ideal of their complete restoration will never be realised. To this must be added the circumstance that the greater part of the inscriptions are at a great distance and moreover in very inaccessible places. Only a few of the originals are in the hands of European possessors. Of some others there are casts, paper impressions and photographs It is clear that for reaching an authentic text, the originals, wherever possible, or substitutes of the kind above mentioned, to be regarded as their equivalents, must be examined. Where all this is not available, we must have recourse to copies. It is self evident that with this assortment before us we must choose and adhere to the best For the restoration of a great portion of the mutilated passages in the inscriptions many helps are available. Many of these have been preserved in several (up to 18) specimens of the same inscription and these serve to supplement each other. The uniformity of style, the constant recurrence of the same forms of expression fulfil in manifold ways the same purpose. As the OP. language is known almost entirely from the inscriptions, we must for its grammatical features and its vocabulary invoke the allied languages, in the first place, the Avestic and the later Iranian dialects, in the second place, the remaining Aryan languages and in the third place, the remaining Indo-Germanic tongues. The translations into other languages which are found in the cuneiform inscriptions also furnish good assistance. These could only be deciphered by means of the original text, but now in their turn they are well fitted to elucidate many an obscurity in the original text. They were prepared with great faithfulness; the discrepancies are quite trifling and of a peculiar type. In spite of all these helps there remains still a considerable number of passages, which defy all attempts at interpretation and on which possibly only a renewed examination on the spot and

future discoveries of other inscriptions will throw light.

§ 45. *The Importance of the OP. Inscriptions.*

The deciphering of the OP. inscriptions has proved to be of decisive importance for our knowledge of the whole of ancient Western Asia. We have, in the OP., become acquainted with a language which had been lost to us except for a few vocables to be found in Greek authors. New sources have been opened to us for the history of ancient Persia, not in handwriting on mediaeval parchments, the text of which has been corrupted by numerous copyists, but in monuments which arose under the eyes of Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes. New light has been thrown on ancient geography and mythology. Of the calendar and other institutions of the Achaemenid Empire we should have known nothing without these inscriptions. And this is only the smallest part of our gain. The OP. inscriptions have in turn become the key to the inscriptions of Susa, Babylonia, Cappadocia and Mitanni. Of what immeasurable significance to us, again, the Babylonian monuments should prove, this is not the place to discuss further.

It is urgently to be desired that the texts of Behistūn and Naqsh-i-Rustam, so difficult to reach but so supremely important, should as soon as practicable be subjected to a searching revision. The task is admittedly difficult. For the former a scaffolding 20 metres high is necessary, such as was erected in 1884 by Dieulafoy. For the Behistūn inscription still further appliances will have to be employed. To work for hours at a height of 400 feet on a projecting ledge, 2 feet wide, at the utmost, on the edge of a precipice is not a task which every one could undertake; and it is a sheer impossibility to place against this projection a ladder several metres high, not to speak of ascending it. In my opinion only a captive balloon would serve. The future will teach us whether the difficulties indicated are insuperable.

ZUR FRAGE ÜBER DIE BERUFUNG MOHAMMED'S.

By W. Barthold.

An der Spitze der im Jahre 1906 zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von Theodor Noldeke erschienenen Festschrift steht die schone Abhandlung von M. J. de Goeje "Die Berufung Mohammed's". Wie die übrigen Weltreligionen ist der Islam nicht von einem Betruger, auch nicht von einem Epileptiker oder Hysteriker verkundigt worden, "mit ruhiger Wurde" und fester Ueberzeugung verkündigt Mohammed, er habe ohne Tauschung, bei klaren Sinnen, "am hellen Horizont" eine Erscheinung aus einer hoheren Welt gesehen, wodurch er von jedem Zweifel an seinem Beruf befreit worden sei. Die betreffenden Koranstellen (53.1 ff. und 81.15 ff.) sind verschieden gedeutet worden; nach Ibn Ishaq hat Mohammed den Engel Gabriel gesehen, uber den er schwerlich vor seiner Flucht nach Medina irgend etwas wissen konnte; die Worte (Kor. 53.10) "offenbarte seinem Knecht" (faauhā ilā 'abdihi) scheinen darauf hinzudeuten (obgleich diese Ansicht bestritten worden ist), dass Mohammed seinen Herrn, d. h. Allah, zu sehen glaubte. Zu dem Glauben des Propheten an seine Sendung ist diese Erscheinung von entscheidendem Einfluss gewesen; erst darnach konnte "der von Natur schuchterne Mann, der sich allmahlich seines Berufes bewusst geworden, aber bei der Ungewissheit, wie er diesen erfullen sollte, der Verzweiflung nahe war, auf einmal mutig auftreten."

Nach der Ansicht von M. J. de Goeje war es keine Halluzination—Mohammed hat auf dem Berge Ḥirā "ein Nebelbild von sich selbst" ein sogenanntes "Brockengespenst" gesehen, wie es alle zwei Monate "etwa einmal" kurz nach Sonnenaufgang oder kurz vor Sonnenunter-

gang auf dem Brocken erscheint: "wenn der Beobachter sich zwischen der niedrig stehenden Sonne und einer Wolkenbank befindet, sieht er bisweilen seinen eigenen Schatten auf letzterer, riesig vergrossert und gewohnlich von farbigen Ringen umgeben, die man Aureol oder Heiligenschein nennt." Von einem Kollegen ist de Goeje die wichtige Einwendung gemacht worden, es fehle der Nachweis "dass dergleichen Lufterscheinungen so wie auf dem nebligen Brocken, auch in sonnigen Gegenden wie Mekka konstatiert sind". De Goeje musste bekennen, dass es ihm nicht moglich sei diesen Nachweis zu liefern; auch findet sich in seiner Abhandlung kein Wort daruber, ob das "Brockengespenst" jemals ausserhalb des Brockens beobachtet worden ist.

Zufallig ist mir bekannt, dass dieselbe Erscheinung wie auf dem "nebligen Brocken" auch im sonnigen Italien beobachtet worden ist, namlich auf dem "italienischen Righi"—den Monte Generoso an dem Grenze zwischen Italien und der Schweiz. Die Erscheinung wird von J. A. Symonds, "Sketches in Italy," Leipzig 1883, S. 206, beschrieben. Es war im Mai nach einem heissen Tage, eine Stunde vor Sonnenuntergang, die Reisenden (es waren ihrer zwei) sahen "two forms, larger than life, yet not gigantic.....They were the glorified forms of ourselves, and what we did, the phantoms mocked, rising or bowing or spreading wide their arms".

Nebelbilder konnen also nach heissen Tagen auch in sonnigen Gegenden beobachtet werden, wohl auch in den Tropen. Selbstverstandlich wird durch solche mit der wissenschaftlichen Forschung untrennbar verbundene naturliche Erklarungen die tiefe Bedeutung religioser Erscheinungen in keiner weise geschmalert. Mohammed ist nicht durch das auf dem Ḥirā gesehene Nebelbild, sondern durch seine tiefe religiose Begeisterung zum Propheten geworden. Für die Erkenntnis seines

Prophetenberufs ist diese aussere Erscheinung von sehr geringer Bedeutung gewesen, wie etwa die Vorgange am Grabe Jesu fur den Glauben an seine Auferstehung oder die von Paulus als ubernaturliche Erscheinung aufgefassten Halluzinationen fur seine Tatigkeit als Apostel Dieselben Halluzinationen haben in demselben Lande viele andere gehabt (vgl. Renan. Les apôtres S 180); fur sie war es nur eine kurze Krankheit, wie fur moderne Reisende wie Symonds das von ihnen beobachtete Brockengespenst nur ein "mocking'.

DAS NAURŌZ

SEINE GESCHICHTE UND SEINE BEDEUTUNG,

VON PROFESSOR DR. JOS. MARKWART.

Die folgende Abhandlung war ursprünglich fur das persische Nauröz 1918 bestimmt. Infolge von Umstanden, die ausser der Macht des Verfassers lagen gelangte sie damals nicht zum Abdruck. Sie wird jetzt, hoffe ich, auch nicht unwurdig erscheinen als Huldigung zum 75. Geburtstag von Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, dessen Name mit dem Aufschwung, dem Naurōz, und dem Ansehen der Parsengemeinde, dieser echtem Nachkommen der treugebliebenen Mazdajasnier, in den letzen 50 Jahren des dritten Zarathuštrischen Jahrtausends (1080 v. Chr. + 1929 = 3009) so eng verknupft ist. Moge es den Bemuhungen der indischen Mazdajasnier gelingen, ihre iranischen Glaubensgenossen kulturell und sittlich zu heben und dadurch zu befahigen, auf ihre grossenteils noch in finsterem Fanatismus befangenen muselmanischen Landsleute gunstig einzuwirken, und auf die Ankunft des Saošjant vorzubereiten!

Es ist sehr zu wunschen, dass sich Perser und Parsen vereinigen, um dem jalālischer Kalender mit seinem festen Naurōz nach ruckwarts bis zum Jahre 612 v. Chr. zu verlangern, und dieses Jahr, in welchem die assyrischen Weltherrschaft durch die arische bezw. indogermanische abgelost wurde, zum Ausgangspunkte einer iranischen Ara zu machen. Wir sind ja jezt im Stande, auch die in babylonischem Kalender uberlieferten Daten bis zu dem genannten Jahre ruckwarts in absolute umzurechen, und die Ausarbeitung von chronologischen Tabellen nach jalalisch-iranischer Ara mit einer Konkordenz der andern in Betracht kommenden Kalender (der babylonischen, der mazdajasnischen einschliesslich

des armenischen, des ägyptischen, julianischen, muhammedanischen, gregorianischen, des türkischen Tierzyklus) bietet nun keine Schwierigkeiten mehr Das laufende Jahr 1929 n Chr = 1298 Jazdgirdi wäre also das Jahr 2541 Irani Das genaue Datum des Auftretens Zarathustra's (ca 1000 v Chr) wird sich nie ermitteln lassen

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Es ist ein sehr glücklicher Gedanke der hiesigen persischen Kolonie, den diesjährigen Nauröztag als Sinnbild der bevorstehenden Wiedergeburt des iranischen Volkes festlich zu begehen

Das Naurozfest am 21 März ist in der Tat, wie wir sehen werden, vorzüglich geeignet, die Idee der Wiederbelebung zum Ausdruck zu bringen, und darf mit vollem Rechte mit unserem Osterfeste verglichen werden

Durch die Anerkennung der Unabhängigkeit Persiens in dem Artikel X des Waffenstillstandsvertrages vom Dezember 1917 und im Artikel VII des Friedensvertrages vom 3 März 1918 zwischen Deutschland, der Türkei und Russland ist aber der Bär, welcher Iran von Norden her in seiner höllischen Umarmung zu erwürgen drohte, wund geschossen worden, und wir hoffen mit Kawa und Firedun, dass es bis zum Mihragânfeste (Oktober) gelingen wird, auch den furchtbaren Löwen, welcher dem iranischen Eber, von Süden und Osten her, tief seine Pranken in die Hanken geschlagen hat, unschädlich zu machen So steht denn Persien heute, nachdem es seit neun Jahrhunderten durch eine fast ununterbrochene Kette schwerster Katastrophen hindurchgegangen und das iranische Volkstum niedergedrückt war, zum erstenmal vor der Wahl, ob es abermals wie vor 1700 Jahren ein Brennpunkt arischer Rasse und arischer Kultur in Vorderasien werden, oder für immer ein Vasall des barbarischen und fanatischen Türkentums bleiben will

Ersteres wird freilich noch vielzahe und eindringende Arbeit erfordern, vor allem in Bezug auf die Wehrhaftigkeit des Landes — haben ja doch die zahlreichen Katastrophen, die seit den *gujastak Alaksandar* uber das Land hingebraust sind, im tiefsten Grunde ihre Ursache in dem Mangel eines aus allgemeiner Wehrpflicht hervorgegangenen stehenden Heeres, — aber nicht minder im Verkehrs- und Unterrichtswesen, im Landbau und im ganzen Wirtschaftsleben. Ob der Wille der führenden Kreise stark genug sein wird, auch das Volk mit dem volkischen Gedanken zu durchdringen und alle Krafte der Nation in dessen Dienst zu stellen, muss die Zukunft lehren.

Inwiefern ist nun das Naurōzfest geeignet, die Idee der politischen Wiedergeburt zum Ausdruck bringen?

1. Das *Nauroz*, wie es heute in Persien gefeiert wird, ist das Neujahr des altiranischen Jahres, das sich auch nach dem Abfall der Mehrheit der Bevlokerung zum Islam im volkstumlichen Gebrauche erhalten hatte. Denn dass das freie muhammedanische Mondjahr im burgerlichen Leben, zumal fur eine Ackerbau treibende Bevölkerung, ganzlich unbrauchbar war, musste sich sehr bald herausstellen. Diese Unzutraglichkeit ist ja schliesslich sogar der türkischen Regierung zum Bewusstsein gekommen, die jetzt nach einem von den gewohnlichen *Hijrat*-Jahren verschiedenen festen Steuerjahre rechnet. Das Naurōz hat aber mit dem muhammedanischen Mondjahre, dem religiosen Jahre der heutigen Perser nichts zu tun; es ist aber auch nicht einfach identisch mit dem Neujahr des alten mazdajasnischen Wandeljahres, sondern in seiner jetzigen Form das Werk der Kalenderreform des Salčuqen-Sultans J̌alālu 'ddīn Malik-Šāh. Seit dem Jahre 1079 fallt das Neujahr dieses sogenannten jalālischen Jahres unabänderlich auf den Tag der Fruhlings—Tag- und Nachtgleiche, den 14. Marz jul. oder 21. Marz gregorianischer Rechnung.

2 Freilich gilt auch als Epoche des mazdajasnischen Jahres nach einstimmiger Überlieferung (uber al Bērūnī siehe unten) ursprünglich der Eintritt der Sonne in das Zeichen des Widders d h Frühlings aquinoktium, Vgl z B Zand ākāsīh (sog Bundahišn) XXV 21 S.161, 9 11, WEST, P T. I 97 Dk III 419, 16-19 Bd I 403, 16 18 ed. MADAN, Bombay 1911 = Bd IX ۴۴۸ = 565 ed and transl. Peshotan SANJANA, Bombay 1900, transl by Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai BHARUCHA, in The Cama Memorial Volume, Bombay 1900 p 21,* Hamza al Içbahānī ۹۹, 5ff ۱۲, 1ff Allein das bürgerliche Jahr war ein Wandel-Jahr von zwölf 30 tägigen Monaten und 5 Epagomenen = 365 Tagen, dessen Neujahr alle vier Jahre um einen Tag und nach 120 Jahren um einen ganzen Monat hinter der Frühlings Tag- und Nachtgleiche zurückblieb und das erst nach 1440 Jahren wieder mit dem natürlichen Jahre zusammentraf Das religiöse Jahr der Perser stimmte in seiner Anlage mit dem bürgerlichen vollkommen überein, suchte aber einen Ausgleich mit dem natürlichen Sonnenjahre von 365 Tagen 6 Stunden und einer Minute dadurch herbeizuführen, dass man den jährlichen Überschuss von 6 Stunden und einer Minute bis zu einem Betrage von mindestens einem Monat auflaufen liess und ordnungsmässig alle 120 Jahre einen ganzen Monat einschaltete.

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* Abkürzungen

Zd ak = Zand akāsīh The Bundahishn being a facsimile of the TD MS Nr 2 ed by the late Tahmuras Dinshaji ANKLESARIA Bombay 1908 The Pahlavi Text Series vol III

Der Bundehesh zum ersten Male hg von FERD JUSTI, Leipzig 1868

Dk = Denkart The Dinkard, the original Pahlavi Text etc by Peshotan Dastur Behramjee SANJANA vol I ff Bombay 1874 ff ed MADAN 2 voll Bombay 1911

P T = Pahlavi Texts, translated by WEST Part I V.—The Sacred Books of the East, vol V, XVIII XXIV, XXXVII, XLVII

DMX = Danak ut Menog i Xrat ed Tahmuras ANKLESARIA Bombay 1913

UGE *Marquart*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran I—II Leipzig 1896, 1905

Allein diese Schaltung wurde keineswegs immer regelmässig vollzogen, und der Bericht über die letzte Schaltung, die unter der Herrschaft der Zarathuštra-religion stattfand und zugleich die einzige, die überhaupt historisch bekannt ist, die unter König Jazdgerd I. (399 — 420 n. Chr.), lehrt, dass man, wenn man für die, nachstfälligen Schaltungstermine aus astrologischen Gründen politische oder religiöse Wirren befürchtete, auch wohl eine oder gar mehrere Schaltungen vorausnahm[1] oder auflaufen liess. Nur sollte man nie mehr als höchstens 5 Schaltmonate auflaufen lassen.[2]

3. Hiernach ist klar, dass die oben geschilderte Verschiebung des bürgerlichen Naurōz um einen vollen Tag in je 4 Jahren, die besonders für die ehemals (in Sasanidischer Zeit) zu diesem Termin als dem Zeitpunkt der neuen Ernte herkömmliche Steuereinziehung sehr unangenehm empfunden wurde, bereits in sasanidischer Zeit genau in derselben Weise zutraf und dass daher die Meinung vollkommen irrig ist, dass daran die Schaltung des religiösen Jahres irgendetwas geändert habe. (1) Schon bei Agathangelos (V. Jahrh,) gilt der Neujahrstag (*Navasard*), um 301 nach Chr. der 11. September jul. als Erntefest und Fest des gastfreundlichen gastfreien[3] Gottes, d. h. des Baga oder Mithra (2) Ums Jahr 616 n. Chr. zur Zeit des Chosrau II Aparvēž, fiel das persische Neujahr auf den 20. Juni jul. Für babylonische Verhältnisse ist dies noch ein einwandfreier Erntetermin. Aber schon unter dem Chalifen Hišām b. 'Abd al Malik (a. 105 — 125 H. = 724 — 743 n. Chr., Naurōz zwischen 24 und 20. Mai) machten sich grosse Unzuträglichkeiten fühlbar, ebenso unter Hārūn ar Rašīd;

1 Vgl. al Bērūnī, Chronologie S. ٢٢٠, 16 ff. = 34, 19 ff. ٢٤٥, 15 ff. = 55, 40 ff. ١١٨, 21 ff. = 121, 23 ff.

2 Dk. III 419, 35 S. 405, ed Madan = IX ٢٤٩ ed. Peshotan Sanjana (p. 867 d. Übs.) = p. 26 transl. Bharucha

3 S. hierüber al Bērūnī, Chronol. ٢٢١, 12 ff. = 35, 1 ff. ed. Sachau Hamza al Iṣbahānī S. ٢ 11 ff.

beide wagten indessen aus Furcht vor dem Fanatismus der Muhammedaner keine Schaltung vorzunehmen. Erst der Chalife al Mutwakkil nahm die Herstellung eines festen Kalenders in die Hand, und im Jahre 282 H. (825/6 n. Chr., Naurōz am 12. April) fuhrte al - Mu'taḍid eine Reform des iranischen Jahres auf der Grundlage des julianischen Kalenders durch.[4] Er liess vor dem Naurōz zwei 30-tägige Monate einschalten und setzte das Naurōz auf Mittwoch den 1. Churdād-māh dieses Jahres = 2. Ḥazīrān Juni (jul.) fest.[5] Dieses mu'taḍidische Jahr blieb im 'Irāq (Babylonien) bis ins 11. Jahrhundert in Geltung.

4. Erst dem Salčuqensultan J̌alālu 'ddīn M'alik-šāh war es vorbehalten, durch einen Stab von acht Gelehrten, unter denen der in Europa beruhmt gewordene Astronom und Dichter 'Omar i Chaiǰām hervorragte, den alten iranischen Kalendar zu einem wahrhaft idealen umzugestalten, der nicht bloss die Reform unseres gregorianischen vorausnahm, sondern diesen an Einfachheit und Genauigkeit bedeutend ubertrifft. M'alik-šāh war überhaupt von dem Bestreben geleitet, die von Togrul-bag und zumal von seinem eigenen Vater, dem blutdürstigen Alp Arslan geschlagenen Wunden zu heilen und allen seinen Untertanen Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen, wie denn auch sein den Christen-Syriern und Armeniern— bewiesenes Wohwollen von diesen dankbar anerkannt und er daher von allen Partein aufs Höchste gepriesen wird. Im Jahre 1079 sollte das Naurōz des jazdgerdischen Jahres auf den 24. Februar fallen. M'alik-šāh verlegte es aber auf den Tag des Frühlingsaquinoktiums, den 14. Marz jul., und durch eine sinnreiche Schaltungsmethode wurde es fortan an diesem Termine festgehalten. Dieser feste J̌alālische Kalender fand in Persien allgemeine

4 Agathang S. 623. Vgl. Geiger, Zur armenischen Götterlehre. Berichte der Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1895 S 132 f.

5 al Bērūnī aao. ٣٣, 1 ff.-37, 41 ff. Vgl. at Ṭabarī III, 4, ٩١٣, 10 ff.

Anerkennung und ist namentlich bei den Bauern noch heute im Gebrauch. Denn für astrologische und Bauernregeln über Saat und Ernte, Getreidelieferungen usw. bedurfte man von jeher eines festen Kalenders; die arabischen Historiker und Geographen hatten sich daher für diesen Zweck mit Vorliebe des syrish-julianischen Kalenders bedient. Durch diese Reform wurde also der Nauroztag wiederum zu einem Frühlingsfest, das er von Anfang an hätte sein sollen, und entwickelte sich jetzt erst recht zu einem allgemeinen Volksfeste.

5. Den mazdajasnischen und den heutigen Persern gilt das Naurōzfest für uralt. Es soll vom Urkonig *J a m* (Jamšēd, *Jima*) eingesetzt sein, der den Tag Hormizd des Monats Frawardīn (den ersten des ersten Monats), als die Sonne ins Zeichen des Widders trat, als Jahresanfang feierlich beging. Diese Angabe setzt also den mythischen Jima in ganz besondere Beziehungen zur Zeitrechnung, und zwar zum reinen Sonnenjahr. Wenn Jima (s. *jama*) "der Zwilling", der Sohn des Vivahvant "des glanzenden", d. h. der Sonne, ursprünglich der M o n d ist, — er führt wie die Sonne das Pradikat *χšaita* "strahlend" — so darf gegen diese Auffassung jene Legende nicht geltend gemacht werden. Denn dass der heroisierte Mondgott, nachdem in Iran die uralte Rolle des Mondes als Zeitmesser durch die Einführung des künstlichen agyptischen Sonnenjahres ausgeschaltet war, mit Attributen ausgestattet wurde, die eigentlich einem S o n n e n g o t t e zukommen ist nur das was wir in Iran erwarten mussen.

6. Allein das oben skizzierte iranische Sonnenjahr ist keineswegs besonders alt. Es ist eine Schöpfung des achaimenidischen Konigs Dārajawahuš des Grossen, wie ich früher nachgewiesen habe, und stellt eine Verknüpfung des babylonischen Mond-Sonnenjahres mit dem agyptischen Wandeljahre dar. Dieser jungawistische Kalender ist wahrscheinlich in den letzten Jahren des

Dārajawahuš (zwischen 493 und 486 v. Chr.) in Kraft getreten.[6] Vorher aber hatten die Perser und wahrscheinlich auch die Meder nachweisbar ein gebundenes Mondjahr von 12 Mondmonaten, das alle paar Jahre durch Einschaltung eines vollen Monats mit dem Sonnenjahre in Einklang gebracht wurde, und zwar war die Schaltungsmethode ganz dem babylonischen Kalender entlehnt, von dem das altpersische Jahr nur darin abwich, dass es eigene iranische Monatsnamen hatte und sein Beginn, ebenso wie beim althebraischen Jahre, nicht an die Frühlings — sondern an die Herbst — Tag- und Nachtgleiche gebunden war.[7]

6A. Der Jahresanfang mit der Herbst — Tag — und Nacht gleiche war bei den Ariern uralt, wie der Umstand beweist, dass das dem aw. *sarə-*, ap. θard-'Jahr' entsprechende Wort *śarád-* im Altindischen zunachest "Herbst" bedeutet. An semitischen (kana'anaischen) Einfluss, der uralt sein musste, braucht dabei nicht gedacht zu werden.[8] Dagegen kann die Entlehung des babylonisch-assyrischen Schaltsystems schon durch die Meder erfolgt und dieses dann von den Persern bei ihrer Einwanderung aus einer nördlicheren Heimat mitgebracht worden sein. Jenes müsste spätestens nach der Zerstorung Ninive's und der Teilung des assyrischen Reiches durch die Meder und Babylonier im Jahre 612 v. Chr. geschehen sein; vielleicht hat sie aber schon unter den Sargoniden stattgefunden, als die medischen Gauen sich unter Kaštaritu zu einem grösseren Staatswesen zusammenausschliessen und damit zu einer Gefahr fur das assyrische Grossreich zu werden begannen.

6. S J. Marquart, UGE 49F II, Leipzig 1905, S. 211.

7. S J. Marquart aao. S. 197-201. 131 f.

8. Doch wurde nach Hugo Winckler auch der babylonische Name *Tašritu* "Beginn" fur den VIII. Monat ehemaligen Jahresanfang mit dem Herbste voraussetzen und auf alten kana'anäischen Einfluss (in der zweiten Dynastie) hinweisen.

7. Das altpersische Jahr begann mit dem Monat *Bāgajādiš*, der dem assyrisch-babylonischen *Taśrītu* und dem spateren *Mihr* (September-Oktober) entsprach, sein Neujahrsfest war das *bagajāδa*, d. i. das Fest des *Baga* oder Mithra, das spatere Mihragān.[9] Noch in spaterer Zeit, als bereits das jungawestische Jahr herrschte, galt das Mihragān (Μιθράγνα) als das hochste Fest des Jahres, an welchen es sogar dem Konig gestattet war zu tanzen und sich zu berauschen.[10] Zu diesem Feste sandten die Vizekonige dem Konig der Konige[11] und die Untertanen der Regierung kostbare Geschenke, eine Sitte die z. B. in Balch noch im 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. in Geltung war.[12] Auch nachdem sich das Naarōz als Neujahrsfest durchgesetzt hatte, wusste sich das Mihragān neben ihm als ebenburtiges Fest zu behaupten und wird haufig mit ihm gepaart.[13] Beide werden dann mit Vorliebe als zwei Pole aufgefasst.

8. Wir konnen aber noch nachweisen, dass neben und vor diesem altpersischen, durch einen ziemlich verwickelten Schaltzyklus regulierten Jahre, das durch den ubermachtigen Einfluss der babylonisch-assyrischen Kultur in Iran Eingang gefunden hatte, hier ein anderes Jahr geherrscht haben muss, das seine untilgbaren Spuren noch im spateren Kalender hinterlassen hat. Dieses Jahr begann mit der Sommersonnenwende.

9 Marquart UGE. II 132.

10 Ktesias und Duris bei Athen p 434

11 Strab. XI 14, 9 p. 530:

καὶ ὁ σατράπης τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῷ Πέρσῃ κατ' ἔτος δισμυρίους τάλαντα τοῖς Μιθρακίνοις ἔπεμπεν

12 Vgl. das Verhalten der Bevölkerung von Balch nach der Kapitulation im Jahre 32 H. gegenüber dem arabischen Heerführer al Aḥnaf b. Qais: als gerade das Mihragānfest einfiel, brachten sie diesem als dem Vertreter der neuen Regierung die üblichen Ehrengeschenke dar. at Ṭabarī I 6, ٣٩١٣, 10 ff.

13 Vgl. z. B Dk. III 419, 5 Bd. I 402, 20 ff. ed. Madan. Bd. IX ٣٩٣٧. 3 ff. ed Peshotan Sanjana; transl. Bharucha, Cama Memorial Volume p. 16. al Berūnī, Chronol. transl by Sachau, p. 201, 3. 209, 23, 25

Der erste seiner 12 Mondmonate war dem Hundstern (*Tistrija, Tiri*), dem Bringer des Regens geweiht[14] Ein solches Jahr setzt auch der Sprachgebrauch des Ossetischen voraus, in welchem *sarda, sard* "Sommer" bedeutet al Beruni betont, dass die Sommersonnenwende auch ohne spezielle astronomische Kenntnisse viel leichter festzustellen sei und sich daher als Jahresanfang weit mehr empfehle als die Aquinoktialpunkte Auf welche Weise der Ausgleich dieses Mondjahres mit dem Sonnanjahre erfolgte, ist nicht mehr zu ermitteln Auf diesem alten, an die naturlichen Jahreszeiten gebundenen Jahre beruhen aber die Festzeiten der sogenannten Gahanbar Es wäre von grossem Interesse zu wissen ob die von al Beruni im Widerspruch zur gesamten Überlieferung und zu seiner eigenen Angabe (S 50 2 ff =55, 5 ff) vorgetragene Behauptung, die Perser hätten die Sommersonnenwende als Jahresanfang, gewählt (S 201, 4 ff 220 4 f 223, 7f),[15] auf irgend welcher, wenn auch missverstandenen, einheimischen Überlieferung beruht oder lediglich auf der bekannten Tatsache, dass das persische Neujahr beim Beginn der Ära Jezdagerdi (a 632), also gegen Ende des Sasanidenreiches, auf den 16 Juni, also auf die Sonnenwende fiel und auf seinen Erwagungen aufgebaut ist Es ist wohl moglich, dass dieses altiranische Jahr zur Zeit des Dirajawahus noch irgendwo in Iran, zumal in der bis jezt noch unbekannten ursprunglichen Heimat des Avesta, in Geltung war .

9 Konig Dirajawahus der Grosse schaffte nun das altpersische Jahr mit seinem verwickelten babylonischen Schaltsystem ab und fuhrte im ganzen eigentlichen Iran sowie ausserhalb desselben im Bereiche des ehemaligen medischen Reiches, also in Kappadokien und Armenien das einfache agyptische Sonnenjahr ein Babylonien und die ehemals zum babylonischen Reiche gehorigen

14 Marquart aaO S 204 ff

15 S unten § 31

Länder, sowie Ägypten und das ehemalige lydische Reich behielten ihre alten Kalender. Die zwölf 30-tägigen Monate erhielten rein religiöse Namen. Der Jahresanfang wurde mit dem zaratuštrischen System in Einklang gebracht, das den Beginn des aufsteigenden, nicht des abnehmenden Lichtes verlangte, und auf den ersten Artana verlegt der dem VII. Monat des alten Kalenders und dem babylonischen Nisan (I) entsprach, und als Ausgangspunkt der neuen Ära die Frühlings-Tag- und Nachtgleiche gewählt. Diese Reform konnte daher zugleich als ein Zugeständnis an Babylonien gelten, während das ägyptische Jahr mit dem ersten Thoth begann, der ursprünglich mit dem Frühaufgang des Sirius (19. oder 20. Juli jul.) zusammenfiel, nach dem damaligen Stande des Kalenders dagegen dem 1. Daδušō (X) des jung awestischen Jahres entsprach. Die 5 Epagomenen wurden nach ägyptischem Vorbild dem letzten Monat des Jahres angehängt und den Seelen der frommen Verstorbenen (aw. *fravarti-*, ap. wahrscheinlich *artāvan-*, Nom. *artāvā*) gewidmet. Nach diesem fünftägigen Allerseelenfeste, (mp. Φουρδίγαν np. *Fōrdigān, Pōrdigān, Pōrdijan*, gelehrt *Farvardagān*), das also gewissermassen zwischen dem alten und neuen Jahre in der Mitte stand, erhielt bei den Persern und Kappadoken der erste Monat den Namen Ἄρτανα d. i. wahrscheinlich ap. *Artāvnām* "der Rechtschaffenen", bei den Chwārizmiern *Ročinā* (**hrō(r)tinā=fravartīnąm*, aw. *fravašinąm.*[16] In mittelpersischer Zeit wurde auch in Persien der alte Name durch den awestischen (*Fravartīn*)[17] verdrängt. Es scheint aber, dass man frühzeitig begann, auch schon den letzten[18] oder gar die fünf letzten Tage des zwölften

16 S. meine Armenischen Streifen Huschardzan, Festschrift der Mechitharisten, Wien 1911 S. 296.

17 Dies ist eine gelehrte Entlehnung, für die man lautgesetzlich *Fro(r)tin* oder *F(r)ortin* erwarten sollte.

18 So in Soyd: al Berūnī ٢٢٥, 10 f. = 222,7 f.

Monats[19] in das Allerseelenfest einzubeziehen. So erklärt es sich, dass die Armenier nach diesem den XII Monat *Hrotic* (Gen plur.) 'den der *hroti*' — (< **fro(r)ti*, **fravarti*) nannten

10 An das Allerseelenfest schloss sich unmittelbar as Neujahrsfest an, ap. **navaθard*, chwar, *nāvasārje* نوسارجی soyd (bei al Beruni) *Nausar*, arm *Navasard* Aus altpersischer Zeit ist uns allerdings keine Nachricht über eine besondere Neujahrsfeier erhalten, aber da das Fordiganfest einen vorwiegend elegischen Charakter trug,[20] so ist es von vornherein wahrscheinlich, dass man darauf das neue Jahr durch eine heitere Feier einweihte In der Tat ist uns ein besonderes Neujahrsfest nicht bloss bei den Persern der Sasanidenzeit sondern auch bei Chwarizmiern, Soydiern und Armeniern bezeugt.[21] Auch die christlichen Aramäer Babyloniens haben den Namen *Nausarde*, *Mausarde* für das persische Neujahr bewahrt und offenbar aus vorsasanidischer Zeit überkommen Sie bezeichnen mit ihm speziell die Frühdatteln, sowie das Wasserausgiessen am Nauröz, und haben ihn in der Form *Nausardel* auf den siebenten Sonntag nach Pfingsten, das Gedächtnis der zwölf Apostel, also ein bewegliches Fest übertragen[22] Auch der byzantinische Literat Johannes Laurentios aus Philadelphia in Lydien (zur Zeit Justinians) kennt den Ausdruck νεος σαρδις = Neujahr, wobei wir hier dahingestellt sein lassen, ob das Wort wirklich aus dem altpersischen ins Lydische übergegangen war und sich in der Volks-

19 So im Persien und Chwarizm al Beruni's ٢٢٤, 10 ff = 210 17 37 ٢٣٨ 2 4 = 226, 1 3

20 Vgl besonders die Schilderung des Soydischen Totenfestes al Ber 222, 7 — 9

21 al Beruni Chronol ٢٢٤, 10 = 221, 14 ٢٣٥ 23 =223 20 f Agathangelos § 623 Faust Byz 4 15 S 120, 1ff 33 Venedig 1889

22 Vgl Thomas Hyde Hist relig veterum Persarum ed secunda Oxoni 1760 p 186 G Hoffmann, Auszüge aus syr Akten persischer Martyrer Leipzig 1880 S 59 Anm 523 Abh f die Kunde des Morgenlandes VII, 3

sprache Lydiens bis auf seine Zeit erhalten hatte.[23] Jedenfalls wissen wir, dass es auch in Lydien iranische Kolonien gab, die noch in der Kaiserzeit bestanden haben.[24] Nach dem alten Neujahrs feste erhielt der erste Monat bei den Chwārizmiern, Soγdiern, Armeniern und den Einwohnern des unbekannten بجارتكه den Namen: chwār. *Nāvasārjē*, *soγd. Nāusaiδiǰ* bezw. *Nōsarδ*, arm. *Navasard*, *Nōsard*.[25]

11. Ob Konig Dārajawahuš sich bewusst war; dass von ihm eingefuhrte Jahr in nicht zu fernei Zeit hinter der natürlichen Zeit zuruckbleiben musse und er also im Grunde einen sehr fragwurdigen Tausch gemacht habe, ist zweifelhaft. Jedenfalls hat man sich erst spater, als sich die Nachteile desselben bereits allzu deutlich geltend zu machen begannen, dazu entschloseen, wenigstens fur das religiose Jahr auf Abhilfe zu sinnen. Man erfand also einen Zyklus von 1440 festen Jahren, in welchem alle 120 Jahre ein voller Monat eingeschoben werden sollte. " Dieser Schaltmonat des festen Jahres ward regelmassig zwischen dem Ispandārmēδ und den Epagomenen eingefugt und entlehnte seinen Namen aus dem Wandeljahr. Der Farwardin namlich, welcher das 121. Wandeljahr eroffnete, wurde der Schaltmonat oder Farwardin II des 120. festen Jahres. Von nun an gingen die Monatsnamen beider Jahre aus einander: der Ardēbahišt des 121. Wandeljahres entsprach dem Farwardin des 121. festen

23 Jh. Laurentius Lydus, Liber de mensibus III 20, p. 59, 11—14 ed. Rich Wuensch, Lips. 1898:

νέον δὲ σάρδιν τὸ νέον ἔτος ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεσθαι τῷ πλήθει συνομολογεῖσαι εἰσὶ δὲ (Xanthos der Lyder?) οἵ φασι, τῇ Λυδῶν ἀρχαίᾳ φωνῇ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλεῖσθαι σαρδίν.

Vgl. dazu de Lagarde, Ges Abh. 274, 23—25, 31—35.

24 Vgl. Imhof-Blumer, Zur Münzkunde Kleinasiens. S. A. aus Revue Suisse de Numismatique V, Genève 1895 p 5 ss.

25 In Kalenedern von بجارتكه hiess der zweite Monat نوسرد ندي "zweiter (*bidi* ندي, Aw. *biiδa*, mmed. *bidig*) Nōsard" Ber. 79 Sp 2=82 Sp. 9.

Jahres, und so fort Die Epagomenen aber hängte man immer demjenigen Monat an, der dem festen Jahre als Schaltmonat gegolten hatten und in den nächsten 120 Jahren dem Ispandarmed desselben gleich war"[26] Beim Einbruch der Araber standen die Epagomenen hinter dem Aban mah (VIII) Sie sind also bei der letzten Schaltung unter Jazdgerd I, bei welcher eine Schaltung vorausgenommen wurde, statt hinter den Mihr sogleich hinter den zweiten Schaltmonat gestellt worden[27] Nach einer allerdings unsicheren Kombination v Gutschmids wäre dieser Zyklus ums Jahr 411 v Chr zur Zeit des Königs Darajwahus II eingerichtet worden Bei dieser Regulierung des religiösen Jahres, die aber auf das eigentliche Persien beschränkt blieb, busst das Wandeljahr am Anfang des 121 Jahres fünf Tage ein, und beginnt seitdem fünf Tage früher als das nicht regulierte Jahr der Armenier, Chwarizmier und Soγdier[28] Ausserdem gingen fortan die Nordigantage in beiden Gruppen auseinander Als man später in Persien die Abweichung des eigenen Neujahrstages von dem der Chwarizmier und Soγdier bemerkte und das Bedürfnis empfand, die Übereinstimmung mit ihnen so gut es ging wiederherzustellen, schuf man einen zweiten Neujahrstag am Tage Harot (Chordâd, 6) des Monats Frawartin, dem dann eine grössere religiöse Bedeutung verlieh als dem älteren Nauroz Dies ist das sogenannte Grosse Nauroz Ganz ebenso verfuhr man beim Mihragan, indem man dem alten Mihragan am Mihr roz (16) des Mihrmah das Grosse Mihragan am Ram roz (21) zur Seite stellte König Hormizd I (272–273 n Chr) ging schliesslich dazu über die beiden Nauroz und die beiden

26 A v Gutschmid Über das iranische Jahr Kl Schr III 213 f

27 Die Angabe, dass unter Chosrau Anôsarawan eine Schaltung stattgefunden habe, welcher auch v Gutschmid aaO S 207 folgt, ist irrig und beruht bloss auf einer Schlussfolgerung

28 v Gutschmid aaO S 214

Mihragān miteinander zu verbinden und je zu einem einzigen funftägigen Feste zu erheben.

12. Was sodann die sinnigen Gedanken betrifft, welche die Mazdajasnier an das Naurōz geknüpft haben, so sprechen die unten mitgeteilten Texte für sich selbst und bedürfen keines weiteren Kommentars. Sie bringen samtlich die Idee der Schopfung und Erneuerung der Welt und der Menschheit, im besonderen aber der Iranier zum Ausdruck und können auch von jedem heutigen Perser, auf welchen religiosen und politischen Standpunkte er sonst stehen mag, adoptiert werden. Der eschatologischen Geschichtsauffassung der Mazdajasnier und der strengen Symmetrie entsprechend, welche ihr System kennzeichnet, zerfallen sie in zwei scharf unterschiedene Gruppen, von denen sich die eine—mit einer einzigen Ausnahme—auf Begebenheiten der Urzeit bis auf die Offenbarung der Religion durch Zarathuštra, die andere auf Ereignisse der Endzeit bezieht. Dabei bestatigt sich auch hier die von HERMANN GUNKEL fur die babylonisch-jüdische und christliche Eschatologie aufgestellte Regel, dass die Endzeit nur die Urzeit wiederholt bezw. zur Erfüllung bringt. Dass das Naurōz der Mazdajasnier nicht bloss an die Schopfung, an die Vernichtung der Unholde (Deven), die wir mit den nordischen Thursen vergleichen können, an das goldene Zeitalter unter Jima, sondern vor allem auch an die Auferstehung und Erneuerung der Welt am Ende der Tage erinnerte, bringt es unserem christlichen Osterfeste besonders nahe.

13. Über die Gebrauche am Naurōzfeste im heutigen und mittelalterlichen Persien ware noch vieles zu sagen. Die Kürze der zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit hat es dem Verfasser leider unmoglich gemacht dieselben zu sammeln. Es gibt darüber jedoch eine sehr verdienstliche Arbeit von dem russischen Orientalisten K. INOSTRANCEV, "Ältere arabische Nachrichten über das Naurōzfest

im sasanidischen Persien," die zuerst in den "Zapiski" der Orientalischen Abteilung der Kais. Russ. Archaologischen Gesselschaft Bd. XVI (1904) erschienen und dann in seinen "Sasanudckie Immodyi" (St. Petersburg 1909) S. 82 ff. wieder abgedruckt worden ist und nur den Fehler hat, dass sie russisch geschrieben und daher den nichtslawischen Lesern grosstenteils unzuganglich ist.[29]

II. TEXTE.

Ich lasse nunmehr eine Anzahl von Texten uber das Naurōzfest folgen. Den Reigen mag billigerweise der unsterbliche Herold der iranischen Heldensage eroffnen.

14. Der Dichter des Šahnāma sagt (S 25, Vers 47-55 ed. VULLERS) :

Als all jene wurdigen Taten offenbar wurden, sah (Jamšēd) in der Welt niemand mehr als sich selbst; als jene seine Werke volleńdet waren, erhob er den Fuss hoher als seine höchste Stellung.

Fur die kajanische Majestat schuf er einen Tron—wie viele Edelsteine liess er daran einlegen! — den, wann er wollte, die Deven aufhoben, aus der Ebene zum Himmelsgewolbe erhoben.

Wie die leuchtende Sonne in mitten der Luft sass darauf der befehlsgewaltige Konig.

Die Welt versammelte sich um seinen Tron, erstaunt uber die Majestat seines Gluckes.

Auf Jamšēd streuten sie Edelsteine, nannten jenen Tag *rōz-i nau*,

(Es war) der Anfang des neuen Jahres, der Tag Hormuz des Farvardin, es ruhte der Korper von Muhe, das Herz von Rache.

29 Ich verdanke ein Exemplar dieses Werkes der Gute des Verfassers, dem ich auch an dieser Stelle meinen verbindlichen Dank ausspreche mit der Hoffnung, dass der Friede uns auch die Wiederherstellung des zwischenvölkischen Verkehrs der Gelehrten bringen möge!

Die Grossen rüsteten sich zur Festlichkeit, verlangten Wein, Becher und Sänger,

So blieb der glückliche Tag aus jener Zeit als Erinnerung an jenen Herrscher".

15. Mit Firdausi stimmt sein Zeitgenosse, der berühmte Literat aṭ Tha'ālibī der hier wie so oft derselben Quelle gefolgt ist, im wesentlichen überein. In seiner persischen Geschichte, die wahrscheinlich zwischen 408 und 412 H. (1017/8 und 1021/2) verfasst ist, sagt er:[30] J̌am liess einen Wagen aus Elfenbein und Teak-holz[31] verfertigen und ihn mit Brokat belegen. Er bestieg ihn und befahl den Dēven, ihn auf ihren Schultern zu tragen und ihn durch die Region zwischen Erde und Himmel wegzuführen, so dass er auf ihm durch die Luft von Dumbāvand[32] bis Babylon in einem einzigen Tage reiste. Dies war der Tag Ōrmizd des Farwardīn-māh, der erste Tag des Frühlings, welcher der Anfang des Jahres und die Jugend der Zeit ist, an welchem das Leben der Erde nach ihrem Tode (wieder beginnt). Die Leute sagten daher: Dies ist ein neuer Tag, ein glückliches Fest, eine bereite Macht und ein wunderbarer König! Und sie machten ihn zu ihrem höchsten Feste und nannten ihn *Naurōz*, lobten Gott weil er ihren König eine so hohe Stellung, Grösse und Macht habe erreichen lassen, und dankten ihm für die Bequemlichkeit, Ruhe, Sicherheit und Reichtum, die er ihnen durch sein Glück und unter seinem Schatten gewährt habe.

30 Abou Manṣoûr Abd al-Malik ibn Mohammed ibn Ismaïl al Tha'ālibī Histoire des rois des Perses publiée et trad par H. Zotenberg., Paris Imprimerie Nationale 1900, p. 13 Ähnlich at Ṭabarī, Annales I A, 12 ff

31 Ursprünglicher nach at Tab. aus Krystall Hier schimmert die mythologische Bedeutung des Wagens (das Himmelsgewölbe) noch ganz unverhüllt hindurch.

32 *Dumbāvand*, die Stadt des J̌am (at Tab.), ist Erklärung des *Var* Jima's Vd. 2, 25 — 43.

Sie vollzogen die Pflicht des glucklichen Festes und beschaftigten sich mit Essen und Trinken, Musik und Kurzweil, und verlangten ihr Recht an Musik und Spiel."

16 Diese Erzahlung findet sich fast wortlich so schon bei at Tabarī, Annales I ١٨ , 12 ff:

"Darauf liess sich (Jam) einem Wagen aus Krystall machen, da stiegen die Deven auf ihm empor, und er bestieg ihn und kam auf ihm durch die Luft aus seiner Stadt, aus Dumbavand, nach Babylon in einem einzigen Tage Es war dies der Tag Hormizd roz des Farwardinmah Da hielten die Leute wegen des Wunders das sie gesehen, namlich wegen dessen was er in diesem Falle ausgefuhrt hatte, *Naurōz*, und er befahl ihnen, jenen Tag und funf Tage nach ihm als Fest zu begehen und an ihm vergnugt und frohlich zu sein Er schrieb an die Leute am sechsten Tage, d i am Churdad roz, ihnen auseinandersetzend, dass er sich gegen sie in einer Weise benommen habe, mit der Gott zufrieden gewesen sei Seine Belohnung durch Gott dafur bestand nun darin, dass er von ihnen fern hielt Hitze und Kalte, Krankheiten und Altersschwache und Neid" [33]

17. Der treffliche al Ja'qubī (Ahmad b Abī Ja'qub b Ja'far b Wahb b Wadih), nachst al Berunī der beste Schriftsteller, der je in arabischer Sprache geschrieben hat, handelt in seiner Chronik auch uber den persischen Kalender "Die Perser, sagt er[34], pflegten die Zeiten nach ihren Monaten und ihren Festtagen zu zahlen Der Herbst umfasste bei ihnen den Šahrer mah[35], Mihr mah

33 Jasna 9, 5 Jt 19 33

34 Ibn Wadih qui dicitur al-Ja qubi Historiae ed M Th Houtsma Lugduni Batavorum 1883 I 199, 6 17

35 Hs شهرر ماه Dies ist die lautgesetzliche Form, die Houtsma nicht zu gunsten der gelehrten Form *sahrer* zu unterdrucken durfte

und Ābān-māh; der Winter den Ādaa-māh, Dri-māh und Behman-māh; der Fruhling den Ispandārmed-māh, Afrōδīn[36] und Ardabahišt-māh[37]; der Sommer den Chordād-māh, Tīr-māh und Murdād-māh. Im Herbste pflegten sie fünf Tage hinzufügen, die sie Tage des *Andargāh* (Zwischenzeit) nannten. So hatte das Jahr 365 Tage, ihre Monate 30 Tage; ihr Jahresanfang (war) der Naurōztag, d. i. der erste Tag des Afrōδīn[36] dieser ist im Nisan und Adar, nachdem die Sonne in den Widder eingetreten ist. Dies ist ihr Festtag, der bei ihnen hochgefeiert ist, und der Mihragāntag, der am 16. des Mihr-māh ist. Zwischen dem Naurōz und dem Mihragān sind dann 175 Tage, das macht 5 Monate und 25 Tage. Das Mihragān ist im zweiten Tišrīn.

18. Nach al Ja'qūbī gelangten die Araber nach ihrem Siege bei al Qādisija nach al Madain (Gross-Ktesiphon) am Naurōztage, nachdem die Perser schon verschiedene Arten von Speisen bereit gestellt und den prächtigsten Schmuck hergerichtet hatten. Dass dieses böse Vorzeichen auf die Stimmung des Volkes den denkbar niederdrückendsten Eindruck machen musste, ist leicht verständlich: die Folge war die allgemeine Flucht (ib. I—۱۹۸ 17 ff.).

19. Der arabische Weltbummler und Polyhistor al Mas'ūdī berichtet (an. 332 H. = 943 /4 n. Chr.) gleich-

36 Hs. افرودين, vom Herausgeber mit Unrecht in *Farwardīn māh* geandert. Wir haben hier die zu erwartende historiche Form mit dissimilatorischer Ausstossung des zweiten *r* und Kontraktion von *ava* > *ō*, die dem arm. *Hrotic*, chwār. روجن, *Rōcin* < *hro(r)tīn(īm)* entspricht. Auf eine Parallelform mit Ausstossung des ersten *r* geht auch der Name des Feste Φουρδίγαν *Fōrdigān*, *Pōrdigīn*, *Pōrdijān*, zurück. Vgl. P. DE LAGARDE, Ges. Abh. 161. 24ff. und meine Armenischen Streifen: Huschardzan (Wien 1911) S. 296.

37 So die Hs.

38 Hs. افرودين s. A. 3.

falls unter Berufung auf Abu ʿUbaida Maʿmar b. al Muṯanna (207 oder 209 H. = 822/3 oder 824/5 n. Chr.) und dessen Gewahrsmann ʿOmar Kisra, dass das Naurōzfest unter J̌am eingesetzt worden sei,[37] weiss aber trotz seines Versprechens nichts Naheres uber seine Gebrauche beizubringen.[38]

20. Reiche Mitteilungen finden wir dagegen bei al Berūnī, Chronologie S. ۲۱۵ hg. von Eduard Sachau = p. 199 der engl. Übers.:

" ..... und verteilte den Becher unter seine Gefahrten und sagte O dass wir alle Tage Nauroz hatten"

21. Einer der Ḥaśrwija sekte sagt: " nachdem Salomo[39] der David, sein Siegel vermisste und sein Reich ihm entschwunden war, und es ihm dann nach vierzig Tagen zuruckgegeben wurde, kehrte der (vorige) Glanz [das Kavaēm X'arənō] zu ihm zuruck, und es kamen zu ihm die Konige und es umschwebten ihn die Vogel. Da sagten die Perser: *Nau rōz āmaδ*, d. h. der neue Tag ist gekommen. Daher wurde (der Tag) *Nauruz* genannt. Salomo befahl dem Winde, ihn zu tragen, und es kam ihm eine Schwalbe entgegen und sagte. ʿO Konig, ich habe ein Nest mit kleinen Eiern darin; weich darum aus und zerbrich sie nicht!' Da wich er aus, und als er (auf der Erde) landete, brachte die Schwalbe in ihrem Schnabel Wasser und sprengte es vor ihm aus, und brachte ihn

37 Maçoudi, Les Prairies d'or Texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Maynard et Pavet de Courteille T. II. 113. Paris 1863, Vgl. auch Abū Ḥanīfa ad Dinawarī, كتاب الاخبار الطوال ed Wladimir Girgass S. ۴, 12.

38 Eb. III 413.

39 J̌am (Jima) wurde von den Juden vielfach mit Salomo verglichen, at Tha'ālibi, Hist. des rois des Perses, p. 10 s

zum Geschenk den Fuss einer Heuschrecke. Dies ist die Ursache des Wassersprengens und der Geschenke am Naurōz."

22. Die Gelehrten der Perser sagen, am Naurōz sei ein Stunde, in welcher die Sphareder Kulmination [40] die Geister verscheuche zum Zwecke der Erschaffung (Erneuerung) der Schopfung.

23. Er bemerkt: Die glucklichsten Stunden dieses Tages sind die Stunden der Sonne. An seinem Morgen ist die Dammerung die kurzest (niedrigst) mogliche, und man erhofft Gluck von dem Hinblicken auf sie. Es ist ein auserwahlter Tag, weil er nach Hormizd benannt ist, dem Namen Gottes des Schopfers, Bildners, Hervorbringers und Ernahrers der Welt und ihrer Bewohner, von dessen Gnaden und Wohltaten die Schilderer nicht im Stande sind auch nur einen Teil zu beschreiben.

24. Es erzahlt Sa'īd b. al Fadl: Auf dem Berge Damā[41] in Pārs sieht man jede Naurōznacht Blitze aufsteigen und leuchten bei klarem wie bei wolkenbedecktem Himmel, bei jedem Zustande des Wetters.

25. Noch merkwurdiger als dies sind die Feuer von Kalwāδā, wennschon das Herz sich nicht herbeilassen will (sie anzuerkennen), ohne sie in Augenschein genommen zu haben. Abū'l Faraǰ az Zanǰānī der Mathematiker [42] hat mir nun erzahlt, er habe dies mit eigenen Augen

40 فلکه فیروز steht im Gegensatz zu فلکه امریحوی (l. افریحوی) S. ۲۲۲, 17, wie اوک, arabisiert اوج, gr. آفنجیون (l. افیجیون ἀπόγαιον) zu ar. حضیض gr. امریحیون (l. امریحیون περίγαιον).

41 Der Name *Damā* = mp. *damāk* ist ein Part. zu *damīδan*, mp *daftan* (1) wehen, (2) hervorsprossen, (3) hervorbrechen, (4) aufgehen.

42 Abū'l Faraǰ Ibrāhīm b Ahmad b. Chalaf az Zanǰānī, von Bērūnī noch erwahnt S. 54, 1. 118, 31. 120, 38. 126, 1. 7. 216, 39. 316, 6. 19

gesehen nebst einer Menge von Leuten, die sich nach Kalwāδā begaben im Jahre des Einzuges 'Adudu 'd daula's in Bagdād[43] und dass es zahl lose Feuer und Fackeln seien, die auf der westlichen Seite des Tigris gegenuber von Kalwāδā in der Nacht erscheinen, an deren Morgen das Naurōz eintritt. Der Sultan stellte dort eine Wache auf, um die Wahrheit zu erkunden, damit dies nicht eine von Seiten der Magier gefalschte (ausgeschmuckte) Geschichte wurde. Sie stellten aber nur fest, dass, so oft sie sich den Feuern naherten, diese sich entfernten, und so oft sie sich entfernten, die Feuer nahe kamen.[44] Da wantde ich Abū'l Faraj ein: Der Nauröztag verlasst doch seine (richtige) Stelle, weil die Perser ihre Schaltung vernachlassigt haben. Weshalb bleibt dann diese Erscheinung nicht hinter dem Naurōz zurück? Oder wenn ihr Zürückbleiben nicht notwendig ist, fiel sie dann fruher zu der Zeit, als man die Schaltung anwandte? Darauf wusste er keine befriedigende Antwort.

26. Die Beschworer sagen (S. ۴۱۹): Wer am Morgen des Naurōztages vor dem Sprechen dreimal Honig leckt und (seine Wohnung) mit drei Stucken Wachs rauchert, dem wird dies zu einem Heilmittel gegen Krankheiten.

27. Einer von den Gelehrten der Perser sagt: Die Ursache, weshalb man diesen Tag Naurōz benannte, war dass die Çābier[45] zur Zeit des Tahmōraδ auftraten. Als dann Jamšēd die Regierung antrat, erneuerte er die Religion. Dieses Werk, das am Naurōz geschah, wurde "neuer Tag" genannt, und (dieser Tag) wurde

43 A. 364 H. (Anmerk Sachau's)

44 Es handelt sich wohl um Irrlichter, die in dem sumpfigen Babylonien nicht befremden können.

45 Vgl. Hamza al Içbahānī S. ۴۰, 7 ff. ed. Gottwaldt.

zu einem Feste gemacht, obwohl er auch schon vorher hochgeehrt war.

28. Eine andere Angabe über seine Einsetzung zum Feste lautet: Nachdem sich Jamšēd den Wagen angeschafft hatte,[46] bestieg er ihn an diesem Tage, und die Jinnen und Deven zogen ihn durch die Luft von Dubāwand bis Babylon an einem Tage. Da richteten Leute (diesen Tag) als Fest ein wegen des Wunders, das sie an ihm geschaut hatten, und sie schaukelten sich in Schaukeln, um ihm nachzuahmen.

29. Einer von ihnen behauptet, dass Jam einen Rundgang durch das Land machte, und dass er sich, als er Āδarbāijān betreten wollte, auf einen goldenen Tron setzte und ihn die Manner auf ihren Nacken trugen. Als nun die Sonnenstrahlen auf ihn fielen und ihn die Leute (so) sahen, bewunderten sie ihn und freuten sich über ihn und machten jenen Tag zu einem Feste.

30. Am Nāurōz kam die Gewohnheit in Übung, dass die Leute sich unter einander mit Zucker beschenkten. Die Ursache davon war, wie Āδarbīδ, der Möbeδ von Bagdad erzählt, dass das Zuckerrohr erst unter der Regierung des Jam am Nauröztage bekannt wurde, nachdem es vor jener Zeit unbekannt gewesen war. Er sah nämlich ein saftreiches Rohr, das etwas von seinen Safte ausgeschwitzt hatte; da kostete er ihn und fand darin köstliche Süssigkeit. Er liess dann den Saft des Rohres auspressen und davon Zucker bereiten. Es wurde am fünften Tage dargeboten, und sie machten einander Geschenke, indem sie davon Gluck erhofften. Ebenso wurde verfahren am Mihragān.

46 S. oben

31. Sie haben die Zeit der Sommersonnenwende durch den Jahresanfang besonders ausgezeichnet, weil die beiden Sonnenwenden geeigneter sind entdeckt zu werden mit Hilfe von Instrumenten und Beobachtung, als die beiden Tag- und Nachtgleichen, weil nämlich die beiden Sonnenwenden genau der Beginn des Vorrückens der Sonne zu einem der beiden Pole des Alls und ihre Ruckzugs von ihm sind. Und wenn der senkrechte Schatten bei der Sommersonnenwende und der ebene Schatten bei der Wintersonnenwende beobachtet wird, an welchem Orte der Erde es sich auch trifft, wird dem Beobachter der Tag der Sonnenwende nicht verborgen sein, mag er auch von der Wissenschaft der Geometrie und Astronomie noch so weit entfernt sein, weil ein Überschuss des ebenen Schattens stattfindet, trotz der geringen Verschiedenheit der Neigung, wenn die Höhe beträchtlich ist. Dagegen die Tage der beiden Tag- und Nachtgleichen können erst entdeckt werden, nachdem die Kenntnis der Breite der Stadt und der allgemeinen Deklination vorausgegangen ist. Das aber wird nur dem klar, welcher die Astronomie aufmerksam studiert und einiges von ihrer Wissenschaft erlangt und die Beobachtungsinstrumente, ihre Aufstellung und ihren Gebrauch kennen gelernt hat. Aus diesen Gründen sind die beiden Sonnenwenden geeigneter zum (Jahres)anfang als die beiden Nachtgleichen, und da die Sommersonnenwende dem Zenith der nördlichen Länder (?) näher ist, so hat man sie der Wintersonnenwende vorgezogen, sowie auch deshalb, weil sie die Zeit der Reife der Feldfrüchte ist. Daher ist sie passender (ṛtv), um an ihr die Grundsteur einzuziehen, als eine andere.

32. Viele von den Gelehrten und den Weisen der Griechen haben das Horoskop [47] für den Aufgang des

47 Das für das kommende Jahr massgebende Orakel.

Hundsterns festgesetzt und mit ihm das Jahr begonnen, nicht mit der Frühlings Tag- und Nachtgleiche, aus dem Grunde weil der Aufgang des Hundsterns in vergangener Zeit mit dieser Sonnenwende zusammentraf oder in ihrer Nähe (erfolgte).

33. Dieser Tag, d. h. das Nauröz, ist von seiner (natürlichen) Zeit zurückgewichen, bis er in unserer Zeit mit dem Eintritt der Sonne in das Zeichen des Widders, d. h. dem Beginne des Frühlings zusammenzutreffen begann. Daher ist bei den Fürsten von Chorasan die Gepflogenheit in Geltung gekommen, an diesem Tage ihre Ritter mit Frühlings- und Sommerehrenkleidern zu bekleiden.

II.

34. Der sechste Tag dieses Monats, d, i. der *Rōz i Chordad*, ist das Grosse Nauröz, in den Augen der Perser ein hoch wichtiges Fest. Es heisst, dass an ihm Gott die Erschaffung des Geschopfe beendigte, weil es der letzte der oben erwähnten 6 Tage ist.

35. An ihm schuf (Gott) den Saturn, und seine glücklichsten stunden sind die Stunden des Saturn.

36. Es heisst: An ihm gelangte das Loos des Zarâdušt zur vertraulichen Besprechung mit Gott, und Kai - Chosrō stieg in die Luft [48].

37. An demselben werden die glücklichen Loose unter die Bewohner der Erde verteilt[49], und deshalb nennnen ihn die Perser den "Tag der Hoffnung".

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48 Vgl. Harōt - rōč - 75. 77 unten §§ 56 ff. Jâŋ.

49 Wie am babylonischen Neujahr

38. Die Beschworer sagen: Wer am Morgen dieses Tages vor dem Sprechen Zucker kostet, und sich mit Öl salbt, von dem werden wahrend des Hauptteils jenes Jahres die verschiedenen Arten von Heimsuchungen abgewehrt.[50]

39. Wie man sagt, sieht man am Morgen dieses Tages auf dem Berge von Pūšang eine schweigende Person mit einem Bundel wohlriechender Kraüter (oder einer Handvoll Feuersteinen) in der Hand, sie ist eine Stunde lang sichtbar, dann verschwindet sie und wird nicht mehr gesehen bis zur selben Zeit des nachsten Jahres.

40. Zāδōi[51] berichtet in seinem Buche, die Ursache desselben (des Nauroz) sei das Aufsteigen der Sonne aus Gegend des Sudens d. i. Erhebung (Wiederbelebung). Der verfluchte Iblis (Ahriman) hatte namlich den Segen aufgehoben, so dass die Menschen von Speise und Trank nicht gesattigt wurden, und hatte dem Winde untersagt zu wehen. Da vertrockneten die Baume und die Welt war nahe daran zu nichte zu werden Da kam Jam auf Befehl und unter der rechten Leitung Gottes zu der Gegend des Sudens, ging auf die Wohnung des Iblis und seiner Anhanger los und blieb darin eine Zeit lang, bis er jenem Zustande ein Ende gamacht hatte[52], da kehrten die Menschen zum (Zustande des) Gleichgewichts des Segens und der Fruchtbarkeit zuruck und wurden von der Heimsuchung befreit Unter diesen Umstanden kehrte Jam in die Welt[54] zuruck und

50 Vgl § 26

51 Zaδoi b Šāhōi, Verfasser eines Werkes über die Ursachen der Feste der Perser, auch zitiert S ۴۴۴, 2 = 53 37 ۲۲۱, 18 = 207, 11

52 Vgl Harōt-roč S 9

53 ‹ƆƱ‹=mp *patyārā*

54 = Xᵛanirasa

stieg an diesem Tage herauf wie die Sonne, indem das Licht von ihm ausstrahlte, weil er leuchtend war wie sie[55]. Die Leute erstaunten über das Aufgehen von zwei Sonnen und alle trockenen Bäume wurden grün. Da sagten die Leute: *rōz-i nō* d.i. ein neuer Tag. Jedermann säte Gerste in einem Waschbecken oder einem anderen Gegenstande, da man davon Glück erhoffte. Darauf blieb es Gewohnheit, an diesem Tage rund um ein Schale sieben Getreidearten auf siben Saulen zu säen, und aus ihrem Wachstum Schlüsse zu ziehen auf die Feldfrüchte des Jahres, ihren kräftigen oder schlechten Ausfall.

41. An diesem Tage liess Jamšēd unter den Anwesenden ausrufen und an die Abwesenden schreiben, die alten Tempel zu zerstören und an diesem Tage keinen neuen zu erbauen,

42. Er benahm sich gegen die Menschen in einer Weise, mit der Gott zufrieden war. Seine Belohnnung dafür bestand darin, dass er sie fern hielt von Krankheiten und Altersschwäche, Neid (ria) und Hinfälligkeit, Sorgen und Unglücksfällen[56]. Während der Dauer seiner Regierung war kein Lebewesen krank oder starb, bis sein Schwestersohn Bēwarāsp[57] auftrat, der ihn tötete und

55 Hier ist die ursprüngliche astrale Natur Jims mit Händen zu greifen: er ist der Zwilling der Sonne d. h. der Mond.

56 S. o. S. 16.

57 Az dahāk Bēwarāsp gilt also hier als Sohn der *Jamak*. Diese Auffassung steht in Widerspruch zu den Angaben des Nask Ciθrdāt. Nach diesem wurde Jamak, die Schwester des Jam, einem Dēv zur Ehe gegeben, als das *Xvarnah* von Jam gewichen war und er sich auf der Flucht vor Dahāk befand Vgl. Zand ākāsih S 108, 8 ff. ed. Anklesaria, Bombay. 1908. Bundehesh S. 67 13 ff. ed. Justi. West, Pahl. Texts I 87. Dahāk gilt dagegen als Nachkomme des Tāc, eines Bruders der Hōšang und Stammvaters der Araber. Vgl. Zand ākāsih XIV (XV) 28 S. 105, ff 9 P. T. = 58. Zd āk, XXXV (XXXI) 6 S. 238, 15 ff. ed. Anklesaria = Vd 12 ff. ed. Justi = P. T. I 131. West. Dk. VIII 13, 8 = P.T. IV 27. Dk. VII 1, 31 = P.T. V. 12.

sich seines Reiches bemachtigte So nahm die Zahl (der Lebewesen) zu, bis die Erde ihnen zu eng wurde Da dehnte er sie aus um das Dreifache ihrer vorigen Grosse [3], und gebot ihnen, sich mit Wasser zu waschen, um sich von ihren Sunden zu reinigen, und dies jedes Jahr zu tun, damit Gott die Ungluecksfalle des Jahres von ihnen abhalte

43 Einige Leute behaupten, Jam habe Kanale graben lassen und an diesem Tage habe man das Wasser in sie geleitet Daher freuten sich die Leute uber die (zu erwartende) Fruchtbarkeit und waschen sich mit jenem (durch die Kanale) zugesandten Wasser, und die Nachkommen betrachteten es als gutes Vorzeichen, die Ahnen nachzuahmen

44 Andere sagen derjenige welcher das Wasser in die Kanale leitete, sei *Zav* (*Uzava*) gewsen, nachdem, Afrasiyab die Kulturen von Eransahr zerstort hatte

45 Nach anderer Angabe war dagegen die Ursache der Waschung die dass dieser Tag dem *Harwad* (*aδ*), d i dem Engel des Wassers, geweiht ist, das mit ihm verwandt ist Deshalb pflegten die Leute an diesem Tage beim Aufsteigen der ersten Morgendammerung auf zustehen und sich zum Wasser der Leitungen und Teiche zu begeben Manchmal schopften sie laufendes Wasser in ein Gefass und gossen davon uber einander aus, da sie dies als ein gutes Vorzeichen betrachteten und um (dadurch) Ungluecksfalle abzuwehren

46 Am selben Tage besprengen sich die Leute gegenseitig mit Wasser Die Ursache ist dieselbe wie die des Waschens, nach anderer Angabe jedoch die Zuruckhalt

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ung des Regens von Erānšahr wahrend langer Zeit. Als J̌amšēd Empfang hielt, um (sie) durch die gute Botschaft zu erfreuen, die wir erwähnt haben,[59] seien sie mit reichlichem Regen beschenkt worden, weshalb sie (den Regen) als gute Vorbedeutung nahmen und auf ein ander ausgossen. So blieb es bei ihnen Gebrauch.

47. Nach einer anderen Erklarung vertritt das Besprengen mit Wasser die Stelle des Sichreinigens vom Rauche des Feuers, den die Korper angenommen haben, und dem Schmutze des Feueranzündens, der ihnen anhaftete; auch dient es dazu, von der Luft ihre Verdorbenheit abzuhalten, welche Seuchen und Krankheiten erzeugt.

48. An diesem Tage brachte J̌am die Mass der Dinge hervor. Da erblickten die Konige in seiner Zahlweise eine gute Vorbedeutung, und sie pflegten das erforderliche Papier und die Haute[60] zuzubereiten, auf welche die Erlasse an die Lander der Erde geschrieben werden, und die welche am Ende versiegelt werden mussten, wurden versiegelt und hiessen auf Persisch *Ispēdā-nivišt*.[61]

49. Nach J̌am machten die Konige diesen ganzen Monat, d. h. den Farvardīn-māh, zu einem einzigen Feste, verteilt über seine sechs Teile: Die erste Woche (von fünf Tagen, *pančа*) für die Konige, die zweite für die Vornehmen, die dritte für die Diener der Fursten, die vierte für ihre Klienten (Anhang), die fünfte für das gewohnliche Volk, die sechste fur die Hirten.

50. Wie es heisst, war der, welcher die beiden Naurōz miteinander verknüpfte, Hormizd b. Šāpūr der

59 Dies muss in dem verlornen Anfang gestanden sein Vgl at Tab I A·, 18.

60 Mp. *pōst*, Pl. *pōstā hā*, διφθέραι der Griechen, wovon die persische *dafta* < * *dftar* stammt.

61 Der Name bedeutet "unbemaltes, unverziertes Schriftstück" und ist zusammengesetzt aus *ispēdā* = mp *spētak* weiss und *nivišt*.

Held[62]; denn er machte alle Tage zwischen den beiden Nauröz zu Festtagen und liess Feuer auf hohen Orten anzünden, da er darin eine gute Vorbedeutung sah, und zu dem Zwecke die Atmosphare zu reinigen dadurch, dass sie alle in ihr befindlichen dicken Stoffe verbrennen und die Miasmen, die Verderbnis erzeugen, abschwachen und zerstreuen.

51. Es gehorte zur Etikette (*ā'īn*) des Chosroen in diesen funf Tagen, das der Konig den Nauröztag eroffnete un den Leuten bekannt machte, dass er fur sie Sitzung halten und ihnen Wohltaten erweisen wolle. Am zweiten Tage hielt er Empfang fur die hochsten im Range, d. h. die Dihqāne (Reichsunmittelbaren) und die Angehorigen der (sieben) Hauser ; am dritten Tage hielt er Empfang fur (ריי) seine Ritter und die hochesten seiner Möbede ; am vierten Tage fur seine Familienangehorigen, Verwandten und Vertrauten, und an diesem fünften Tage fur seine Kinder und sein Gefolge (Leibwache). So erlangte ein jeder von ihnen den Rang und die Ehrerweisung auf die er Anspruch hatte, und zog vollstandig die guten Werke und Wohtlaten ein die er verdient hatte. Am sechsten Tage, wenn er mit der Befriedigung ihrer Rechtsanspruche fertig war, feierte er fur sich selbst das Nauröz, und es gelangten zu ihm nur seine Vertrauten und die welche für sein Privatkabinett geeignet waren. Er liess die Geschenke, die sich ergaben, vor sich bringen, geordnet nach dem Range der Schenker. Er betrachtete sie aufmerksem, verteilte davon, was ihm beliebte, und liess in der Schatzkammer hinterlegen was er wollte. (S ררר 15 = 220).

62 D. i. Hormizd I, 272 — 273. Vgl. al Chuwārizmī Mafātīḥ al 'ulūm ١٠٢ 7 ed. VAN VLOTEN. at Tabarī, Annales A٢١, 14. NOLDEKE, Gesch. de Perser und Araber S. 43 A. 2 Er soll auch das Mihragān und das grosse Mihragān am 16. (Mihr-roz) und 21. (Rām rōz) Mihr-Māh mit einander verknüpft haben. Bērūnī S. ררי , 2 = 209, 27.

Bericht über die Feste in den Monaten der Soγdier.

52. Die Monate der Soγdier waren gleichfalls verteilt über die vier Viertel des Jahres. Der erste des soγdischen Monats Nōsard war der erste Tag des Sommers. Zwischen ihnen und den Persern bestand (ursprunglich) keine Abweichung bezüglich der Anfange der Jahre und einiger Monate, ausser uber die Stellung der funf Epagomenen, wie wir fruher erklart haben.[63] Sie taten dies nur darum, weil sie die Konige ehrten und sich selbst in ihren Handlungen ihnen nicht gleich machen wollten: sie zogen die erfolgreiche Rückkehr des Konigs Jam fur den Beginn des Jaharesanfangs vor, wie die Konige seine Erhebung dafur vorzogen.[64]

53. Einige Leute behaupten, dass die Ursache der Abweichung der beiden Jahresanfänge (der Perser und Soγdier) ein gewisser Unterschied sei, der durch die astronomischen Beobachtungen entdeckt wurde, weil nämlich die alten Perser darnach zu handeln pflegten, dass das Jahr 365 Tage und eine Minute uber einen Viertelstag habe, und sich gegensitig verpflicheten jenen (rrf) Überschuss über einen Viertelstag auf diesen zu reduzieren (d.h. abzurunden). Als aber Zarādušt auftrat und die Magierreligion brachte, und die Könige ihren Sitz von Balch nach Pārs und Babylon verlegten und die Angelegenheiten ihrer Religion aufmerksam beachteten, erneuer-

63 Hier fehlt die Angabe, dass das historische Jahr der Soγdier (wie auch der Chwārizmier und Armenier) 5 Tage nach dem persischen Jahre begann. S. Bērūnī S. 56, 16 ff. 57, 11 ff. und die Tabelle S. 82 Sp. 1/2 der Ubs. Sachau's.

64 Hierin liegt nicht, dass die Könige der Soγdier dem persischen Jahresanfang gefolgt seien, sondern diese Theorie geht von der Voraussetzung aus, dass die Soγdier einst (in der Urzeit) dem Könige von Eranšahr gehorcht haben. Freilich ist der ganze Abschnitt wie auch der folgende sehr unklar und schlecht stilisiert

ten sie die Beobachtungen und fanden, dass die Sommersonnenwende um 5 Tage dem Anfang des dritten Jahres nach der Schaltung vorausgehe. Daher gaben sie ihre fruhere Rechnungsweise auf und richteten sie ein nach dem wozu sie die Beobachtung gefuhrt hatte; die Einwohner von Transoxiana aber blieben bei ihrer fruheren Methode und vernachlassigten jenes Jahr, dessen Umstande sie zu beobachten pflegten Daher der Unterschied ihrer Jahresanfange[65].

54. Einige behaupten, der Anfang des persischen und der des sogdischen Jahres sei derselbe gewesen bis zur Zeit des Auftretens Zarādušts. Als dann nach ihm die Perser begannen, die funf Epagomenen ans Ende eines jeden von den Schaltmonaten zu verlegen, wie wir fruher berichtet haben, liessen sie die Sogdier an iher ursprunglichen Stelle und verlegten sie nicht. So blieben sie bei ihnen am Ende der Monate ihres Jahres, und bei jenen nach der Vernachlassigung der Schaltung am Ende des Ābān-māh. Doch Gott weiss es am besten!.... *Nōsard.* Der erste Tag desselben ist ihr Naurōz, d. i. das Grosse Naurōz (der Perser). (rr°, 15).

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65 Auch dieser Abschnitt leidet an grosser Unklarheit Diese und ähnliche Theorien gehen von der irrigen Voraussetzung aus, dass das iranische Jahr von jeher ein reines gebundenes Sonnenjahr gewesen sei In Wirklichkeit hatten auch die Iranier ursprünglich ein gebundenes Mondjahr, aber nach der Einführung des ägyptischen Sonnenjahres behielten dies nicht bloss die Sogdier, Chwārizmier und Armenier, sondern auch der bürgerliche Kalender der Perser als reines Wandeljahr bei und nur der religiöse Kalender der Perser nahm auf den Viertelstag durch eine 120 jährige Schaltperiode Rucksicht. Über die Zeit der Einführung derselben vgl. A V. Gutschmid, Kl. Schr. III 213ff. Von Belang ware es zu wissen, ob der Meinung, dass das iranische Jahr ursprunglich mit der Sommersonnenwende begonnen habe, etwa eine alte Überlieferung zu Grunde lieg.

55. Bericht über die Feste in den Monaten der Chwarizmier.

Die Chwārizmier stimmen mit den Soγdiern bezüglich der Jahres und Monatsanfange uberein, weichen dagegen von den Perserndarin ab. Der Grund ist genau derselbe, der bei den Soγdiern beschrieben worden ist. Ihre Gebräuche in ihren Monaten waren ahnlich ihren Gebräuchen. Der Anfang des Sommers war bei ihnen der erste Nāvasārjē. Sie haben Feste in ihren Monaten, die sie vor dem Islam feierten.... *Nāvasārjē*. Der erste Tag desselben ist das Fest des Jahresanfangs, der neue Tag, wie wir erwähnt haben.

56. Über die Gedanken und Erinnerungen, welche die Mazdajasnier an den Nauröztag knüpften, gibt uns ein Pahlavītext ausfuhrlich Aufschluss. Dieselben zerfallen, der eschatologischen Geschichtsbetrachtung der Mazdajasnier entsprechend, streng symmetrisch in zwei Gruppen: die erste bezieht sich rückschauend auf wichtige Begebenheiten der Vergangenheit, und zwar vorwiegend der mythischen Zeit, die zweite auf die Zukunft, naherhin auf die Periode der Saušjants.

Der Text stammt der Sprache nach aus ziemlich spater Zeit [66]. Er ist erhalten in einer Handschrit vom Jahre 1322 n. Chr. und veroffentlicht in The Pahlavi Texts contained in the Codex MK,...ed. by the late Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana II, Bombay 1913, p. ١٠٢-١٠٨, und übersetzt von demselben in The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume; Essays on Iranian Subjects ed. by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi; Bombay 1900 p. 122-129. Er lautet:

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66 Beachte besonders die Akkusative mit rād § 73. 74 75 n. 5

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF COD M KP 102

I

ēwēnāg dādestān ī ēk hāzār

1. 57 ast kū ahlaw-mard ī dēn-āgāh pursēd ka-m

. ō ān ī dēn-āgāh ēdar rāy ud kadār ō-š hēnd

ka-m ēk hāzār ud dēn-āgāh-mard ast ka-m

2 58 -āgāh kadārīh ēk ān ī-š ēdar ahlaw-mard

ō-m-ēw ān ud rāy ud kadār ō-š ka-m

3 59 ēk-tōhm ān ud rāy ud kadār ō-š

ēwēnāg dēn kē-š

4 60 ēk ēwēnāg-dēn ān ud rāy ud kadār ō-š

ēwēnāg-dēn kē-š

5 61 ēwēnāg-dēn ān ud rāy ud kadār ō-š

ēwēnāg-dēn kē-š

6 62 ī ēn-ēw-ēk[b] ud ēk tan ān ud rāy ud kadār ō-š[a]-ēw-ēk ān

ēwēnāg dēn kē-š

(a) L mahrīh o ier mehrih

(b) L ual rijanīh oder mehrijanīh

57. 1. Es fragte der rechtschaffene Zarathuštra den Ohormizd: Weshalb halten die Menschen den Tag Harōt (Chordāδ) des Monats Fravartīn unter den übrigen Tagen für den grossten, besten und teuersten?

58. 2. Ohormizd gab zur Antwort: O Spitamide Zarathuštra! Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn habe ich das Leben der Welt geschaffen [67].

59. 3. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn ist der Ursprung der Arier und Nicht-Arier offenbar geworden.

60. 4. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn ist Gajōkmart in der Welt zur Erscheinung[68] gekommen.

61. 5. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn tötete Gajōkmart den Arzur.

62. 6. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn sprossen Mahrīh und Mahrijānīh aus der Erde hervor [69].

67 Vgl Anmerkung 68.

68 Wörtlich "Offenbarung". Entspricht dem ἐγνωρίζετο der griechischen Chronographie.

69 Aus zwei Rhabarberstauden (mp *rebīs*, Rheum ribes) Von den mannigfaltigen Umschreibungen der Namen des ersten Menschenpaares sind die genauesten die chwārizmischen: *Mard* (= ap. *Martija*) und *Mardāna*. Bēr. 99, 14 = 107,38.

ખાડ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું. આ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

63 7 ખેતર ૦ કેમેરાક્ષ માર્ગ ૦ ૬૬ કલાક ૨૭ ૦ ખેતર

64 8 ૦ ૬૬ કલાક ૨૭ ૦ માર્ગ કલાક ૨૭ ૦ ૬૬ કલાક

ખાડ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

65 9 ૬૬ કલાક ૨૭ ૦ માર્ગ ૪ ૨૭૮૫ ૬૬ કલાક

66 10. ૪ ૬૬૬૫૭ ૬ માર્ગ ૦ ૬૬ કલાક ૨૭ ૬૬ કલાક

ખાડ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

67 11. ૬૬ કલાક ૨૭ ૦ ૬૬ કલાક ૨૭ ૬૬ કલાક

ખાડ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું. આ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

68 12 ૬૬ કલાક ૨૭ ૦ માર્ગ ૨૭૮૫ ૬૬ કલાક ૦ ૬૬૬૫૭

ખાડ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું. આ કાર્ય કરવા માટે કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

63. 7. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn kam Hōšang der Erstgeschaffene zur Erscheinung [69].

64. 8. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn machte Tachmōrap den trugerischen Ahrman zu (seinem) Reittiere 30 Jahre [70].

65. 9. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn machte Jam die Welt (Wesen) ohne Tod, ohne Altersschwache [71].

66. 10. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn brachte Jam den Pakt aus der Holle herbei und kam in der Welt zur Erscheinung.

67. 11. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn machte Jam Beinhauser und befahl den Menschen solche zu machen. Als sie den Befehl des Jam sahen, machten sie den Tag zum Neujahr (wortlich: Neutag) und gaben ihm den Namen Nōk-rōč.

68. 12. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn vollzog Frētōn die Verteilung der Welt: Hrōm (das Romaerland) gab er dem Sarm und Turkestān gab er dem Tōč, Ērānšahr gab er dem Ērič und die drei Tochter des Bucht-

70 Vgl. DXM. XXVI 12 (XXVII 21 — 22) = P.T. III 58.
71 Vgl DMX XXVI 13

73. 17. ખેડૂત ઘણા ઉપજાવે છે.
ખેડૂત ઘણા ઉપજાવે છે.

72. 16. ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવે છે.
ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવે છે.

71. 15. ખેડૂતો ઘણું ઉપજાવે છે. ઘણું ઉપજાવનાર ખેડૂત
ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવે છે.

70. 14. ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવનાર માણસ છે. ખેડૂત
ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવે છે. ઉપજ[d] ખેડૂત ઘણી થાય છે.

69. 13. ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવનાર માણસ છે. ખેડૂત
ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવે છે. ઉપજ ખેડૂત ઘણી થાય છે.

ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવનાર[c] માણસ ખેડૂત કહેવાય છે.

ખેડૂત ઘણું ઉપજાવનાર માણસ ખેડૂત કહેવાય છે.

(c) Für np ؛

(d) خرج

74. 18. ಸಂ- ಗಿರಿಜಾ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣ ಭಾಗ ೧ ಪುಟ ೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨ ಪುಟ ೨೨೬ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೦ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೧೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೨೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೩೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೪೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೫೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೬೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೭೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೫ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೬ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೭ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೮ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೮೯ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೯೦ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೯೧ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೯೨ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೯೩ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೯೪ ಪುಟ ೨೬೨ ಮತ್ತು ಭಾಗ ೯೫ 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74. 18. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn tötete Kai-Chōsrō, der Sohn des Sijāvachš, den Turja Frāsijāk zur Rache für seinen Vater.[79]

75. 19. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn ging Kai-Chōsrō, der Sohn des Sijāvachš, zur Wohnung ins Paradies.

76. 20. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn entrissen Manōščihr und Ēriš der mit schnellen Pfeilen die Erde wieder dem Turja Frāsijāk[80].

77. 21. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn übergab Kai-Chōsrō, der Sohn des Sijāvachš, die Herrschaft dem Lōhrāsp, ging selbst in Sieghaftigkeit ins Paradies[81].

78. 22. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn gelangte Zarathuštra der Spitamide zur Erscheinung (Gesicht) und Unterredung des Herrschers Ohormizd.

79. 23. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartīn empfing Zarathuštra der Spitamide die mazdajasnische Religion vom Herrn Ohormizd[82].

79 Sn. III 1412 v. 2606—1439 v. 3095 ed Vullers—Landauer III 244—265 übs. von Rückert.

80 Vgl. meine Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran: ZDMG 49,633 ff. Wehrōt und Arang S. 14. 137 f.

81 Sn. III 1431 v. 2954 1439 v. 3095. = III 257-265 Rückert · Zand āk. Kap. XXXIII S 213, 13-15 ed Anklesaria.

82 Zd āk. Kap. XXXIII S. 214, 1-3

80. 24. ર ર સ સ ુ માાર ૰ ૬૮ ધમોપાલ ૱૮૫
-૮૮ ૱ોધાર૮ ૮ા ૮૬૦ સ સ ુ ાાા ૬૮૭
૭૫૭ ાા ુ સ સ ૬૬૦ ૰ ૭૫ ધમોપાલ ૱૮૫
૰૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ માાર ૰ ૬૮ ધમોપાલ ૱૮૫ 81. 25.
૰૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૱ા ૭ ૬૭૮૰૭૫૰ ૮૬૦ ૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૱ા ૭ ૬૭૮૰૭૫૰

II.

-૭૫ ૰ ૬૭૰૮૫૰ માાર ૰ ૬૮ ધમોપાલ ૱૮૫ 82. 26.
૰૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૱૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૮૬ ધ૭૬૮ ૭ ુ૰૮૫

૰૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૰ ાાધધમોપાલ માાર ૰ ૬૮ ધમોપાલ ૱૮૫ 83. 27.
માાર૮૭ ાાધ૰ ધ૭૰ ૮ ૭૭૫ ૱૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮
૰૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૮૬ ધ૭૬૮ ૭ ુ૰૮૫

-૭૫૭ ૰ ૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ માાર ૰ ૬૮ ધમોપાલ ૱૮૫ 84. 28.
૱૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૰ ધમાાર૭ ા ધ૭૬૮ ૮૬
૱૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૰ ૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૮૬ ા ધ૭૬૮ ૭ ુ૰૮૫
૰૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૰ ૭૫ ધમોપાલ ૱૮૫
૰૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૭૫૭૫૰૭૫૬૮ ૮૬ ધ૭૬૮ ૭ ુ૰૮૫

80. 24. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartin empfing Konig Kai-Vištāsp die Religion von Zarathuštra [81].

81. 25. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartin kamen 18 Dinge in 18 Jahren zu Chōsrō (II), dem Sohne des Ohormizd.

Zweiter eschatologischer Teil.

82. 26. Am Tage Harot des Monats Fravartin wird Vahrām der Wunder-wirkende aus Hindustān zur Erscheinung kommen.

83. 27. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartin wird Pišjōθan (Pišišjauθna), der Sohn des Vištāsp, aus Kangdiz nach Ērānšahr kommen und die mazdajasnische Religion in Gang setzen.

84. 28. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartin wird Uršētar (Uchšjāṯ-rta), der Sohn des Zarathuštra, zur Erscheinung und Unterredung mit dem Herren Ohormizd gelangen und die mazdajasnische Religion vom Herrscher Ohormizd auf einmal lernen [83] und auswendig lernen und die Sonne in der Mitte des Himmels am Mittag 10 Tage und Nachte zuruckhalten, und die Menschen frei von Zweifeln an der mazdajasnichen Religion machen; und es

83 Sonst bedeutet *cIiitlan* "lehren".

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 85. 29.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 86. 30.
[illegible]

[illegible] 87. 31.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 88 32.
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 89. 33
[illegible]
[illegible]

wird der Beginn des Jahrtausends des Uršētar eintreten und das zarathustrische am Ende sein [84].

85. 29. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartin wird Sām der Sohn des Nērēmān den Až i Dahāk toten und sich selbst auch als Herrscher der sieben Zonen einsetzen, bis Kai-Chōsrōi in Sicht kommen und Sām die Herrschaft dem Kai-Chōsrōi uberliefern wird.

86. 30. Siebenundfunfzig Jahre wird Kai-Chōsrōi Herrscher der sieben Zonen und Sōšans Moypet der Moypete sein.

87. 31. Und darnach, wenn sie den Konig Vištāsp mit Korper versehen (korperhaft) machen, wird Kai-Chōsrōi die Herrschaft dem Konig Vištāsp uberheben und Sōšans die Wurde des Obermoypet seinem Vater Zarathuštra ubergeben.

88. 32. Am Tage Harōt des Monats Fravartin wird der Herrscher Ohormizd die Auferstehung der Toten und den kunftigen Leib bewirken, die Welt wird ohne Tod und ohne Altersschwache, ohne Elend und ohne Heimsuchungen werden.

89. 33. Ahrman samt den Deven, Teufeln, Welpen, Tyrannen, Schamanen und Opferpriestern werden wirk-

84 Vgl. Zand āk. Kap. XXXIII S. 218, 5-12 Abijātkār i Jamāspīk, Pahl I 21 p. 35 d. Uebs. Zand i Vahuman Jt. III 43 50. Die Quelle dieser Apokalypsen war der Spend Nask, vgl Dk. VIII 14, 12 14 = P. T. IV 33 f.

ખેતરમાં ઘણા ઝાડ છે. ખેતરમાં ઘણાં ઝાડ છે. ખેતરમાં ઝાડ ઘણાં છે.
ખેતરમાં ઝાડ ઘણું.

90. 34. એક માણસ ૧ માણસને મારે છે. માણસ ૧ માણસને મારે છે.
માણસને માણસ મારે છે.

91. 35. જે જે ગાયોએ દૂધ જે જે ઘરમાં જે આપ્યું[e] તે તે ઘરોમાં
ખાવાનું જે થયું ૧ દૂધ ખાવાનું ઘણું ઘણું થયું.

92. 36. આપણને કોઈ પણ જાતનું જે જે નામ લેતાં
નાખે ઘણાંક ! ઉપાડવા માં ઉપાડ ! ઉપાડ ઉપાય
ઉપાડવાનું માં આપવાનું જ જ

93. 37. ! આપો ઉપાડવામાં ના ઝાડને ઘણું ઘણું
ઉપાડવા ના લાવ આપ્યું ઘણું જે જે ઘણાંનું
ઉપાડવાનું માં ઘણાં ઉપાડ ઘણું ઘણ ! આપાણ ઉપાડ

(e) L. ૬૬ (*Ku0*).

(f) L. ૬૬ (*Ku0*).

ungslos werden; der Dēv Āz[85] wird die Deven und Teufel alle verschlingen, und rechtschaffene Srōš wird den Dēv Āz wirkungslos machen [86].

90. 34. Der Herrscher Ohormizd wird den Ahrman schlagen und niedergestreckt und wirkungslos machen, so dass[87].

91. 35. Weder nachher der trügerische Geist, noch etwelche von seinen Geschöpfen und Kreaturen auf der Erde Herrscher sein werden.

92. 36. Was Ahrman betrifft, so werden sie durch jenes selbe Loch, durch das er (in die Schopfung) eingebrochen war,[88] dorthin (in die Holle) gehen und (ihm) den Kopf abschneiden und die Holle mit den sieben Metallen anfullen[89].

93. 37. Diese Paradies wird wieder zur Sternstation zuruckkehren und das Paradies wird aus jenem Orte, wo[89] es ist, wieder zur Sternstation kommen und alle Orte werden Paradies werden[90].

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85 *Āz*, aw. *Aži*, der Damon der Gier, überlebt alle Deven DMX. VII 10 (VIII 15) p. ۴۵ ed. Tahmuras Anklesaria); er verschlingt alles und zuletzt sich selbst. Zd. āk. Kap. XXVII (XXVIII) 27 § 185, 13-15 ed. Anklesaria.

86 Zd. āk XXXIV 30 (West. P. T. I 128 f.) S. 227, 7-12.

87 L. אוך.

88 Bei seiner ersten Heimsuchung *Patiǰrak*; vgl. Zand ākāsīh Kap IV (III) 17-27 transl. West, P. T. I. 17, 19. Vgl. Ab. Jām. VI p. 119 f.

89 L. אוך.

90 Die nun folgende Schilderung der Seligkeit im Paradiese habe ich weggelassen.

Erläuterungen.

A. [Zu § 9.] Diese Erklarung halte ich jetzt fur die wahrscheinlichste. Gegen meine fruhere Erklarung = spat — ap. *ˣvartān* < ap. *ˣvartīnām* = aw. *fravašīnąm* (Unters. z. Gesch. von Eran I, 63 A, 54. ZDMG. 49, 671) spricht der Umstand, dass ein dem aw. *fravaši-* entsprechendes ap. *ˣvarti-* nicht nachzuweisen ist. Man müsste also auf ap. *ˣvrtá-* = mp. *gurt*, np. *gurd* "Held" zurückgreifen, wozu aber die Bedeutung ἥρωες = παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι für ἀρταῖοι bei Steph. Byz. (UGE. I 66) nich stimmt. Auch durfte man dann veilleicht eine genauere Umschrift erwarten (doch vgl. Ἀρτάγνης = air. *vṛθragna*). Dagegen stimmt ap. *ˣartāvan-*, Nom. *ˣrtāavā* = ai. *artāvan-*, aw. *ašāvan-*, man. mp. *ardāv* "gerecht", mzd. mp. *ahlav(b)* ‏אהלו‏ vorzuglch. In *ˣartanā* <*ˣartāvnām* ist das *v* ausgestossen, wie in aram. אַחַשְׁדַרְפָּן *axšadrəpān* <ap. Gen. *χšaθrapāvnaḥ* (Marquart, Fundamente israelitischer und judischer Geschichte S. 54f.). Die eben angezogene Glossee ἀρταῖοι ἥρωες geht gleich-falls auf *artāvā* zurück. Die Wiedergabe der fremden Spiranten bezw. Halbvokale *v*, *w*, *j*, *ij* hat den Ioniern und Attikern grosse Schwierigkeiten bereitet und sie haben sich damit auch gar keine grosse Mühe gegeben. Vgl. meine Assyriaka des Ktesias: Philol. Suppl.— Bd. VI 2, 636—642, wo jetzt Vieles zu verbessern ware. Ap. *av* erscheint in Παρθυαοι = ap. *Parθava*, aram. *Partθwājē* durch υ ausgedrückt, vermutlich durch aramaische Vermittlung, in Πάρθοι ganz unterdruckt. Dagegen hat die Wiedergabe von *av* durch gr. αι. in ἀρταῖοι ein Vorbild in Δαρειαῖος = ap. *Dārājahvahuš*, gewohnlich vorkurzt zu Δαρεῖος (vgl. Assyriaka S. 641). Darnach geht auch die Glosse ἀρτάδες οἱ δίκαιοι ὑπὸ Μάγων auf ap. *ˣartá-*, die Glosse ἀρταῖοι οἱ δίκαιοι παρὰ Πέρσαις (UGE. I 66 A. 68) auf den Nom. Sing. *ˣartāvā* zurück.

B. [Zu § 40.] L.P. ‏ملايل‏, Sachau ‏الاطمر‏ (nach R?). Allein

dies ist unmöglich. Dass der gelehrte Iranier Bērūnī, der selbst persische werke schrieb, einen so elementaren Schnitzer begangen und nicht gewusst heben sollte, dass der Süden *nīmrōz* heisst, ist ausgeschlossen. Ueberdies wäre die Schreibweise unerhört. Man wurde mindestens باختر erwarten, was aber im Jahre 1000 u. Chr. bereits als archaische Form gelten müsste. Ibn Rusta, Bibl. Geogr. VII S. ١٠٣, 22 schreibt ناختر (Hs. نازختر), al Mas'ūdī, Kitāb at tanbīh ٣١, 6 باختر. Das Wort *apāxtara-*, np. *bāxtar*, eigentlich "rückwärts, hinten gelegen" bezeichnet bis ins 10. Jahrhundert nur den Norden, und wenn es dann im Neupersischen seine Bedeutung geändert hat und je nach der verschiedenen Orientierung sowohl den Osten wie den Westen bezeichnet (vgl. Barthołomae, ZDMG. 42, 154. BB. 14, 250), so wird es doch nie für den Süden gebraucht (was eine nördliche Orientierung voraussetzen würde). Vgl. auch K. Inostrancew, WZKM XXV 93 f. Es ist vielmehr an unserer Stelle الاناهة zu lesen.

C. [Zu § 71.] Vgl. DMX XXVI 8 (XXVII 15) ed. Tahmuras Anklesaria, Bombay 1913 S. ٨٦=West, P. T. III 58 und die manichaisierende Version des Dichters Abū 'Alī Muhammed b. Ahmad al Balchī in seinem Šāhnāma bei al Bērūnī S. 99, 21 ff.=108, 14 ff., wo خزوره aus خرزورة *Xarzūra-* mp. *Arzūr* entstellt ist. *Arzūr*, eigentlich ein Berg am Eingang des Höllentores (*Arəzurahe griva*), wurde personifiziert und sehr sinnig zu einem Sohne des Ahrman gemacht. Vgl. § 73.

D. [Zu § 66.] Vgl. DMX. XXVI 15 (XXVI 33) = P. T. III 60: *ut* sitīkar *ēn* sūt *kuθ* patmān i stīhīk i עֲלֵה avē dušdānāk druvand (i Ahrman ōpārt יְקוּיְנוּך *ēst-āt*, אֶל כֵּן *hač* aškum לְאוֹחַר *apāč* יְהִיתְיוּן *āburt* " und der dritte (war dieser Nutzen) [nämlich von Jam], dass er den Weltvertrag, welchen jener arglistige trügerische (d. i. Ahrman)

verschlungen hatte, aus seiner Bauche zuruckbrachte." Es handelt sich um den Vertrag, den Ohormizd und Ahrman im Beginne der Schopfung mit einander geschlossen und den Gajōmart durch die Totung des Arzur gebrochen hatte. Die ausfuhrliche Erzahlung findet sich in einem Rivājat, dessen mittelpersisches Original noch nicht aufgefunden ist. Vgl. West, P. T. III 60 n. 4.

E. [Zu § 67.] Nachdem er den von Ahrman verschlungenen Tahmōrap aus dessen Bauche herausgeholt und bestattet hatte; vgl. die verifizierte Legende bei Spiegel, Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen. Wien 1860 S. 321 v. 157 ff. Das Wort אסתודוה=aw. *xastōdāna* kommt schon in der altaramaischen Inschrift von Limyra in Lykien vor. Vgl C. I. Sem. II. 101—102. Darmesteter, Le Zend Avesta II 93 n. 31.

F. [Zu § 82.] Vahrām i Varčāvand eroffnet den Reigen der Sasanjauts. Sein Auftreten fallt in die Zeit der allgemeinen Verderbnis und Verwirrung gegen Ende des vierten Jahrtausends. Vgl. Zand ākāsih Kap. XXXIII S. 217, 10 ff. ed. Anklesaria *ut* אַכַּת *kaδ* Rōmīk יהנכטון *rasēn*-d *ut* ēvak שַׁנַה *sāi* pātxšāhih rāδēnand, זך *hān* hangām *hač* kustak i Kāvulastān ēvak-I יאחון *āj*-ēt, נַנן *kē*-š זורה *xvarrēh* patiš, *hač* dūtak i bagān ī kaj Vahrām קריחון *xvanēn*-d. hamāk martom לָנָת *apāk* עֲלֵה *avē* לאוחַד *apāč* יהוון *bavēn*-d, *pat*-ič Hindūkān, Hrōm *ut* Turkastān hamāk kustak i pātaxšāhih עַנירון *kun*-ēt, hamāk apārōn *ut* girravišn (1) לאלָא *ul* וחסון *dār*-ēt, dēn i Zarδuxšt (218) vīnārēt [91] איש *kas pat* hēč girravišn עַל *ab* pētākih לָא *nē* tuv(b)-ān יאחון *ma*-tano

"Und wenn die Romaer anlangen und ein Jahr die

91 Hs. tinirt.

Oberherrschaft handhaben werden, in jenem Zeitpunkte wird aus der Gegend von Kāvuləstān einer kommen, an welchem die (königliche) Majestat ist, aus der Familie der Gotter, welchen man Kai Vahrām nennt. Alle Menschen werden wieder mit ihm sein (d.h. er wird sie wieder einigen); auch in allen Gegenden der Inder, Romaer und von Turkəstān, wo er die Oberherrschaft ausüben wird, wird er alle Ruchlosen (Unordentlichen) [austilgen] und den Glauben hochhalten, die Religion des Zarathuštra wieder in Ordnung bringen; niemand wird im Stande sein mit irgend einem (andern) Glauben aufzutreten.

Eine abweichende Chronologie befolgt die Apokalypse des Zand i Vahuman Jašt III 13 f. ed. by Kaikobād Ādarbād Dastur Nosherwān, Poona 1899 p. 14:

13. Guftaš Ohormizd אוך *kuθ* Spitāmān Zarθuxšt! אנת *kaδ* שיוא *āēv* i vičārtvars i Ēšm- tōxmak *ab* pētākīh יהנמן *ras-* ēt, *pat kust*-i xvarāsān nazdist nīšān i sahā pētāk יחון *bav*-ēt: זרהון *zāj*-ēt *Uš*ētar i Zarθuxštān *pat* var i Frazdān- הוה *θas*-t ננו *kē* zrēh i Kajānsēh *guft* הוה *as*-t *bu*-t *kē pat* Kāpuləst(ān) *guft*.

14. XXX שות *sar*-akīh *ab* hampursakīh i לי *man* Ohormizd *ras*-ēt. Spitāmān Zarθuxšt! *pat* kust Cēnəstān, *guft* הוה *as*-t *bū*-t *ke* ין *andar* Hindūkān *guft* זרהון *zāj*-ēt kaj; *as*-t אנו *pit* i עלה *avē* Kaj hač Kajān tōxmak, *pat* aδjārīh *ab* Uršētar (*ab*) Hindūkān *šav*-ēt. *pat* I C. שנת *sūr*-akīh kāmak *ab* נישה *zan*-ān יהון *bav*-ēt[92] ap-aš hačiš *zā*-jēt Kaj i dēn īk, Vahrām i Varčāvand שם *nām* קריהון *xvān īh*-ēt הוה *as*-t יהנון *bū*-t ננו *kē* Šāhpūr *guft*.

13. Es sprach zu ihm (Zarathuštra) Ohormizd also;

92 Text שוש hes שאשש יאתון *āj*-et

Spitamide Zarathuštra ! Wann der Dev mit aufgelösten Haaren, der aus dem Geschlechte des Aišma, zur Offenbarung gelangen wird, wird in der Gegend des Ostens zuerst ein sichtbares Zeichen geschehen : es wird Ušetar (*Uchsjat-rta*) der Sohn des Zarathuštra im See Fradān geboren werden — andere sagten : im See Kajānsēh andere sagten : in Kāpulestān.

14. 30-jährig wird er zur Unterredung mit mir, Ohormizd, gelangen. O Spitamide Zarathuštra ! In der Gegend von Cēnestān, haben sie gesagt — andere haben gesagt : in Hindūstān — wird ein *Kaj* (legitimer Herrscher) geboren werden. Sein Vater ist ein *Kaj* aus dem Stamme der *Kajan* ; er wird dem Uršētar nach Hindūstān zu Hilfe ziehn. Mit der Leidenshaft eines 100-jahrigen (d. h. ohne Sinnlichkeit) wird er den Frauen nahen, und jener wird von ihm geboren werden, der *Kaj* der Religion, Vahrām der wunderkräftige (*varčāvānd*) heisst er mit Namen — andere haben gesagt Šāhpūr.

Der Text nach welchem E. W. West, P.T. I 220 f. übersetzt, ist lückenhaft.

In der Apokalypse des Abijātkār i Jāmāspīk (Jāmāspi ed. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay 1903, Pahlavi text Kap. II 17 — 20) fehlt diese Figur.

Dem *Vahrām i Varčāvand* liegt der Held Θrita aus der Familie der Sāmas zu Grunde, der Vater des Krsāspa (Js. 9,10) der im Vidēvdāt 20, 2 f. als Urheber der Heilkunde gefeiert wird. Er wird hier zu den Paraδāta (eigentlich "erstgeschaffen", hier aber = "vorangesetzt, bevorzugt") gerechnet, welche die Pradikate θamnahvant (fürsorglich), varčahvañt (wunderkräftig), javχštivant (geschickt) erhalten, wie der Stern Tištrija Jt. 849.

Die Rolle des Θrita als Urhebers der Heilkunde ist spater auf Frēton Θraitavna übertragen worden. Der Beiname *Vrθrayna* — *Vahrām* kam in arischer Zeit dem

Gotte Indra zu. Nachdem dieser aber durch Zarathuštra für immer in die Hölle verstossen war, wurde seine auch vom Standpunkte des Mazdajasniers verdienstlichste Heldentat, die Totung des Drachen *Vrtra* auf zwei Heroengestalten verteilt: auf Frētōn Θraitavna und auf Sāma-Krsāspa — Rōtstahm, den Sohn des Θrita. Da aber Vrtra (Aži Dahāka) in der Tat nicht tot ist und daher nach der alten Mythologie jährlich getötet werden musste, so hat ihn Θraitavna nicht getotet, sondern nur niedergestreckt und dann auf einem Vulkan (dem sudlichen oder nördlichen Dumbāwand, dem Masis) gefesselt. Seine Erlegung ist erst dem Θritasohne Sāma Krsāspa, dem Doppelgänger Θraitavnas in der Endzeit vorbehalten (§ 75). Der Name Vrθrayna blieb dagegen an einer vierten Gestalt haften, einem Kriegsgotte nach mazdajasnischen Begriffen, zu welchem die nachzarathuštrische Theologie die gute Seite des Indra umgeschaffen und der als *jazata*, wenigstens in Iran, keine Mythologie hatte. In Armenien ist jedoch auch *Wahagn* der Drachentoter geblieben (Ps. Mos. Chor. I 31. *wišapak* 'at' Drachenwürger' Agathang. 606).

G. [Zu §. 83.] Vgl. Zand ākāsih Kap. XXXIII S. 218: *ut* נין *andar* ham nisang Pušjōθan i Vištāspān *hać* Kang-diž *āj*-ēt, לותת *apāk* I. C. *ut* זנוא[93] *mart* i ahlav(*b*)-ān *hān* uzdēs-zār i rās gās i *avē*-šān *bū*-t, נוא *bē* חמרון *kān*-ēt, ātaxš i Vrhrān *pat* gōhrīk nišānēt, dēn hamāk dōsēt, ונוון *gōb*-ēt, vīnārēt.

Und in derselben ....[94] wird Pišjōθan, der Sohn des Vištāsp, von Kang-diž mit 100 und 50 rechtschaffenen Männern kommen, jene Götzentempel, welche ihre Geheimnisstattenwaren, zerstoren, das Vrθrayna-feuer als ursprüngliches (natürliches) niedersetzen, die Religion ganz pflegen, verkunden, in Ordnung bringen.

93 Hs. XL. 94 Unbekanntes Wort.

Vgl. Dk. III ١٧١ Bd. I 190 ed. MADAN=Bd. V ٢١٥ ed. PESHOTAN ŠANJANA. Abijātkār i Jāmāspīk, Pahlavi text, I 21 p. 33 der eng. Uebers. Zand i Vahuman Jt. III 25-38= WEST P. T. I 224-229.

Pišjōθan (Pišišjomθna), der Sohn des Vištāsp, einer der sieben Unsterblichen, ist der Herr von Kan'g-diž Vahrām i Varčāvand und Pišjōθan sind also die Vorlaufer. des Uršētar (*Uchšjaṯ-rat*), der das fünfte Jahrtausend eröffnet. *Pišjōθan* ist der eschatologische Doppelganger seines Bruders Spəntōδāta (Isfandijār.)

H. [Zu § 85.] Vgl. Zand āk. Kap XXXIII S. 19, 14—220, 5: אחַר *pas* nazdīg על *ab* hazārak רעִישה *sar* i Ušētar-māh Dahāk *hač* band harzak *bav*-ēt, Bēvarasp, (220) נגִך *vas* dām *ut* dahišn *pat* שידא *dēv* kāmakih nivāst. גין *andar* ham hangām Sōšans i Zaraθuxštab pētākih *ras*-ēt, XXX *rōč ut* לְלְואנין *šap* xvaršēt *pat* bālist *bē* קוּבן *ēst*-ēt. nazdist *hač* stihān i rāst [i] Sahmān Krsāsp לאלָא *ul* angēǰēnd; Bēvarasp *pat* gat zū(d)t יקטלון *ōǰan*-ēt, *hač* dāmān לְאוֹהַר *apāč* והיתון *ābar*—ēt

Darnach nahe dem Ende des [sechsten] Jahrtausends des Ušētar-māh (*Uchšjat-nəmang*) wird Dahāk aus den Fesseln frei; Bēwarāsp unterdrückte viele Geschöpfe und Schöpfung durch die Liebe zu den Deven. In jenem Zeitpunkte wird Sōšans der Sohn des Zarathuštra zur Offenbarung gelangen. 30 Tage und Nachte wird die Sonne im Zenith stehen bleiben. Zuerst werden sie von den wahrhaften (irdischen) Wesen Krsāsp den Sohn des Sahm aufrutteln; er wird den Bēwarāsp mit der Keule rasch toten, von den Geschopfen wird er wiederum (welche) herbeibringen.

Vgl. ferner Abijātkār i Gāmāspik Pāz. Kap. VI p. 74, 2 — 14 = 118 f. der Uebers. Zand i Vahuman Jt. III 55 — 61 = WEST. P.T. I 233 — 235. Sūtkar Nask Kap.

XIV im Dk. IX 15, 2 = P. T. IV 198 f. WEST. P. T. II 376. Dātestān i dēnīk XXXVI 3 = P. T. II 78. XXXVII 95 eb. 110 f. Dk. VII. 10, 10 = P. T. V. 115 und besonders das 22. Kap. des Sūtkar Nask im Dk. IX 23 = P. T. IV. 923=226.

Nach der in unserem Texte herrschenden Vorstellung wird also zunächst die Befreiung der Welt von den Verheerungen des freigewordenen Dahāk durch Sāma Krsāspa erfolgen; dieser macht sich zum Herrscher der sieben Zonen, übergibt die Herrschaft aber dem Kavi Hausravaη einem der sieben Unsterblichen, sobald dieser mit den übrigen Unsterblichen auf dem Plan erscheint. Als solche werden im Abiātkār i Jāmāspik, Pāz. Kap. VI. genant Tōs der Sohn des Nōtar und Gēw der Sohn des Gōtarz. Neben ihm ist der Saušjant geistliches Oberhaupt, Ober-Mōbed oder *ratu*. 57 Jahre ist die Dauer der Herrschaft des Saušjant; s.z. B. Dk. VII 11 = P.T. V 116 f. Ebenso lange dauert es, bis die Religion nach ihrem Empfang durch Zarathuštra in den sieben Zonen verkündet ist Dk. VII 6, 12 = P. T. V. 80.

I. [Zu § 87.] Der hier ausgesprochenen Anschauung dass der *frašōkrti* nach der Wirksamkeit des Saušjant erst noch eine Herrschaft des Konigs Vištāsp und des Zarathuštra vorausgehen werde, bin ich sonst nirgends begegnet. Sie verdankt ihren Ursprung einem pedantischen Streben nach Symmetrie, indem sie den Grundsatz der Eschatologie, dass sich in der Endzeit die Ereignisse der Urzeit wiederholen, in mechanischer Weise auf die Spitze treibt. Der Wirksamkeit Zarathuštra's in der Urzeit entspricht ja im Sinne der Prophetie die seines dritten Sohns, des Saušjant, in der Endzeit.

K. [Zu § 88] Vgl. zu dieser Schilderung der *frašōkrti* Zandāk. Kāp. XXXIV (XXX) S. 220, 15 — 228, 5 ed. ANKLESARIA S. V., 13 3 ed. JUSTI; transl. E. W. WEST, P. T. I 120 — 130. Abijātkār i Jāmāspik, ed. MODI, Pāzand text Kap. VI S. 74 14 ff. = 119 — 120 d.

Übers. Am nächsten berührt sich mit unserem Texte die Darstellung des Abijātkār i Jāmāspīk; doch muss man, um sie zu verstehen, ihr äusserst fragwürdiges Pā=and erst in Pahlavī umsetzen, eine Vorbedingung die Modi augenscheinlich nicht genügend erfüllt hat. Der Text des Abijātkār i Jāmāspīk, lautet:

Pas hazāraē Sīošūñs aṅdar ā *ēt* Sīošlaš ōi ham pursīš (1) Hōramǝzda šavǝt̲ (2) dīn pidīrǝt pa gōhą rubā kunǝt̲ pas Nairjāseṅg Saroš bāšvǝt̲ kai Xvusrub i Sjāvaxšąn, Tūš Naobarąn, Gīv Gōδrjąni āvānī ōi hazār gaṅja u sālār agǝ zīnant̲. *Ahrman* Āharmǝn (3) aja dāmąn āvāz dārīnaṅt̲ mardumąni gē ōī hamā hama manasni (4) hama gubašni. hama kunišni ba baṅt̲ *Ahrman* vasīdagąn ōi avar dāme Hōrmǝzd či šūza kār (75) na bet̲ pas Āz dēva ōi *Ahrman* Āharmǝn dārǝtat̲ ku: tu pa dāmąn Hōrmǝzda či sīz kardan nātubąn. pas Āharmǝn pəš Tahmūrapa (5) āiat̲ (6) man xvaršni avāēt̲ xvarašni man tu mahąn avāēt̲ (7) dāštan. katar dāstan [katar dāštan] (8) na āsnat̲ dāδin čirā? *Ahrman* Āharmǝn ōi aja dārēt̲ ku: šabat̲ hamā dēva u druj xvaraštar u dāmi man ba xvaru (9) aja dēva šavēt̲ hamā dām dāšna Āharmǝn bi hjāret̲ tum či gōemt̲ ku na sēr ham pas āja (10) dēva Āharmǝn u Zār tavā bēt̲. Pas Sīosīą.

Pāz. Kap. VI S. 714, 14.

1. אַחַר *pas* hazrak i Sōšans *andar* יאתון *āj*-ēt Sošjans על *ab* hampursagīh i Ohormizd עַנְלוּן *šav*-ēt, dēn נְקִבְלוּן *patīr*-ēt, *pat* gēhān ra(v)bāk *kun*ēt. 2. *Pas* Nērjōksang *(ut)* Srōš נָרְיָא *bē šav*-ēt, Kai-Xōsrav(b) i Sijāvaxšān, Tōs i Nōtarān, Gēv i Gōtarzān *(ut)* apārik (i) עֲלֵה *avē* IM. *gurd ut* sārdār hanjēnd, Ahrman *hač* dāmān לְאוֹחַר *apāč* יְהַמוּן *dārēn*-d. *marttōxm*-ān i gēθīh hamāk ham mēnišnə han gōbišnə ham עֲנִירוּן *kun*-išnə

(1) purasīs. (2) savət (3) Ahārəman. (4) manasni (5) Taxmūraspa (6) āit (7) avaiet. (8) om. (9) xvasru. (10) az.

בֵּא *bē bavēn*-d. Ahrman višūtakān (i) *avē* קֶרֶם *aɹar* dām i *O*hormizd נֵה *čēčj* kār לָא *nē bāv*-ēt. *Pas* Āz שִירָא *dēv ab* Ahrman drājēt *kuϑ*: לָך *tō pat* dāmān i *O*hormizd נֵה *ćē* sēj kartan*ə nē* tuv(b)-ān. *Pas* Ahrman pēš i Tahmōrap ראתון *āj*-et: "לִי *man* xvarišn*ə* apajēt. xvarišn*ə* לִי *man to* mēϑ ān apājēt יְהַסוּן *dāš*-tan-*ə*. Kēϑtar *dāš*-tan*ə* לָא *nē* āsān! at יְהַנוּן *dā* tan*ə* נֵה *ćē* rāð? Ahrman *ab* Āz drāj ēt *kuϑ* עְזוּלון: šav! at hamāk *dēv ut* drug, xrafstar *ut* dām i לִי *man* בֵּא *bē* עשתם *xvar*! *ut* Āz שִירָא *dēv šav*-ēt, hamāk dām dahišn i Ahrman בֵּא *bē* עְשתה *xvār*-ēt, לָך *tō*-m נֵם *čē* gōb-om-t *ku*: *nēϑ* sēr הוה *ho*-m? אַהַר *Pas* Āz dēv, Ahrman *ut* Zār tavāk (2) *bav*-ēt.

(1) Np نوا = perditusk ar نوی

Sīosīą (1) si izēšni (2) farāja kunēt (3) nuxšt zandagąni ahōšpas mardagąn avarət. ka izēšni (3) pa hāran gāh kunēt marduma hamā avar xvezant ka ēzēšni (4) pa rapī ϑban gāh kunət, mārdumąn hənt bənt ka ēzēšni (3) pa uzjrna (4) gāh kunət marduma hāmā durust (5) avē darōš bant ka ēzēšnī (2) pa aitbsrū ϑrəm (6) gāh kunēt mardum hamā dugāna pązda sāl bint ka ēzēšni (7) ka (7) ušahen gāh kunət Šaherəvar (8) hamā kōh pa gəhąn bī (9) tāvēt aēōxšušt pa hamā gehą avāz astət hamā mardum pa rōi vaδāxta bi vaδirəm da aveja u rōšan u pāka ō ūn ba bant čan xvaras et (10) pa rōšnāiš. Ahrman, pa bārūn āsmān ba kūšīnəm-t ajiš sar ba burənt pas dąmi avjea bāt marduma jāvədāna (11) ahōš uamarga azarman po dāda pązdah sāl (12) bant ajašą har čiš ədūn bāt čan šąn (13) xvat ba kāma parazft (14) šūm u šādiš u rāmišni.

Pas Sōšans III jazišn*ə* frāč *kun*-ēt: nazdist zıvandakān i ahōš, *pas* murtakān יְהַיתוּן *ābar*-ēt. *kaδ* jazišn*ə pat*

(1) Siosias (2) jazasni. (3) D E o mardum (4) uzjrən. (5) durust. (6) aitbsrūϑrən. (7) pa. (8) Sahirevar (9) ba. (10) xvaraset (11) zāvədān. (12) sālah. (13) cun. (14) parazpt.

Hāvan gāθ *kun*-ēt, *marttōxm*-ān hamāk *apar* xēzēnd *kaδ* jazišnə *pat* rapīθpīn gāθ *kun*-ēt, *marttōxm*-ān āv(man)and יהוון *bavēn*-d *kad* jazišnə *pat* uzajarīn gāθ *kun*-ēt, martom hamāk drust, apē dryviš *bavēn*-d *kaδ* jazišnə *pat* Aibisrūθrīm gāθ *kun*-ēt, martom hamāk dōkānak XV *sār bavēn*-d. *kaδ* jazišnə *pai* Uśahīn gāθ *kun*-ēt, Šaθ rēvar hamāk kōf *pat* gēhān *bē* tāpēt, ajōxšust *pat* hamāk gēhān לְוֹהַר *apāć* יקוינון *čst*-ēt, hamāk martom *pat* rōδ i vitāxtak *bē* vitērēnd, עַר *tāva* pēčak *ut* rošan *ut* pāk ētōn *be baven*-d čēgōn xvaršēt *pat* rōsnājīh. Ahrman *pat* bērōn i āsmān *be* koxšēnd apaš *sar be* פַּסְקוּן *burren*-d. *Pas* dām apēčak *bav*-et, martom jāvētān ahōš *ut* amarg *ut* asarmān *pat* dat i XV *sār bavēn*-d, apšān נְלָא *harv* גְּנוּעָם *tīs* ētōn *bav*-et čēgōnšān נְפַשָׁה *xvat pat* kām.

Frajaft *(pat)* xšnūm *ut* šātīh *ut* rāmišnə

1. Als dann wird das Jahrtausend des Sōšjans eintreten. Sōšjans wird zur Unterredung mit Ohormizd gehen, die Religion empfangen, sie in der Welt in Gang setzen.

2. Darauf werden Nērjosang und Srōš weggehen, den Kai Chōsrav, den Sohn des Sijāwachš, Tōs den Sohn des Nōtar, Gēv den Sohn des Gōtarz und seine übrigen 1000 Helden und Obersten aufrütteen, den Ahrman von den Geschopfen zurückhalten.

3. Die Menschen der Welt werden alle gleicher Gesinnung, gleicher Rede, gleichen Tuns werden, Ahrman und seine Wechselbalge haben gegen die Geschöpfe Ohormizds keine[95] Wirksamket des Leides mehr.

4. Darauf schreit der Dev Āz den Ahrman an : "Du bist nicht (mehr) im Stande unter den Geschopfen Ohormizds Leid zu bewirken."

5. Darauf wird Ahrman vor Tahmōrap kommen: "Ich brauche Nahrung. Meine Nahrung bist du! "[96] ..... [97]" (Ich muss Grössere haben. Kleinere

95 Hier נָה *cē* = hec.

96 Wie in der Urzeit, als er den Tachmōrap verschlang.

97 Esist etwa ausgefallen : " Da schreit Āz dem Ahrmanzu "

(geringere) zu haben ist nicht genügend!" (Āhrman:) "pas (soll man) dir (also) geben?"

6. Ahrman schreit dem Āz zu "Geh hin! alle meine Deven und Teufel, Ungeziefer und meine Geschopfe verschling!" Und der Dev Āz wird hingehen, wird alle Geschopfe (und) Schopfung Ahrmans verzehren.[98] (Āz:) "Was soll ich dir sagen dass ich (noch) nicht satt bin?"

7. Darauf werden der Dev Āz, Ahrman und Zār vernichtet sein. Darauf wird Sōšjans 3 Jazišn (Zeremonien) verrichten:[99] die erste fur die unsterblichen Lebenden, dann wird er die Toten herbeibringen.

8. Wenn er das JAZISM in der Hāvan-Hore darbringt, werden die Menschen alle wieder auferstehen;

9. Wenn er das Jazišn zur Rapiθbina-Hore verrichtet, werden die Menschen,.....werden[100]; wenn er das Jazišn zur Uzajeirina-Hore verrichtet, werden die Menschen alle gesund, und ohne Armut (?) werden.

10. Wenn er das Jazišn zur Aibisruθrima-Hore verrichtet, werden die Menschen alle zum zweiten Male (doppelt) fünfzehnjahrig werden;

11. Wenn er das Jazišn zur Ušahina-Hore verrichtet, wird Šaθrēvar alle Berge in der Welt gluhend machen, das Metall wird in der ganzen Welt wiederum stehen, alle Menschen werden durch das geschmolzene Erz hindurchgehen, bis sie so rein und licht und klar (rein) werden werden wie die Sonne, in ihrem Glanze.

12. Den Ahrman werden sie ausserhalb des Himmels bekampfen und seinen Kopf abschneiden.

13. Dann werden die Geschopfe rein werden, die Menschen werden ewing ohne Tod, unsterblich und ohne Altersschwache in der Regel von 15 jahrigen sein, und alle Dinge werden ihnen so werden (geschehen) wie es ihnen selbst nach Wunsch sein wird.

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98 Vgl oben § 89.

99 Zd āk. Kap. XXXIV (XXX), 25 = P. T. 1 126.

100 Der erste Teil des Wortes ist ausgefallen.

101 Vgl oben § 92.

THE ORIGIN OF THE AVESTAN ALPHABET.

By Prof. Hch. F. J. Junker.

1. In 1902, Prof. Andreas had given a lecture before the 13th International Oriental Congress of Hamburg, entitled: "The Origin of the Avestan Alphabet and its original phonetic value."

Since then no scholar has earnestly re-examined this subject.

But, meanwhile, the excellent work, done by Prof. Ernst Herzfeld of Berlin at Paikuli, of which the results are given in his book "Paikuli Monument and Inscription of the early history of the Sasanian Empire, Berlin, 1924", and the discovery of fragments of the Psalms in Chinese Turkestan, written in a very ancient type of Pahlavi hand-writing, by Prof. von Le Coq of Berlin, have brought to light new facts for discussing the origin of the Avestan alphabet.

2 As to the original phonetic value of the Avestan characters, Prof. Andreas, in 1902, was of the revolutionary opinion, that the vowel signs of the Avestan language still represented the old Indo-European vowel sounds *a, e, o*, to be found *e.g.* in Greek, and being preserved in Old-Iranian, in opposition to the development of I.-E. *a, e, o* in the Vedic language, where all these vowels are represented by the unique "*a*".

Up to Prof. Andreas, scholars thought that I.-E. *a, e, o* had become "*a*" as well in Old-Indian, as in Old-Iranian dialects, which two groups of languages were considered as springing from the same *Aryan* stock.

In consequence of Prof. Bartholomae's critical reviews of the autoschediastic ideas of Prof. Andreas, the latter

wholly gave up his former hypothesis on the phonetic value of the Avestan vowel signs, and he is now again in accordance to other scholars. He, only, affirms that each Aryan *a* or *â* was of a dark coloured sound shade in Old- and Middle-Iranian times, and has been pronounced like *o* and *ô*, so that the Zoroastrian hymns, according to Andreas, sounded with a tinge of a sepulchral vault, the whole language being in *-o-*, *-ô-*, *-i-* and *-u-*.

There is no doubt that the so-called Aryan "*a*" and "*â*" were no Italian *a*'s. They are not so pronounced in Sanskrit. But, there can be no doubt, too, that no single *a* and *â* in every Iranian word sounded alike. Sometimes Aryan *a*, *â* have had a shade of an *o*-sound, sometimes that of an *e*-sound. Prof. Andreas is not right in thinking of a uniform pronunciation of all Aryan *a*-vowels in Old- and Middle-Iranian dialects. Certainly the name of *Darius*, Greek Δαρειος, was not *Dôroyovouš*, and the name of *Pâpak*, Greek Παπεκος, was not *Pôpok*, which is already proved by the transcription of such names in the characters of foreign languages. Our author, thus being wrong in what he has stated about the pronunciation of the Avestan alphabet, must also be criticised as to some of the most important of his deductions about the Avestan letters.

Here, being not the place to enter into a detailed criticism of the Professor's ideas which, in short, are to be found in the "Verhandlungen des XIII Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses zu Hamburg, Leiden, 1904", on pages 99-106, I give in the following lines a short statement of my own views of the matter. Those who want to go further into the details are referred to my paper: "Das Awesta alphabet und der Ursprung der armenischen und georgischen Schrift, Leipzig, Caucasica, 1925-26."

3. *Systems of writing.*—The following alphabetic systems of writing from which the Avestan letters can, at

all, be derived, are to be found :

(*a*) in Achaemenidan times : the Irano-Aramaic system, being nearly identical with the purely Aramaic system of writing ;

(*b*) in early Middle-Iranian times . an alphabet, derived from the Irano-Aramaic writing • and known from the oldest Persian coins, from the Awroman document, and from the wrongly so-called Chaldaeo-Pahlavi characters of the Middle-Iranian Inscriptions ; this type of writing will be called : *Pahlavîk*.

(*c*) in Sâsânian times : an alphabet, derived from the Irano-Aramaic, and known from Sâsânian coins, from the fragments of the Psalms in that Middle-Persian language, which generally is called "Pahlavi", and from the Sâsânian inscriptions. This type of writing will be called : *Pârsîg*.

These three systems of writing are at the bottom one and the same. They are variations of the old Aramaic alphabet. The old Aramaic letters have been modified according to fashion, and to the material written upon. Generally spoken, the type of the Irano-Aramaic characters is more ancient, than that of the Pahlavîk ones, and the latter is more ancient than the type of Pârsîg writing.

The question is, from which of the different types the Avestan letters can be derived.

Prof. Andreas says, from the Pârsîg one. Now, Pârsîg as well as Pahlavîk have much less letters than Avestan. Therefore, one Pârsîg letter must be the prototype of two, three or more Avestan letters. For this reason Prof. Andreas derives

from Pârsîg 𐭠 the Avestan : 𐬀 and 𐬁.

" " 𐭡 " " : 𐬂 𐬃 𐬄 and 𐬅.

" " 𐭢 " " : 𐬆 𐬇.

" " 𐭣 " " : 𐬈 𐬉.

The letters 𐬋 and 𐬌 are derived from 𐭯 : 𐬊 𐭢 and 𐭲: 𐭢 𐭣 respectively. According to Andreas the letters 𐭩 𐭫 and 𐬌 are the "older" characters, 𐬋 𐬍𐬎 and 𐬏 are the "younger" ones, *both* being pronounced : β (*w*), *dh* (δ) and *gh* (γ), and only thus.

But Prof. Andreas has made no attempt to prove the purely Pârsîg origin of the Avestan letters. Still in Sâsânian times we find the Pahlavîk type *beside* the Pârsîg type of writing on the inscriptions. The older type of Pârsîg writing comes very near to the Pahlavîk and the Irano-Aramaic type. On the other hand it is a strange fact that exactly the letters given out to be "younger" (𐬍𐬎 𐬏 𐬍𐬎 𐬋) have that palaeographically old flourish and therefore prove to be older than 𐬀 𐬈 𐬉 𐬁 which—if at all of Pârsig origin—must have lost their right-hand flourish.

4. *Comparison of the Avestan letters.*—

True derivations from the Pârsîg figures are certainly

Av. 𐬁 from Pârsîg 𐭠

" 𐬍𐬎 " " 𐭡

" 𐬏 " " 𐭢

" 𐬫 " " 𐭫

" 𐬭 " " 𐭭

But Av. 𐬀 with its long upper stroke and edge looks more like a Pahlavîk 𐭯 : 𐭯. Sometimes the 𐭠 of Sâsânian coins has a long stroke at its beginning, and

the circular figure of the writing lines, and the narrowness of the space produce an elevation of this beginning stroke. But neither the Pârsîg writing of the Psalms (=PPs.), nor that of the Pahlavi MSS. show any tendency like that.

Av. 𐬠 is identical with Pahlavîk 𐭮 : 𐭬 . There is neither reason, nor proof for this letter having been "shortened" from 𐬢 .

If we have Av. 𐬡 or 𐬤 (= δ) from Pârsîg 𐫙 beside Av. 𐬠 (=*t*), there is no doubt that the latter character is chosen from the *Pahlavîk* type of writing, and this even then, when there was a tendency in the Pârsîg character to develop in the direction of the figure of Pahlavîk 𐭮 : 𐭯.

Those who gave form to the Avestan alphabet chose the Pârsîg 𐫙 = 𐬢 or 𐬤 with its Sâsânian pronunciation = δ (*dh*), and the Pahlavîk 𐭬 =*t*, for being used in re-writing the Avestan MSS.

Like 𐬠 also 𐬟—standing beside the Pârsîg 𐫚 (= γ)—is taken from the Pahlavîk type. In the PPs., as well as in the ordinary Pahlavi of books (*e.g.* 𐭪𐭫 , 𐭫𐭩), we have the older Pârsîg form of the "*k*".

The letter 𐬞 *x* is derived from Pahlavîk 𐭠 *i.e.* 𐭮 (*hêth*), while 𐬭 *h*, turning downwards to the left, looks more like Pârsîg 𐫖 𐫔 .

𐬞 must not, as Andreas thinks, be derived from Pârsîg 𐫔 = 𐭮, but from Pahlavîk 𐭧 = 𐭩 , which we still find in our MSS. as ـخ.

In such a way the mobads who arranged the writing down of the Avestan text had at their disposal

Phl.		Prs.		Phl.
𐬟 *k*	—	𐫚	γ	𐬞 *x*
𐬠 *t*	—	𐬢·𐬤	δ	𐬞 *θ*

: Andreas derived this letter at first from Pârsîg =*n*, which he later on himself thought impossible, and therefore he derives it now from Pârsîg =*v*, which is wrong, too. The character is clearly the ancient form of the younger =*h*, that has no twist in old MSS. A word like must therefore be read: *čatahro* and is *vahu^{h}ım*, *i.e. vah(u)vīm*, with a false later , introduced in this word from etc. It is the same thing with Av. and . There is a strict parallelism between these two facts:

Aryan:	*-asva-*	;	*-asya-*
Old-Iranian:	*-ahva-*	;	*-ahya-*
Old-Avestan:	- -	;	- -
Avestan text:	- [] - - ;		- [] -

The correct reading in all cases with is *ahva*, in all cases with is *ahya*.[1]

There are but and that make some difficulty to their derivation from Pârsîg characters. is not *a*+*v*+*n* (Andreas), but *a*+*n*+*g*, while must be considered as a compound of *a*+*m*.

5. *Letters for vowel sounds.*

is the same as in Pahlavîk and Pârsîg writing.

: Not from (Andreas), because we know nothing of, and there is no reason for, such a mutilation of letters. The letter is rather a compound of *a*+*k* which, in later Sâsânian times, was pronounced *-â*. This letter can only be introduced in the MSS. of the Avesta when *-âg* had become *-â*. Like which was read *â*, we have and for spoken *ō*, *ū*, *ī* in Pahlavi transcriptions of Avestan names and words.

1 If we compare Av. , with , and , it *seems* perhaps not impossible to consider as a compound of *h*+*p*. But one might expect rather *p*+*h*, than *h*+*p*, and *p*+*h* rather for *f*, than for β (*w*). However, in *h*+*r* is also written in order to indicate the *spirant* sound of the *r*. It could be the same with .

: from which must be derived from Irano-Aramaic *y*. The figures of Pahlavîk and Pârsîg writing are younger.

: from Pârsîg , slightly turned: . The same sign is to be found in the figure of which is a compound of *v* and *hr*. *h* before *r* indicates the *spirant* sound of *r*.

: from Pârsîg *l*, the first written somewhat higher, in order to better unite the two characters. is from .

: not from Greek ε (Salemann), nor from Pârsîg (Andreas), but to derive from Pârsîg which in PPs. has the figure of from where also Phl. in etc. : is modelled after , , . The character = ח, and with the value of a vowel is also to be found in an Irano-Aramaic bilinguis: סגי בו מהגפון = Σαγαριος Μαγαβαρνου = "Sagarios, son of Bagafarnah".

: not *y*+*a* (Salemann), nor *y*+*y*+*v*, as Prof. Andreas proposes. In a Pahlavi-fragment of the Afrîngân i Gâhânbâr from a MS., belonging to the Maneckji Limji Hataria Library, and from which a facsimile was published in my above mentioned paper, whilst the whole fragment will be edited in a short time by me,—the writer distinguishes i =, *e.g.* in (*padîrad*) from *ê*= , *e.g.* in (*Anêrân*). Here, too, we find *â*= in (*drûgdârêd*). If Av. may be derived from , then *ê* may also be an offspring of a Pahlavi-compound. Now, Prof. Nyberg of Uppsala has shown that the letter in (*hilêh*), etc., is a compound of Pahlavîk *y*+*h*= , the letter in (*kunêh*) a compound of Pârsîg *y*+*h*= . I therefore believe now—contrary to my view of this matter in the above-mentioned paper on the 'Avestan alphabet'—that

Av. 𐬉 (from which 𐬊 is a secondary formation) must be derived from a compound Pahlavîk $y+h=$ 𐭩 , with the phonetic value of *ê*. The two Pahlavîk-signs, being united, look like $d+y+n$ with a twisted flourish, instead of which a pure flourish, or a cross-line was written.

In consequence of this derivation of 𐬉 from Pârsîg 𐭩 $=h$ (*ê*), we must consider 𐬉𐬀 and 𐬉𐬁 as combinations of $a+h$. Therefore the correct reading of the Gen. *mazdå̊* (*mazdâo*) is : *mazdâha*, for written older m. z. d. â. h.